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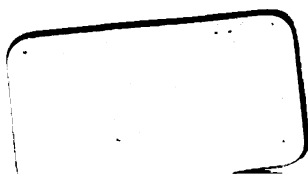
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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XXXIII.

London :
PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

MDCCLXXVII.



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CONTENTS.

Prospectus	PAGE i
List of Congresses	ii
Rules of the Association	iii
Officers and Council for the Session 1876-7	vi
List of Associates	vii
Honorary Correspondents	xvii
Local Members of Council	xviii

Inaugural Address at the Cornwall Congress. Delivered at Bod- min. By the Right Hon. the EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE, President	1
The Early History of the Family of Mount-Edgcumbe. By the Right Hon. the EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE, President	15
The Architectural History of Cotehele House. By E. P. L. BROCK, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary	23
Notes upon some Figures in the Western Towers of Wells Cathe- dral. By J. T. IRVINE	30
County and Parochial Histories and Books relating to Cornwall. By H. SEWELL STOKES	35
The Earls of Cornwall. By J. R. PLANCHÉ, Somerset Herald, V.P. .	46
The Duchy and Dukes of Cornwall. By STEPHEN I. TUCKER, Rouge Croix Poursuivant	60
Ancient Canterbury. By JOHN BRENT, F.S.A.	68
Some Knightly Effigies in Suffolk Churches. By H. S. CUMING, V.P.	109
The History and Literature of the Ancient Cornish Language. By HENRY JENNER	137
Remarks on Celtic Monuments. By THOMAS A. WISE, M.D. . .	158
Tintagel Castle. By Rev. Prebendary KINSMAN, M.A. . . .	170
Notes on the Men-an-Tol and Chywoone Quoit. By C. W. DYMOND .	176

	PAGE
The Ancient Boroughs of Cornwall, with Notes on their Arms and Devices. By R. N. WORTH	179
Notes on the Scilly Isles, together with some Cornish Antiquities. By the Rev. S. M. MAYHEW, V.P.	191
Notes on Britford Church. By JAMES T. IRVINE	215
On Needles and Needle-Cases. By H. S. CUMING	222
Troy and its Analogy to Mycenæ. By Dr. H. SCHLIEMANN	234
Roman Remains discovered at Sittingbourne. By G. PAYNE, jun.	263
Roman Pottery Kilns at Colchester. Part I. By E. P. L. BROCK, F.S.A.	267
Recent Discoveries at Kenilworth. By J. TOM BURGESS, F.S.A.	275
On some Megalithic Monuments in Western Cornwall. By Rev. W. C. Lukis, M.A., F.S.A.	292
The Megalithic Antiquities at Stanton Drew. By C. W. DYMOND	297
The Will and Inventory of Robert Morton, A.D. 1486-1488. By E. M. THOMPSON	308
On Roman Vessels popularly called Amphoræ. By H. S. CUMING	331
King Arthur and Knights of the Round Table. By T. CRAGOE, F.R.G.S.	338
The Saxon Arches of Britford Church, near Salisbury. By C. H. TALBOT	345
Baalism and the Temples of Baal. By the Rev. Canon RIDGWAY, B.D., F.S.A.	349
Description of the Saxon Church of Boarhunt in Hampshire. By J. T. IRVINE	367
On some Medals and Seals of the Cromwell Family. By H. W. HENFREY	381
On the KAPNYÆ, or Keltic Horn. By Dr. J. S. PHENÉ, F.S.A.	395
Traces of the Ancient Kingdom of Damnonia outside Cornwall. By THOMAS KERSLAKE	411
The Ancient Churchyard-Crosses of Staffordshire. By C. LYNAM	432
St. Neot's, Cornwall. By E. P. L. BROCK, F.S.A.	441
Suez Canals from the most Ancient Times to the Present. By J. W. GROVER	447
Notes on recently discovered Pavements at the Abbey of Old Cleeve, Somersetshire. By Colonel J. R. BRAMBLE	456
On the Discovery of the Refectory and Tiled Floor at Cleeve Abbey. By J. REYNOLDS	465

CONTENTS.

v

	PAGE
Roman Pottery-Kilns at Colchester. Part II. By E. P. L. BROCK, F.S.A.	468
Original Documents. With Introductory Remarks by W. de G. BIRCH, F.R.S.L.	471
The Roman Station called Templeborough, near Rotherham. By J. D. LEADER, F.S.A.	503
Notes upon the Results of the Congress at Llangollen. By T. MORGAN, F.S.A.	509
The Roman Remains recently discovered at Preston, near Brighton. By JOSEPH STEVENS, M.D., M.R.C.P.	518

Proceedings of the Association	105, 213, 483
Proceedings of the Cornwall Congress	87, 195
Catalogue of the Temporary Museum	195, 196
Annual General Meeting	252
Election of Officers	256
Treasurer's Report	252
Secretaries' Report	254
Balance Sheet	261
Elections of Associates	105, 112, 114, 120, 213, 220, 230, 248, 260, 266, 483, 499
Presents to the Association	105, 112, 114, 120, 213, 220, 230, 249, 260, 266, 410, 484, 499
Biographical Memoirs	282
Antiquarian Intelligence	127, 286, 401, 523
Index	527

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
1. Figures of armed Knights, north-east angle of north-west Tower, Wells Cathedral	31
2. Details of the Figures	32
3. Armed Figures in the West Front of Wells Cathedral	33
4. Entry into Jerusalem, Wells Cathedral	34
5. Roman Pavement recently found at Canterbury	79
6. British Antiquities found at Lancaster	126
7. Facsimile Page of the Latin-Cornish Vocabulary in the British Museum	155
8. Facsimile Page of a Cornish Poem in the British Museum	157
9. Celtic Remains at Callernish, Island of Lewis	158
10. Plan of Remains at Callernish	160
11. The Mên-an-Tol with its associated Stones, Bossulow Down, near Morvah, Cornwall	176
12. Chywoone Quoit, near Morvah	178
13. Chill or Cornish Lamp, etc.	192
14. Saxon Carving, Bradford-on-Avon	216
15. Scold's Brank at Vernham, Hants	262
16. } Roman Vessels found at Sittingbourne. (<i>Two Plates</i>)	264
17. }	
18. Plans of Roman Pottery-Kilns at Colchester	268
19. Kiln at Colchester, and Sketches of the Pottery	270
20. Views at Stanton Drew, A.D. 1784	298
21. Plan of the ancient Remains, Stanton Drew	300
22. The North-East Circle and Cove, Stanton Drew	304
23. Typical Forms of Roman Vessels	334
24. Plan of Boarhunt Church, etc.	368
25. Sketches of Boarhunt Church	370
26. Medals and Seals of the Cromwell Family	386
27. Official Stamp of Henry Cromwell	388

	PAGE
28. Steel Signet of Oliver Cromwell, Son of Richard Cromwell	392
29. } Churchyard-Crosses of Staffordshire. (<i>Three Plates</i>) 432, 434, 436	
30. }	
31. }	
32. Plan of Cleeve Abbey	467
33. Suez Canals	450
34. }	
35. } Pottery found at the Roman Kilns discovered at Colchester. 468	
36. } (<i>Three Plates</i>)	
37. } Inscriptions upon the Sides of the Obelisk known as Cleo-	
38. } patra's Needle. (<i>Two Plates</i>).	488, 490
39. Plan of Roman and British Roads near Sheffield	503
40. Plan of Camp at Templeborough	505
41. Roman Edifice at Templeborough, etc.	506
42. Tile of the Fourth Gaulish Cohort found at Templeborough	508
43. Engraved Gem found at Templeborough	509

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

MARCH, 1877.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT THE CORNWALL CONGRESS,

DELIVERED AT BODMIN, AUGUST 14, 1876,

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MOUNT EDGCUMBE, PRESIDENT.

MR. MAYOR,—I beg, on behalf of myself and the members of the British Archæological Association, most gratefully to thank you and the other members of the Corporation of Bodmin for the very gracious and cordial welcome to your ancient borough, conveyed in the address which you have now presented. If Truro has been designated as the site of our future cathedral, I think the Council of the Association made a judicious selection when they named Bodmin as the place for their first public meeting, not only because it is the county town, but because it is one of the oldest towns in Cornwall, and has historic associations from a very remote period down through some of the most critical and eventful eras of our national history. Moreover, your town and its neighbourhood abound in antiquities which claim the special attention of archæologists, as some of those around me will demonstrate. Lastly, I will add that the town is recommended to the Association by its central site, and its hotel and other accommodation so essential to travellers, whether in pursuit of pleasure or knowledge; and it is only reasonable to believe that our *savans*, in their zeal for information, are not altogether indifferent to creature comforts.

With these various reasons for satisfaction at the choice of this town by the Association as their first centre and place of rendezvous for some days, and with renewed thanks to you, Sir, and to the Town Council of Bodmin, for the

reception you have given us, I will now address myself to those assembled in your Town Hall, who expect from me some few observations by way of preface or prelude to the interesting papers, discussions, and excursions, which your address to-night has so happily inaugurated. And, ladies and gentlemen, I hope I may infer from our pleasant interview this morning at Cotehele, where I had the pleasure and privilege of welcoming you to this county, and your subsequent progress from the banks of the Tamar over the wooded combes of East Cornwall, spanned by the lofty viaducts of the Cornwall Railway, to the beautiful Glynn Valley, and thence to this ancient town, that your first impressions of our county are somewhat more favourable than those of Gilpin, the author of *Forest Scenery*, who in his tour in the West of England, towards the close of the last century, entered Cornwall by the Launceston route, and thus summarily disposed of its attractions: "From Launceston", he writes, "we travelled into Cornwall as far as Bodmin, through a coarse, naked country, and in all respects as uninteresting as well can be conceived. Of wood in every shape it was entirely destitute. Having heard that the country beyond Bodmin was exactly like that we had already passed, we resolved to travel no farther in Cornwall; and instead of visiting the Land's End, as we had intended, we took the road to Lescard, proposing to visit Plymouth on our return."

In your route you have avoided the rugged backbone of the county, which extends for nearly seventy miles from east to west, and which so disgusted Gilpin; and I may call on you as witnesses that there are some patches of sylvan scenery in Cornwall which might have pleased that prince of landscape gardeners, and that we possess valleys and rivers which may challenge comparison even with those of our charming sister county.

But you come to explore, not our combes and streams, not our crags and headlands, which no one has yet disparaged, but our antiquities; and I hope you will not return disappointed. And speaking of antiquities, I think I may assume that to be an antiquarian, to be capable of instructing or guiding others in historical or archæological research, is not regarded by this Association as an essential attribute of the President of its Annual Congress. My having been

selected for the honour of holding that office is more than sufficient warrant for that assumption ; and addressing you not only as archæologists, but also as sensible people, and admirers of true principles in architecture and the constructive arts, I feel sure you will agree that there is no greater sign of bad taste in man, or in man's works, than the attempt to impose upon others by a superficial coating of cheap stuff, easily acquired and rapidly applied, for the purpose of making something appear to be that which it is not. I shall not, therefore, endeavour to conceal my ignorance by any such means, for I know that you would soon detect the flaws in the stucco. I shall not attempt, for this night only (as they say in the play-bills), to appear before you in the character and "make-up" of a student of archæology, but shall address you merely as one who, perhaps by reason of his very ignorance, feels a certain pride in his native county, believing it to have special characteristics and points of interest of its own, but who is too much of a borderer to be able to speak of those characteristics with the same vividness and familiarity with which others whom I see here will be able to place them before you. I might even shrink, in their presence, from pronouncing some of the Cornish names which are familiar to them ; and I have never sufficiently investigated that which is doubtful in the history and monuments of Cornwall, to be able to tread with any safety upon what to the most careful explorers is somewhat uncertain ground ; for it cannot be denied that those fragmentary pages in the history of the Cornish people which will, perhaps, specially interest you, and the rude monuments, legends, and names, by which they are illustrated, have been the subject of much controversy, and perhaps even still, if I may be allowed to quote the words of a poet whom we all should know,—

"Afford full scope for antiquarian guess,
Which oft, where all is doubt, decides with firmest stress."

Let no one suppose that I apply these words to the work of such an Association as this, any more than our genial though occasionally satirical friend did when he penned them. On the contrary, one of the great advantages of such associations is that they bring together many minds to converge upon one point, to check the eccentricities and chal-

lenge the accuracy of individual theorists. Mr. William Copeland Borlase, who has, by his *Nænia Cornubiæ*, shown himself fully worthy to bear the name of the author of *The Antiquities of Cornwall*, says at the commencement of that admirable essay : "Archæology, whatever may be its pretensions to be called a separate science, can never fail to be of the greatest value when it seeks to rest the vapoury superstructure of theory or tradition upon the firm basis of observed fact. The geologist may have puzzled himself into the conclusion that for his purposes time is no object ; but with the antiquary, the first care must always be to affix, where he sees a possibility of so doing, an approximate date at least to each individual object that comes under his notice. It is in his ability to do this, that, in the popular point of view, the magic of his spell resides ; and the first question of the labourer on discovering a relic is always the same, " "When was it put here ?" And if it be felt that the rough stone memorials of the early Cornish are so rude and simple as to make it a hopeless task to glean from them any further information, I would refer to the last chapter of the same work to show what patient and intelligent research has been able to effect even within the last few years. The fact that coins of the later Roman emperors have been found in several interments shows how knowledge may unexpectedly be gained step by step. The presence of flint instruments in similar monuments had previously given an impression of greater antiquity ; but those primitive weapons can scarcely, I suppose, be regarded as peculiar to any particular age. In England they are regarded as pre-historic ; in Australia they have been used and manufactured in the nineteenth century ; and no doubt a stone-headed spear may constantly be found in the hand of a native with coins of Queen Victoria in his pocket, if he has such a thing. A similar juxtaposition in a Cornish tomb may, therefore, only indicate that the Cornish were old-fashioned in their habits even in those days. The architect will, I believe, find a similar characteristic pervading their buildings in subsequent ages, and be puzzled to account for the architectural features being of a style somewhat anterior to that of the known date of the edifice ; and although the construction of the line by which you have travelled has, no doubt, made a great change since the time when Mr. Wilkie Collins

wrote his charming *Rambles beyond Railways*, and declared that he had a difficulty in determining which was the most untrodden ground, Cornwall or Kamtschatka, you will very likely find us an old-fashioned people still, and I hope, as archæologists, not like us the less for that. Perhaps you will find us also a somewhat prejudiced people, inclined to cling to old traditions and to rely upon our local knowledge; but not, I hope, too proud to be taught or untaught by those who are better informed than ourselves, or rash enough to attempt to induce you to believe more than is reasonable.

We know that antiquarians have been at all times liable to deception. No one can ever forget the famous passage from the posthumous papers of the Pickwick Club, which records Mr. Tupman's ejaculation of surprise, "God bless my soul! what's the matter?" on seeing Mr. Pickwick, in his enthusiasm for discovery, fall on his knees before a little stone, and commence wiping the dust off it with his pocket-handkerchief, gazing intently through his spectacles at the mysterious inscription which was afterwards so malignantly explained to be "Bill Stumps, his mark"! Nor the equally memorable scene in the *Antiquary*, where Mr. Oldbuck (and you may find some Oldbucks in Cornwall) brought Mr. Wright (I mean Mr. Lovel) to view the Roman camp and engraved stone, and his archæological dream was so rudely dispelled by that "strolling vagabond" Edie Ochiltree insisting upon the statement that he "minded the bigging of it". And to show that such things have happened here too, I cannot forbear quoting once more from Mr. Borlase's book, even at the risk of spoiling, by my unpractised vernacular, the story of the Bosporthennis Cromlech.

"The principal feature in this cromlech, when it was discovered a few years since, was that it had a *circular covering stone* 6 inches thick, and 5 feet in diameter, lying in the area described by the supporters. This was at once pronounced to be unique. The fame of the discovery quickly spread. The local antiquarianism of the whole neighbourhood was awakened immediately, and *savans* of all shapes, sexes, and ages, visited and inspected the stone. The sphere for conjecture was, of course, unlimited, and ranged from Arthur's Round Table to the circular tombs of modern Bengal. Two things were clear, at all events: there were

stone-cutters among the cromlech-builders, and the excellent idea of a circle proved the knowledge of a compass ! But, alas ! the mantle of Edie Ochiltree had fallen this time on a Celt of another family, on a genuine Cornu-Briton. Edging his way through the crowd which surrounded the monument, until he had reached the front rank, an old man was heard dispelling the fond illusion in the following cruel words : ‘ Now what are ‘e all tellin’ of ? I do mind when uncle Jan (he that was miller down to Polmeor) cum’ up ‘long to the croft a speering round for a fitty stoan of es mill ; and when he had worked ‘pon that there stoan, says he, ‘ I’ll be jist gone to knack un’ a bit round like’ ; so he pitched to work. But ‘e wouldn’t sarve es purpose, so there ‘e es still. And, Lor’ bless yer all, a fine passel o’ pepple has been heere for to look ‘pon un’ ; but what they sees en un’ es more than I can tell ‘e.’ ”

With this slight prelude of warning I will sketch the programme provided for your excursions. To-morrow you will proceed through the Castle or Camp of *Pencarrow*, which you will find not like Edie Ochiltree’s ditch, but a very perfect and grand earthwork. You will rest for a pleasant interval at *Lanteglos*, and see the church and other objects of interest there, and partake of the Rev. J. J. Wilkinson’s hospitality ; and then you will make your way to the ruins of Tintagel, on its bold and wild promontory by the Severn sea. There you must expect to see only shattered arches and crumbling walls, scarcely distinguishable from the rocks on which they stand,—*débris* from which it needs the fancy of no mean poet to build even a castle in the air, while all your archæological skill and experience will be tested to determine the original plan and style of the actual building. I hope, however, that even here, under the trustworthy guidance of the Rev. Prebendary Kinsman, the Rector of the ancient church of Tintagel, and custodian of all that remains of the great Castle, your researches will not be altogether barren ; and at any rate it will interest you to visit a spot whose name has ever been associated with the grand legends of the blameless king.

In reproducing those legends the Laureate sought inspiration from Cornwall, as other poets and novelists have done before. He has visited the county several times, and was a guest of the late Vicar of Morwenstowe before any of the

Idylls of the King were published; and he remained several weeks at Tintagel, as if to imbibe the spirit of its grand scenery, and to become imbued with the romantic, if not historic, associations of the place. Mr. Hawker, in his *Quest of the Sangreal*, emulated not unsuccessfully, or perhaps anticipated, the Laureate's fine fancies; and in some of his ballads he has done justice to other memorable scenes, characters, and incidents, in Cornish story; and although you will not place too much reliance on those who, when facts are wanting, can so freely draw on imagination to supply the missing links, you can but feel and admire the spell which genius has cast over many of the places in your route; and some of you who heard the eloquent address of the late Lord Lytton, as your President in 1870, may remember also the words in which, after summing up what we owe to the science of the archæologist, he said: "It is amongst his labours to guard from oblivion the myths, the traditions, the legends, of former days; and critical and severe though his genius and obligations must be, still it is to his care that we owe the preservation of many a pure and sacred well-spring of poetry and romance."

In Cornwall these myths and legends (like so many Cornish names) have been sadly vulgarised by popular tradition, and endued with a grotesque character which is almost as much removed from the sublime as some of the tales of the Cornish hero, Jack the Giant-Killer himself, and which I venture to think they cannot always have worn. The identification of the malignant giant Tregeagle with Lord Robartes' dishonest steward of that name, in the seventeenth century, must surely be a perversion of some more interesting fancy. The tale of his haunting Dosmare Pool, which he is condemned to empty with a pierced limpet-shell, is a very different conception to that of the mysterious form whose arm

"Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful",

rose from the middle mere to catch King Arthur's mighty sword, Excaliber.

The story of the same Tregeagle being hunted by the Devil, and throwing down his sack of sand on the bar which separates Looe Pool, near Helston, from the sea, sounds also a silly, whimsical tradition. The name Tregeagle itself has an absurd sound; and the personality of the Devil, although

it has only recently been a subject of litigation, has from time immemorial been associated more or less with the grotesque and ridiculous. And yet am I too fanciful in thinking that this legend, treated as the older ones of Eastern origin have been by Professor Max Müller, might wear a nobler and more characteristic aspect? Might we not regard it as impersonating the Ocean Giant, the natural symbol to the dwellers on such a coast of all that is powerful and ruthless, lashed by the howling demon of the storm, and casting down his burden of sand upon the Bar, only to be carried back at the changing will of his resistless tormentor?

The programme for Wednesday embraces a variety of objects. First, what was once the *Monastery of St. Bennet*, now, I believe, considerably modernised, but retaining some of its antique features. The present proprietor, Captain Sergeant, has kindly promised to meet you there, and show you the place and the ancient buildings adjoining. Next you will enter the long avenues of *Lanhydrock*, and see the fine old mansion and remarkable gallery there (which the noble owner will throw open to your inspection), and the old church immediately adjoining. Then you will go through one of the loveliest valleys of the West to *Restormel Castle*, which is one of the chief objects in the county, and is associated with historic recollections from a very remote period, and has descended from Edward the Black Prince, the first Duke of Cornwall, to His Royal Highness the present Duke of Cornwall, who has so graciously consented to become our Patron under that title. Mr. Couch, of Bodmin, has promised us a paper on Restormel, and he will be your very competent guide when you visit the Castle.

In the town of *Lostwithiel*, to which you will descend from the ivied keep through a wooded vale by the banks of the Fowey, you will be received by the authorities of that ancient borough, who will show you their charters, the old Stannary buildings, and other objects deserving inspection. That I should feel a special interest in this beautifully situated, but now unfortunately disfranchised, borough, you will think but natural after the long connection of my ancestors with it in the good old days when Cornwall returned about forty members to the House of Commons, I believe, instead of thirteen, with which we are now obliged to be satisfied.

You will then go up along the banks of the Fowey, through

the Glyn Valley, to *St. Neots* (commonly pronounced *St. Nyot's*), the second largest parish in Cornwall. The church is one of the most interesting in the county, and its series of painted windows have long excited the curiosity and admiration of the antiquarian. Forster, Whittaker, Gorham, and others, have published descriptions of them, assigning various dates, and ascribing some of the windows to a period as early as 1199. One of the best accounts of these windows was published in 1844 by the late Rev. Henry Grylls, who was then Vicar of *St. Neots*. In a meadow near the church you will see the very well in which the venerable saint (brother, some say, of Alfred the Great) obtained an inexhaustible supply for his frugal diet from the trout which were miraculously kept up to the number of three, provided he took only one trout at a time from the well. The catastrophe which happened when the saint fell ill, and his imprudent cook took out *two* trout from the spring, is narrated in amusing verse by your Local Secretary, whose versatile Muse can turn so lightly from grave to gay if he wishes to stir the heart or raise a smile :

“The well remains, and if you doubt,
Come, and perhaps you ’ll see the trout,
And learn to cypher to your gain,—
Take one from three, and three remain.”

On Thursday you will traverse the same moors and nearly the same roads which dismayed Gilpin. In your way you will pass the forlorn church of *Temple*, built by the Knights Templars, but now consisting only, I believe, of a ruinous arch and roofless walls, within which an ash-tree has taken firm root, and found space to spread its boughs during the best part of a century. Thence, skirting Roughtor and Brown Willy (our highest hills), you will pass near, and possibly have time to visit, the largest of our lakes or tarns, *Dosmar Pool*, to which I have already referred. The name “*Doz-mare*” (drop of the sea) is supposed to refer to the idea that it communicated at an unfathomable depth, by an underground channel, with Falmouth harbour. When you see the desolate hills by which this lonely water is surrounded, and think of the aspect of that district on a wild winter's night, when the sound of the gale sweeping over the dreary moorland mingles with the distant “calling of the northern cleaves”, you will hardly wonder that the place

is associated with weird legends, or that the howling of a tortured spirit is heard in the storm. If you would know more of such legends, I would refer you to the old ballad by John Penwarne, appended to Mr. Grylls' account of the windows of St. Neot, or to Mr. Robert Hunt's *Romances and Drolls of the West of England*.

You will then soon leave the moors, and will, with every mile, get into more fertile and wooded country, till at last, at some distance, you see the magnificent keep of Launceston on its high mound, with the town clustering round its base. There you will be received by the Mayor; and I venture to think you will be repaid for your long journey as the Rev. J. J. Wilkinson guides you among the antiquities of the place, which are of special interest to archæologists; and there, too, you will procure the refec-tion so needful for appetites sharpened by moorland air and breezes.

On Friday you will journey westward, glancing on the way at the fine towers of St. Austell and Probus; and in the fair town of Truro, the best built and probably largest of our towns, you will be received by Mr. Jonathan Rashleigh, now President of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, by Dr. Barham, Dr. Jago, and other members of that Society, who will show you their Museum, which is in some respects, I believe, the most complete this side of Bristol, and in which archæological treasures have been gathered and protected from time and the more ruthless hand of the destroyer. The Institution, which was founded in 1818, has done good service to the county by its meetings, lectures, and annual archæological excursions to different parts of Cornwall, and by the reports in which the proceedings and all discoveries are faithfully registered. To the antiquities in and around Truro some of the members of the Institution will accompany you, including, if time permits, the church or chapel which had been buried by the sands of Perran for five or six centuries, and which some years ago was restored to light by the sudden shifting of the sands in a gale. This is probably one of the oldest churches remaining in Cornwall, and the saint whose name it bears was one of the missionaries who came from Ireland in the fourth or fifth century to propagate the Gospel in this country. But for information respecting St. Peiran I must refer you to Whittaker's *Cathedrals of Cornwall*; and for

descriptions of the building, which I have never seen, to the publications of the Rev. Collins Trelawny and the Rev. William Haslam.

On Friday afternoon you will proceed through the heart of the mining district, both of modern and ancient times. You will already have observed on the downs indications of tin-streaming,—a practice extending into primitive ages. These workings of “the old men” are not without interest in connection with the early history of Cornwall. I hardly know if I may refer to the trade in tin with the Phœnicians as an acknowledged feature in our history, nor would I venture to lay any stress upon the evidence of Phœnician influence which is supposed to be afforded by the peculiar cream you have had an opportunity of tasting, which across the Tamar bears the name of the sister county; but which, while unnaturalised in any part of the United Kingdom beyond Danmonian limits, is said by those who speak from experience to be common on the shores of the Mediterranean, where the Phœnician colonies existed. But when we know how universally bronze has been used in place of iron during an early period of civilisation, and how few are the known sources from which tin (an essential ingredient of bronze) could then be obtained, we cannot doubt that it must have been largely exported from Cornwall in very early ages. Now Cornish enterprise, among other influences, has developed mines in Chili, Australia, Queensland, Van Dieman’s Land, and other remote countries, whose produce is overwhelming the English markets, and seriously affecting one of our staple commodities; and though you will see the vast and expansive operations of recent skill, you will not fail to notice that many a mine-stack has ceased to send forth smoke, that many an engine-house is in ruins, and that the cloud which is spreading over the land threatens to leave many a miner’s home desolate.

But you may not pause for such reflections. You will be whirled along the railway past Redruth, Camborne, Hayle (the town of foundries), and through the almost continuous series of towns and villages which extends from Chacewater to the west, till at last, after so many scenes of active industry, you again approach the region of legend and romance,

“Where the great vision of the guarded Mount
Looks towards Namanco and Bayona’s hold.”

The striking position, in the romantic records, of this celebrated mount, and the picturesque edifice by which it is crowned,—now monastery, now fortress, now mansion,—are too familiar to you to require any description from me ; and its history is connected with so many varied incidents from times which are lost in the mists of tradition down to the present day, that I must forbear attempting even the faintest sketch of it. You will see in its construction, as in that of every building which has a history, evidences of changes corresponding with the different eras of its existence ; and Sir John St. Aubyn, who will receive you there on one of the following days, has followed the example of others through whose hands it has passed during its chequered career, and is making extensive additions which while perfecting the buildings for the purposes of domestic comfort and social hospitality, to which it is now dedicated, will add not a little, I venture to think, to the credit of Mr. J. P. St. Aubyn, the architect, under whose directions this great work is being executed.

I need not tell you that you will receive a hearty welcome in the town of Penzance, which is not less renowned for its hospitality than for its commercial enterprise and prosperity.

Of the archæological feast which awaits you in the numberless Celtic and other monuments and remains which are accumulated between Penzance and the Land's End, I cannot attempt to speak to-night. All these most interesting relics will be shown to you, and carefully explained by Mr. W. C. Borlase and others, who are there at home, as it were, in that Eldorado of antiquities. I regret extremely that I shall not be there to hear their expositions ; but while my want of knowledge would preclude me from attempting to act as your *cicerone* in any of your future excursions, so I fear that other circumstances will prevent my being a companion in your travels. That the programme provided for you is ample, you will admit. That it will be archæologically interesting I feel no doubt.

During the last three days you will have an opportunity of tracing the evidences of the early Cornu-Britons in their dwellings, their fortifications, their interments, in every form of cromlech, kistvaen, maenhir, and stone circle, and to some of which you will, perhaps, assign a connection with

their religious rites. You will have had your attention called to their early works in mining and commerce, to the holy wells and oratories of the first missionaries, which though, as elsewhere, connected with whimsical legends, cannot be detached from the fact that Christianity was brought into this rugged peninsula before St. Augustine came to dispel from the rest of England the mists of Saxon heathendom. You will have seen some of our finest churches; and although they have almost all been rebuilt at the same period, in the fifteenth century, and the hardness of our material prevents their presenting any of the elaborate and beautiful details which may be seen elsewhere, yet you will see some remains of earlier work, and at Truro and Launceston some specimens of laborious decoration. The fact itself that such universal activity in church-building and church-restoration should have extended throughout the country at an epoch when it must have depended on the pious exertions of all ranks, is interesting as a proof of religious zeal; and since the sad time when the ministry of the Church relapsed into apathy, the Wesleyan chapels, which may be seen in every village and hamlet, though uninteresting to the architect and archæologist, are evidence that the religious feeling of the people of Cornwall has never died out. The Church has now awakened again, and is putting her house in order, and her churches are being restored almost as generally as they were in the reign of Henry VII. May this be a sign that she will regain the confidence of those whom her neglect repelled!

You will have visited, or seen from a distance, the only three Edwardian castles we possess. All three have a special form and special peculiarities; all three were ruined centuries ago; but two of them were once more used for military purposes in 1645,—one for the King, and one for the Parliament,—during the civil war, of which for a time this county was one of the most active scenes, and in connection with which you will note an interesting record of Cornish loyalty and royal gratitude in the letter addressed by King Charles to his faithful subjects in this county, that is or ought to be found in all our churches.

But what of Bodmin all this time? Have I forgotten that we are now within its walls, and that there are objects here, and that events have here occurred, which claim the special

attention of the archæological and historical inquirer? Far from it. But I have also not forgotten, although I fear I may seem to have done so, that the Rev. W. Jago, the Rev. J. J. Wilkinson, Mr. Couch, Mr. Loftus Brock, and others, are about to furnish you with the details you will desire to hear, as well as to describe the numerous objects that have been brought together for your inspection; and I will, therefore, now only thank you most gratefully for the kind attention and forbearing patience with which you have listened to my discursive address, which I will conclude in the words of the old county historian Carew at the close of his own interesting survey of Cornwall: "If enough be delivered, to add more than enough were superfluous; if too little, I leave it to be supplied by better stored capacities; if aught amiss, I submit the same to the discipline of every able and important censure."

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF MOUNT EDGCUMBE.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MOUNT EDGCUMBE,
PRESIDENT.

ALTHOUGH this is not a time to attempt any reference, however slight, to the general history or antiquities of Cornwall, I must ask leave to address a few words of welcome to the members and friends of this Association on landing for the first time, collectively, on the western shore of the Tamar,—the *Ta-mawr*, or big water, as it has been translated, of the Cornu-Britons,—which now, throughout its whole length, forms the boundary of the county, and which as early as the days of King Egbert was so rigorously enforced as the limit of Cornish territory that after defeating the natives in the great battle of Hengistdown, or Hingston, near this place, in 823, he enacted a law that “no Briton should in future cross the Tamar, or set foot on English ground, on pain of death.” In 936 Athelstan is said to have reimposed the same boundary; and although it may well be doubted whether in his reign the natives were not driven into much smaller limits, I think the writer who says that the Tamar can never have been the national boundary between Celt and Saxon because the names of places “on both banks are equally Saxon”, overlooked several names which are familiar to me, such as *Landulph* (whose church tower you saw on your way up), *Landrake*, *Lezant*, *Lawhitton*,—all containing the Celtic word *Lan*, which means an enclosure or sacred place, answering to the New Zealand word *Tapu*. The river Lynher, which you may have noticed, and along the shore of which you will pass this evening, signifies long lake; and I hope that no one will be able to dispute the Cornish derivation of Coet-hayle (the wood on the river), which I think you will agree is an appropriate name for this place. You will also find many villages bearing the names of saints, such as St. Mellion, St. Dominick, and many others. This is a peculiar and prevalent feature in Cornwall, and so rare in Devonshire that the name of St. Budeaux, which you passed on the Devonshire side, is accounted for by the story that the Saint was coming into

Cornwall from that direction, with a party of other holy men, but unfortunately stuck in the mud in trying to cross the river, and therefore was fain to renounce the Land of Promise, and establish himself quietly on the eastern shore, in the village which has since borne his name.

I think, then, you may fairly feel that you are in the land of Cornwall; but although the name of *Hingston Down*, to which I have already referred, carries us back to the days when the Britons were fighting their desperate contest for independence; and that of *Danescombe*, the valley which runs up to the north of this hill, is evidence that the dragons of the Northmen, who were alike the allies and despoilers of the Cornish, have floated before you on this river; yet I fear there is little in this immediate neighbourhood of sufficient antiquity to merit the investigation of your Association. Still, perhaps, it is not inappropriate that your first entertainment, such as it is, should take place in a house which, though of no great antiquity, is preserved more nearly as it was in the days of our forefathers, a good many generations ago, than any other in the county; and in my mother's name as well as my own I bid you heartily welcome to it and to such as it affords; and I trust you will acquit me of any feeling of egotism if I attempt to sketch a few records of those who have lived within its walls, simply in the hope that they may add in some degree to your interest in the house. I shall confine myself, as far as possible, to such incidents as actually bear upon the building and its contents, and must be as brief as I can, as we must leave the Quay punctually at half-past two, or with a falling tide we shall risk incurring the fate of St. Budeaux, which would not only shut you out from the goal which you have proposed for yourselves this evening, but involve most inconvenient consequences.

The house and estate first came into the Edgcumbe family about the year 1353, by the marriage of Hilaria de Cotehele, daughter of William and sister and heir of Ralph de Cotehele, with William of Edgcumbe, second son of Richard of Edgcumbe, near Endsleigh, in the parish of Milton Abbot, on the other side of the Tamar, which place, with a small house containing some indications of antiquity, is still the property of the representative of the elder branch of the family. The date usually assigned to this marriage is con-

firmed by several entries in the minutes of the Duchy Council during the lifetime of the Black Prince, an early copy of which, in the original Norman French manuscript, was found a few years ago at Mount Edgcumbe, and deciphered by my old friend the late Mr. Deeble Boger.

The entries referred to show that on the death of Hilaria's father, her brother Ralph was ward of John de Eltham, the brother of Edward III, and Earl of Cornwall, who died in 1336. They also refer to the *sale* of her own wardship and marriage by the Black Prince for forty shillings (*solez*), "so that she be married without disparagement"; and subsequently to a contention between two claimants for her wardship, and a petition from herself, praying to have letters of inquiry as to her age, with directions from the Prince to have the matter carefully investigated. This was in 1353, and as it seems clear from the dates that she must then have been of full age, we may flatter ourselves that she bestowed her hand and fortune on William of Edgcumbe by her own free will, and not by any compulsion; and it is curious that neither the small house near Milton Abbot, inherited by the elder son, nor this larger one, which the second son obtained by his marriage, have ever changed hands from that day to this. Whether any portion of the original building still remains, I leave to Mr. Brock to determine. Of the son and grandson of Hilaria I know little beyond the fact that their names appear on some old deeds, nothing which connects them specially with this house.

In 1468 Richard Edgcumbe was the owner of Cotehele, and Member of Parliament for Tavistock; and I have a rather amusing document, dated 1470, apparently the rough copy of a complaint or information, by this Richard, against Robert Willoughby, who lived across the river, at Bere Ferrers, of injuries done to him at sundry times. This paper, which is remarkable for its wonderful spelling, and for the careful way in which every hostile act is estimated at its money value, contains no less than thirteen items or charges, each specifying some distinct outrage on the part of the said Willoughby and his followers, numbering on one occasion three score persons "in forme of warre arraied", "with jackes, salettes, bowys, arws, and byllys", who at various times and places "contrewayted the said Richard to have mordered him", and "with force of armes made a

gret affray and asawte" upon him and his servants, sometimes to the "gret jeperdy and despayre of his liff", always to his hurt and damage of so many pounds; and on another occasion attacked Cotehele House itself, and carried off a very miscellaneous collection of articles, to the hurt and damage of the said Richard of a great many pounds; and at other times took divers of his servants, and kept them for a week at a time in prison at Bere Ferrers, and beat and grievously wounded others, especially one William Frost, "to the hurt and damage of the said Richard of £20 and more", and so on. Which accounts enable us to realise that even when no actual war was going on, big bolts and thick walls and small barred windows were no superfluous precautions in a gentleman's country house in those days.

It is curious that fifteen years later this Willoughby (as Lord de Broke) and Richard Edgcumbe held high places together in the court of Henry VII; and three hundred years later the estates of Willoughby having passed into the possession of Lord Buckinghamshire, came to my grandfather on his marriage with Lady Sophia Hobart.

I do not know whether Richard Edgcumbe took any part in the struggles of the following year, which ended in the defeat of the Lancastrians at Tewkesbury, and the retirement of the young Earl of Richmond to Brittany; but it appears that twelve years afterwards, in 1468, he joined in the rising against Richard III, which was headed by the Duke of Buckingham, and of which one of the principal centres was Exeter.

The union of the insurrectionary forces was frustrated by the flooding of the Severn. The Duke of Buckingham was taken and beheaded; and of his followers, some were executed, and the rest dispersed. It was then that Edgcumbe was pursued into the woods at Cotehele by a party headed, according to tradition, by Sir Henry Trenowth of Bodrugan, and so narrowly escaped, according to the quaint description of Richard Carew, by throwing his cap, with a stone, from the rock where he lay concealed, into the river, so that "the rangers who were fast at his heels, on looking down after the noise, and seeing his cap floating thereon, supposed that he had desperately drowned himself, gave over their farther hunting, and left him at liberty to shift away, and ship over to Brittany. For a grateful remembrance of which delivery he afterwards builded in the place

of his lurking a chapel not yet utterly decayed." This little chapel you can see on your way back to the landing-place ; but it was evidently much ruined in Carew's time, and was probably patched up (I can hardly say restored) about a hundred years ago. The intention of the restorer was more praiseworthy than the judgment with which it was executed.

In 1485 the Earl of Richmond returned in person from Brittany to wrest the crown from the usurper, and was accompanied by Richard Edgcumbe, who, after the battle of Bosworth, was made knight-banneret and comptroller of the King's household. He also received various other offices and considerable grants of land ; among others, all the confiscated estates of his old enemy, Henry of Bodrugan, who, by a stroke of poetic justice, is said to have been hunted down by Edgcumbe and Trevanion at his own manor-house, near the Dodman Head, and to have barely escaped their clutches—much as Sir Richard had previously saved himself—by dropping from the cliff at the spot still called " Bodrugan's Leap".

From this time Sir Richard Edgcumbe, whose estates had before been very small, became a comparatively rich man ; and it would be natural to suppose that the enlargement and improvement of his house would date from this period, but he only survived his accession of fortune about three years, and they were busy ones. As an indication of this I may merely say, without entering into any details, that he was almost immediately sent to France to take the allegiance of officers and others at Calais and many other places. Next year (1487), as Sheriff of Devon, he is mentioned as bringing aid to the King at the battle of Stoke, against the adherents of Lambert Simnel. Early in 1488 he was sent on an embassy to King James III of Scotland, and succeeded in making a truce for seven years. Soon after, in the same year, he was despatched with five hundred men to Ireland, where Lambert Simnel's insurrection had originated, to carry the King's pardon, and administer the oath of allegiance to the nobility, gentry, and commonalty of the realm.

The diary of this expedition, from a MS. in the Cottonian collection, is very quaint and amusing, describing how from day to day the Irish nobles attempted to put him off with excuses for not taking the oath ; how at last they proposed taking it in the afternoon, " to which Sir Richard would not consent, but would have them sworn in the forenoon, and

that a chaplain of his own should consecrate the host as they should be sworn upon"; how, even then, he could not get them for ever so long to sign their certificates and recognisances, and had to use "fearful and terrible words"; and how, at last, it all ended in much good cheer; and Sir Richard, having visited Waterford, Dublin, Drogheda, and other places, had a detestable voyage back, poor man, which took him eight days, as the wind was always right contrarious, and it "blew right sore", and "was right troublesome weather".

I have called your attention to this expedition, because you will see several articles hanging up in the hall which I can only account for by supposing that they were brought back from Ireland by Sir Richard on this occasion, and in particular two brass trumpets, which I know to be Irish and very ancient.

We have no record of the time when any of the arms were first hung up in the hall. No doubt, some importations from foreign parts may have been brought home and added to the collection by naval friends or members of the family; but I can think of no occasion but that to which I have referred when it is likely that the two curious brass trumpets can have been brought; and it is interesting to think that, in all probability, they were hanging up as curiosities and antiquities in some part of the house before the hall in which they are now placed was even built.

In September of this same year, Francis II, Duke of Brittany, who had befriended Henry VII during his exile, died after his defeat by the French at St. Aubyn; and Lord Willoughby de Broke was placed in command of six thousand men to go to the assistance of his daughter the Duchess Anne.

Sir Richard was one of those summoned to inspect and report upon the quota of archers from Cornwall; and afterwards went to Brittany himself, whence he never returned. He died at Morlaix in September 1489.

Before sailing from Penryn, he made his will, at the beginning of which he entrusts his soul to the care of St. Thomas à Becket, whose effigy appears on his monumental brass—a copy of which is hung up in the chapel here, the original at Morlaix having been destroyed when the church in which it was placed was desecrated during the French revolution.

Of Sir Richard's son, Piers, who, like his father, was a trusted supporter of Henry VII, in 1485, and was made one of the Knights of the Bath at the creation of Prince Arthur, I must say a few words, because he is the last of the family who lived altogether at this place. By his first marriage, with Jane Durnford, some time within the last decade of the century, he acquired the estates of the Stonehouse family on both sides of the river-mouth. At East Stonehouse, which is still the legal name of the town, there was a manor-house at which he sometimes lived ; while near the site of West Stonehouse, a village which was destroyed by the French in the fourteenth century, and of which every vestige, as well as its name, is lost, his son built Mount Edgcumbe House in the first year of Queen Mary.

I may mention, as bearing on the dates of the buildings here, that the arms of Sir Piers's first wife only appear in the windows of the hall, while those of his second wife were introduced into the east window of the chapel ; but I will weary you with no more details of his biography, except that, having distinguished himself in the following reign at the sieges of Therouennes and Tournay and the "Battle of the Spurs" at Guinegate, he was made knight-banneret by Henry VIII. I have had a facsimile of his standard hung up in the hall, which shows (oddly enough) a crest that was never subsequently used, and appears nowhere else except on the herald's patent in my possession, dated 1513.

All the private history of the next two generations is connected rather with Mount Edgcumbe than with Cotehele.

Early in the seventeenth century, the Sir Richard of that day (for they were all called alternately Richard and Piers) married the daughter of a Protestant merchant of Brabant, who had sought refuge in England from the persecutions of Philip II, who seems to have lent large sums to James I, and to have been knighted by him, and who, by a curious coincidence, was called Sir Thomas Coteele—although spelt differently from the old family name. From various letters, it would seem that this gentleman lived here a good deal. His picture is on the staircase ; and probably much of the furniture and some of the alterations of the house are of this date. Some of the tapestry is Flemish ; but, whether brought by him, or transferred to this place from Mount Edgcumbe when it went out of fashion, I cannot say.

One of Sir Richard's sisters, Mary, afterwards Lady Denny, was maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth ; and some of the old dresses, saddle housings, etc., which remain here, were perhaps worn by her in the glittering train of the great Gloriana.

I know of no matter of interest connected with this house during the civil war. A bedroom is called King Charles's, and it has been supposed that he slept here ; but, although the tide of war swept across the Tamar at New Bridge, within a few miles, and no doubt the head-pieces in the hall were worn in the service of the King, I have no proof whatever of his having been within its walls. Colonel Piers Edgcumbe (the then head of the family) was engaged with his regiment, near his other residence, in the contest that was raging round the beleaguered town of Plymouth. The war dealt hardly with him. I have various bills for silver-plate, of an earlier date, very few articles in which I can identify, although there are a few old forks and an ancient salt-cellar which seem to have been his (and may merit your attention in passing) ; but all the rest must have gone either in the service of the King or in payment of his fines as a delinquent. As late as 1651, he was still a prisoner in St. Mawes Castle ; and, although at the restoration his services appear to have been recognised by his son being made a Knight of the Bath, he himself seems to have spent the rest of his days quietly here, and is buried at Calstock.

From that time, with few exceptions, this house has been little occupied. For many years the eastern side of it was used for farm buildings ; and, with the exception of the arms and the pictures—the former of which were all periodically painted brown, and the latter washed by an old housekeeper with gin and water “every spring and fall”—no hand but that of time has interfered either with the house or its contents, until, about twelve years ago, I made a residence for my mother in that part of it which had been only used for farm purposes, or left to the mice and bats. I need not say that I did my best to avoid any unnecessary alteration of the old building, and that I shall be happy to accept any hints for the preservation or restoration of its features of interest which may be kindly offered to me by any of the experienced antiquarians who have thought it worth while to honour it with a visit to-day.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF COTEHELE HOUSE.

BY E. P. L. BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

It is my pleasing duty to supplement the interesting record of the family history which Lord Mount Edgcumbe has unfolded to us, to show how well the building before us accords with it. This is the more interesting since, except from the analogy of the history, there is no actual record defining the dates of the erection, and we are left entirely to the building itself for the best evidence.

The house is a capital small specimen of the mansions built upon a type still tolerably frequent in England, and of which Eltham Palace, Haddon Hall, and others, are examples on a large scale. The plans of these are transitional between the fortified castles of Edwardian days (themselves more domestic in character than their predecessors) and the purely domestic halls of only a few years later in date; the last remaining features of castellated arrangement being discarded, in many cases, in the reign of Henry VIII, while, as we well know, they lingered in some districts to a much later period. Their plans consisted of an outer court containing the stables, and giving access to the inner court through a defended entrance; and there were some of the best apartments in the rear, again, of the inner court. The whole was almost always moated. Here, although there are many evidences to show that security was studied, yet the moat appears to have been altogether absent. I searched carefully for traces of it, and could detect none; while, on the contrary, the form of the site is ill adapted for one. It is probable, therefore, that if there were defences to the outer court, they were only stockades; while the private gardens had but boundary-walls, as at present, for the defence on this side. It will be noticed that a long range of stabling and other buildings exists in their usual place, but the walls of the outer court do not effect a junction with the house.

The south front is strong, and it gives access, beneath the principal entrance, to the inner court. It has a boldly

wrought archway formed of massive granite, and is guarded by a strong oaken door with a wicket, and well studded with iron nails. The locking-bar within is of massive description, and works in the usual channel left for it in the thickness of the wall. The roof is arched with massive granite ribs, 1 foot 6 inches broad. It is here that tradition points to some dark moss-stains in the pebble pavement, and we are told that these are the indelible traces of the blood of one of Bodrigan's guards, who, when in pursuit of the fugitive Sir Richard Edgcumbe, had the temerity to sleep here, not knowing that the hiding-place of the latter was close;—and was killed by Sir Richard, who escaped over his body.

The picturesque entrance-tower above the gateway, and the upper range of small windows, are built of tolerably well squared granite. There are no windows on the ground-floor, for security. There is a curious little loop below the eastern gable, which ventilates—it does not light—a small dark chamber on the ground-floor, and which has a *fire-place* and also a chimney, and access from the adjacent room. This appears very like a prison-chamber.

This front affords evidence of the existence of a much more ancient house at Cothele ; and, from the history which we have listened to, we can readily suppose that there must have existed at Cothele for generations a house worthy of the domain ; and the walls before us are evidently those of an earlier building than the late perpendicular work of Richard Edgcumbe, and the still later work of Piers. The older portion is built of rough rubble of dark colour, the more recent work of granite, and we trace at the junction the irregular appearance, and also where the later windows have been inserted. This earlier work is confined to the south block, with part of the western return ; and here we observe, by the old line of a gable, that the southern block was formerly wider. The old red stone has, however, been re-used as facing in much of Sir Richard's work, and notably to the west fronts of the west and north wings.

Through the principal entrance, we gain access to the inner court ; and the building, in all its picturesque beauty, is before us. To the left, forming the west side, is a range of chambers, with another granite doorway, opening into a lateral court called the "Retainers' Court", beside which is

the chapel, readily recognised by its Gothic window and gable. On the right, the east side of the quadrangle is formed by a range of apartments and offices of the same date. Before us, the whole of the south side of the common hall and the large windows of the daïs occupy the remaining side of the quadrangle. These buildings, although having almost exactly the same character as the others, are of later date; for we notice that the junction at the north-west corner, where it abuts on the east wall of the chapel, has been built *after* the latter; this later date, for the hall, etc., I would limit to a few years only. The workmanship of the windows and the doors and the other architectural features demand our notice; and it is probable that they were designed by men conversant with the forms then usual elsewhere, and who adopted these to allow of their execution in the hard granite of the country. Thus, we observe, as regards the returned ends of the labels, which in other parts of England at this time would have enclosed delicate carving, here there are plain shields only, simply cut in the solid. On the doorways, we notice only rough indications, instead of the usual spandrel carvings. These are, however, sufficient to assure us that the workmen were thoroughly conversant with the style then current in the county. The mouldings, too, are all skilfully designed to render them capable of being worked in the granite. These remarks apply not only to what I consider were the portions erected by Sir Richard, but to the later works also, and which I believe were executed by the same workmen.

Passing into the "Retainers' Court", we notice that the offices partly enclose two sides, while the west front of the chapel has part of another. The charming little bell-cot for two bells deserves admiration. There is a peculiar, broad slit opening in the chapel wall, just high enough to admit of a view of the interior. It has bars and a shutter on the inside; and I agree with other describers of this house, that this has never been glazed. The object has evidently been to afford a view of the interior to the retainers and others not permitted or unable to enter the building.

In the interior, the chapel has an arched and panelled ceiling similar to a great number of the churches in Cornwall and Devon, and with a carved wall plate and carved bosses at the intersection of the ribs. These are of value to determine

the date of the building, since we may notice the Tudor rose in many places.

These assist my evidences for my supposition that the chapel is the work of Sir Richard Edgcumbe, and after the accession of Henry VII ; or, in other words, between 1485, the year of the granting of the estates of Bodrigan to him, and the year 1489, the date of his death at Morlaix. If the chapel be thus assigned to this date, we arrive also at the period of erection of the upper part of the south block and its entrance tower, the eastern, and most of the western, for these are all of the same workmanship.

The fittings of the chapel are curious. There is a wooden screen, a communion-table, with its two candlesticks, and a crucifix, and the seats within the screen. These are worthy of observation, since they are of post reformation date.

The altar cloth is earlier, as is proved by its bearing the arms of Sir Piers Edgcumbe, who died in 1539, and those of his first wife, Joan Durnford. It has the twelve apostles and our Lord, and was probably once larger, since there are portions of its *appliqué* work elsewhere in the house.

The stained glass is interesting, but is almost demolished, but enough remains to show that it once contained the arms of Sir Piers, his first wife, and those also of his second, Catharine St. John (Singen), who died in 1553. The stained glass in the south window is very good, and it represents St. Catharine and St. Anne. Note the works of an old clock now beneath the west wall, the little slit opening commanding a view of the chapel from the lady's chamber, and another from the priests' room. The stairs up to this chamber are formed of massive half trunks of oak, and there are other similar staircases elsewhere in the house. The two doors north and south give access up to the priests' room and into the old withdrawing-room.

Beyond the retainers' court, which we leave by a broad plain arch (and there was a similar arch, but smaller, in its south wall), there is a northern wing west of the chapel and the hall. This contains the old withdrawing-room, now the dining-room, and other apartments ; and above it a bedroom of large proportions, evidently the lady's chamber, since it contains the usual small opening commanding a view of the interior of the hall. There is the other one into the chapel, which we have noticed also in this room. This

room is now subdivided, and its fine open roof is hidden by a later ceiling. These buildings are of the same date as the hall. Still to the north, the wing ends in a very beautiful tower, now overgrown with ivy, and presenting a most picturesque appearance. Its battlements are very similar to those of the entrance, and they have a bold cabled moulding beneath them, forming a sort of cornice. This building is probably the latest addition made to Cothele visible on the exterior, except the eastern face of the east block, which has been remodelled by our President only a few years ago in precisely the same style as the ancient portions. The floors of this tower were altered early in the seventeenth century, when the present staircase was added and numerous alterations effected, which are sufficiently attested by the style of their Italian cornices.

Retracing our steps to the main court, we enter the common hall. This is a spacious apartment, about forty-four feet by twenty-three feet, and having a capital open timber roof, which is almost precisely similar to that over the western addition already referred to. The dais formerly stood at the west end, and was lighted by the large windows, and there remain in these some fragments of good glass. Opposite is the door to the principal stairs and the withdrawing-room. From its position, there is no difficulty in fixing the original designation of this room, but it is now the dining-room, and the drawing-room is on the first floor of the later tower.

The door at the east end of the hall leads into the kitchen, buttery, etc., and to the small kitchen court; and in almost every case this doorway was beneath the minstrels' gallery, which would form a common lobby for it and for the principal entrance. Although the arrangements are here so unusually perfect, and so few changes have been made, yet there is no trace remaining of the minstrels' gallery. Indeed, so completely is this the case, that it is highly probable that there never was one.

The stained glass demands especial notice; and it will be observed that it is in each window on each side, and contains a good record of the family marriages from Sir Richard Edgcumbe to the marriage of his son Sir Piers to his first wife Anne Durnford, and there are arms of the collateral members of the family. This is important, since it shows

that the hall was erected and the windows inserted in the lifetime of Sir Piers ; and, from her arms not appearing in any of these windows, it must have been before his marriage with his second wife, Margaret Singen, whose arms we have noticed in the chapel, where they were probably placed since all the space was already occupied here. This gives us as the period for the erection of the hall and the contiguous buildings between the years 1489 and 1539, and most probably before his second marriage. It has been supposed, however, that the arms in the second compartment in the first window from the east (south side) contains the arms of a Carew, who married Elizabeth Edgcumbe about 1570. The arms, however, are those of Tremayne and Carew ; and it will be noticed that Carew is on the sinister side, thus showing that the Carew here recorded was a lady. I have gone carefully through these early coats with our President, not only here, but with the records at Mount Edgcumbe, and there is no evidence of any later coat than the time of Sir Piers. In addition to what has been said with respect to the dates of the erection, nothing appears more probable than that Sir Richard, upon coming suddenly into large possessions, should devote a portion of the large income to the then fashionable work of remodelling the ancient ancestral house. The work left unfinished through his early death was then completed by his son Sir Piers.¹ After the erection of the more extensive mansion at Mount Edgcumbe by Sir Richard (son of Sir Piers) in 1553, the family resided there, and there was no occasion for further works at Cothele.

It is known, however, that Sir Robert Cothele, whose daughter married another Sir Richard Edgcumbe, lived at

¹ It is a matter of considerable difficulty to determine the dates of the ancient buildings of Cornwall by the mere evidence of their architectural style or by the general appearance of the workmanship. The latter almost always appears older than it really is, and the later Gothic styles lingered longer in Cornwall than elsewhere. Thus we find at Tresinger House, a building quite Elizabethan in its appearance, the date 1608 over a four-centred arch, 1627 over another, and 1660 over a third. There is little, if any, difference in the design or workmanship of either of these. The fine house, Elizabethan or Jacobean in style, belonging to Lord Roberts at Lanhydrock, is dated 1636, 1642, and 1651. The east end of the modern church of Penzance is built above an old retaining wall which contains a highly pointed Gothic arch. Over this is the date of its erection, and it is 1672. The original work at Mount Edgcumbe, erected in 1553, is almost identical in style with the earlier portions of this at Cothele. There is a liberal use of dates carved on these later works, and it is characteristic of them, and well worthy of modern imitation.

Cothele upon taking up his residence in England, about 1520; and we may safely assign to about this date the internal alterations of the rooms, the staircase, etc.

I must not venture to describe the rich collection of ancient furniture, tapestry, arms, etc., contained in this house, and which renders it a museum of surpassing interest. Lord Mount Edgcumbe has most kindly written a description of the principal objects in each room, and this is laid in a convenient place in each. We can thus readily, in passing through the suite of rooms, have our attention called to the most beautiful objects. I commend particularly for notice the ancient Irish horns, the cabinets, the bedsteads and their hangings, and the very beautiful tapestry throughout.

On our return, we shall notice the remains of the dove-cote on our way to the little votive chapel which still stands on the cliff where Sir Richard Edgcumbe made his extraordinary escape.

NOTES UPON SOME FIGURES IN THE WESTERN TOWERS OF WELLS CATHEDRAL.

BY JAMES T. IRVINE, ESQ.

THE front and western towers of Wells Cathedral are ornamented with niches, still retaining figures which (with the exception of eleven) are somewhat larger than life-size, to the number of one hundred and fifty-one. Those above the great marble cornice (twenty-four in number) are wholly of Perpendicular date. The highest had been a most exquisite figure of our Blessed Saviour seated in Majesty, of which, unfortunately, but the lower half now remains. Beneath this, two other rows contain respectively the apostles (grouped in threes) and eleven angels (these last less than life-size). Traces of colour remain on the robe of the figure of our Blessed Lord, and on those of the angels, but none on those of the apostles. There is also at this level, on the west face of the north-west tower, a kneeling figure of Bishop Bubbwith, whose executors (somewhat later than 1426), from funds bequeathed by him for that purpose, partly cased and partly erected the upper portion of this tower; and probably had all these fifteenth century figures executed.

Omitting the many small groups of Scripture subjects, etc.,¹ there still remain preserved below the marble cornice one hundred and twenty-seven figures, representing kings, queens, bishops, nobles, ladies, armed men, priests, civilians, and the remarkably limited number of two saints, with possibly a doubtful third. The saints are—on the west front, a figure of St. Decuman (erroneously termed in the late Professor Cockerill's description St. Denis); and, on the eastern face of the north tower, St. Nicholas, commonly termed the "Pancake man", from a fancied idea that the waves in which his feet and legs are immersed as he stands holding the children in his hands are pancakes. Here, also, is found the doubtful saint, a lady who seems to hold the tip of her tongue in her hand.

¹ To Mr. B. Ferrey, the architect for the late restoration, we owe the discovery, on the resurrection tier, of figures of the Arabic numerals found on all the groups on the north side of the centre line of front, and of the Roman numerals on all those south of the same line. This he discovered in making his survey for the original report on the front.

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

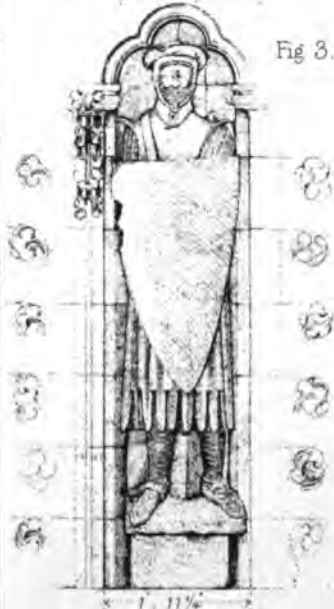
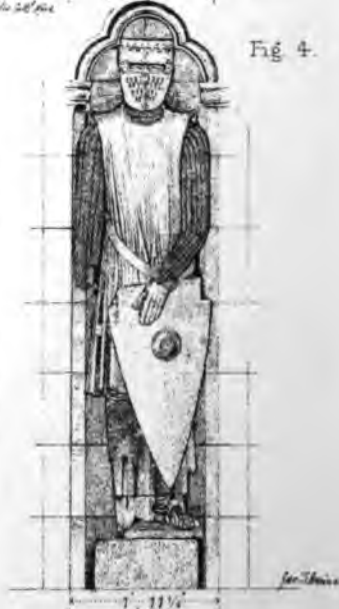


Fig. 4.



4 Figures of Armed Knights N.E. angle of North West Tower
Wells Cathedral.

The arrangement and details of some of these groups may throw light on the question of where, and at what date, this wonderful collection (both in number and artistic value) of mediæval sculpture was added to the architectural erection which had been so long previously constructed.

The armed knights are exceedingly interesting. The drawings of some of them, which accompany these notes, were taken just before the final removal of the scaffolding at the close of the late repairs in January 1874.¹ These four figures are placed in the adjoining faces of the two buttresses at the north-east angle of the north tower.

The first, northwards (fig. 1), represents a knight without any ring-mail whatever, but wearing a loose coat of thick hide-leather, falling considerably below the knees, and the head covered by a piece of leather, the points, as ear-laps, coming down and terminating in short tags which tie under the chin. Around the top of the head is placed a thick roll flattened in its front section (no doubt formed also of leather) to resist the down-stroke of a sword. He has shoes and spurs, and bears on his left arm a small thick round wooden shield, with a flat boss on it. Inside of this, is seen the long hilt of his broad sword, which hangs in its sheath at his side. His right hand, uplifted, held, I have no doubt, an axe, but decay of the stone has removed all save the stump of the uplifted arm which (from a cramp-hole left) had been broken, probably in elevating the figure into its place. The axe had, perhaps, been a wooden handle with an actual iron blade; as in a case in front, at the feet of a knight, there remains the small hole to insert the end of the wooden lance-shaft the figure had held.

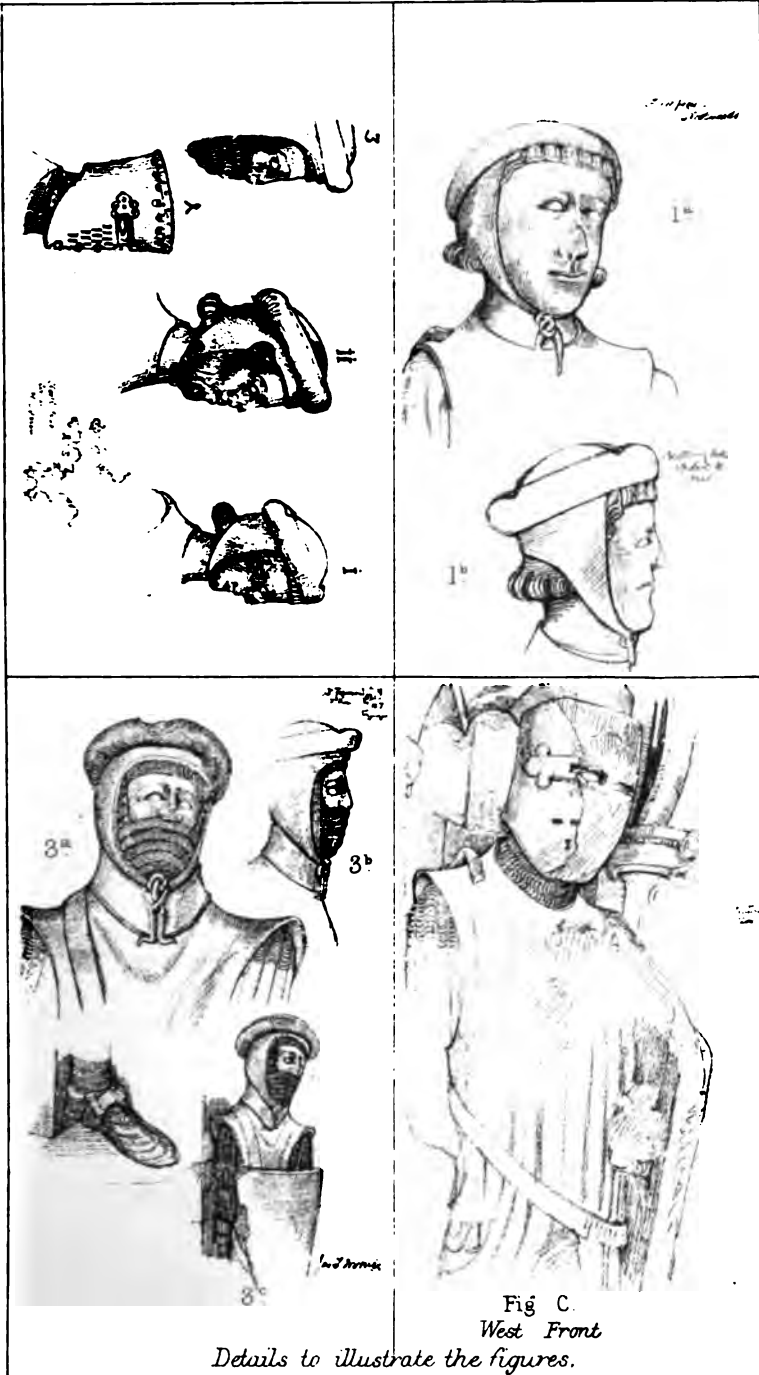
The second knight (fig. 2), in costume, is very similar, but the cover of the head now becomes truly a cap, extended downwards so as to cover more of the forehead, above which the thick leather roll becomes more thickened in its front section, though a certain amount of flatness still remains. Instead of the round shield, now appears on the left arm a long pointed heater-shaped one, covering from the breast quite down to some way below the knee. The hide-leather coat is somewhat shortened, passing only just below that joint. Precisely similar spurs appear (which are, indeed, common to all the armed figures on the front). In this

¹ They were drawn to one inch-scale to the foot.

figure, the right hand, much better preserved, is raised as high as the breast, and still retains part of the hollow grasp in which some weapon was held elevated (and certainly of no great length); but whether in this case an axe or no cannot be decidedly fixed. A very careful search, many times repeated, and in different lights, failed to discover on any of the shields the slightest trace of armorial bearings. I do not consider it, however, as conclusive in proving that such painted charges never existed.

The third figure (fig. 3), proceeding to the east buttress, presents a considerable advance in the use of defensive armour. He has both the hide coat and cap of the same material (roll included) as the two former had; but, inside this old leather cap, now appears another formed of ring-mail, which here makes its first appearance, distinctly showing itself at the sides of the face, and completely covers the chin and mouth quite up to the nose; the laps of the hide cap, passing down over its outside, tie by the tags under the chin, as in the former cases. The leathern roll which surrounds the head is no longer flattened in section, but retains its full roundness in front. The leather coat has added to it a thick leather collar, formed by doubling the material over to serve as an additional protection to the throat, while the bottom edge of it is cut into a deep fringe of feather-blades. Beneath the coat, the ring-mail is seen to cover the whole body, forming a sort of trousers extending into stockings, which completely envelopes not only the legs, but even the soles of the feet, over which the spurs are, as in the other cases, buckled by straps passing over and under the sole of the foot. The large heater-shaped shield is carried in front of the person by a strap passing over the right shoulder. On the left side, again, appears the broad sword in its sheath. In this figure, while all the old leather defences are preserved, underneath them the body is thus seen to be completely cased from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot in a continuous swarra of ring-mail.

In the fourth figure (fig. 4) we are presented with a knight armed as before with the skin coat, and having the ring-mail underneath, as in the last case. But the addition of the more effective defence inside has now so reduced the value of the outer skin coat, that it evidently is no longer formed of the same solid substance, but becomes so thin that with



J Jobbins. Photo. Litho.



Fig B

(West



Fig A.

Front)



Fig 1

East Face of N.W. Tower

Sketch illustrative of the Armed Figures in West front of Wells Cathedral

J Jobbins Photo, Litho

comparative ease it folds into fine thin plaits when compressed by the sword-strap. The shield, reduced in size, hangs low down ; the bare hand placed on it seems to point out that the mailed gloves were probably yet made separate from the sleeve, and not, as they appear on other figures, a portion of it. A small bit of the workmanship of the ring-mail at the knee, at that point where it disappears under the coat, looks as if it may have been the custom to lace the mailed stocking here to the trousers' leg. The high leather collar to the coat has disappeared, perhaps from being found useless in this thin material ; but as regards the head defence, instead of the old hide cap, now appears a complete helmet of wrought iron. (See Plate 2.) The top is flat ; the edges of the plate forming it being turned down over the inverted cone of the helmet and riveted. This riveting forming an ornamental fringe round the top. Across the front extends a horizontal opening exposing the eyes, below which twenty-four small openings admit air to the mouth and nose ; the edges of the sight-opening being strengthened by a strip also ornamentally riveted along them, and a similarly ornamented metal strip strengthens the centre line down the front. On the heater-shaped shield in this case is a large boss, flat topped, and slightly ornamented by rings round it. This, I think, may be intended as a play on the name of the person proposed to be represented, Simon Bozon (Bosson ?), the donor of property at an early period to the Chapter ;¹ this heater-shield being the only one with such an ornament anywhere in the front. Its diminished size seems to point to the fact that an attempt was now made to ease the extra weight borne on the head by reducing that on the arm.

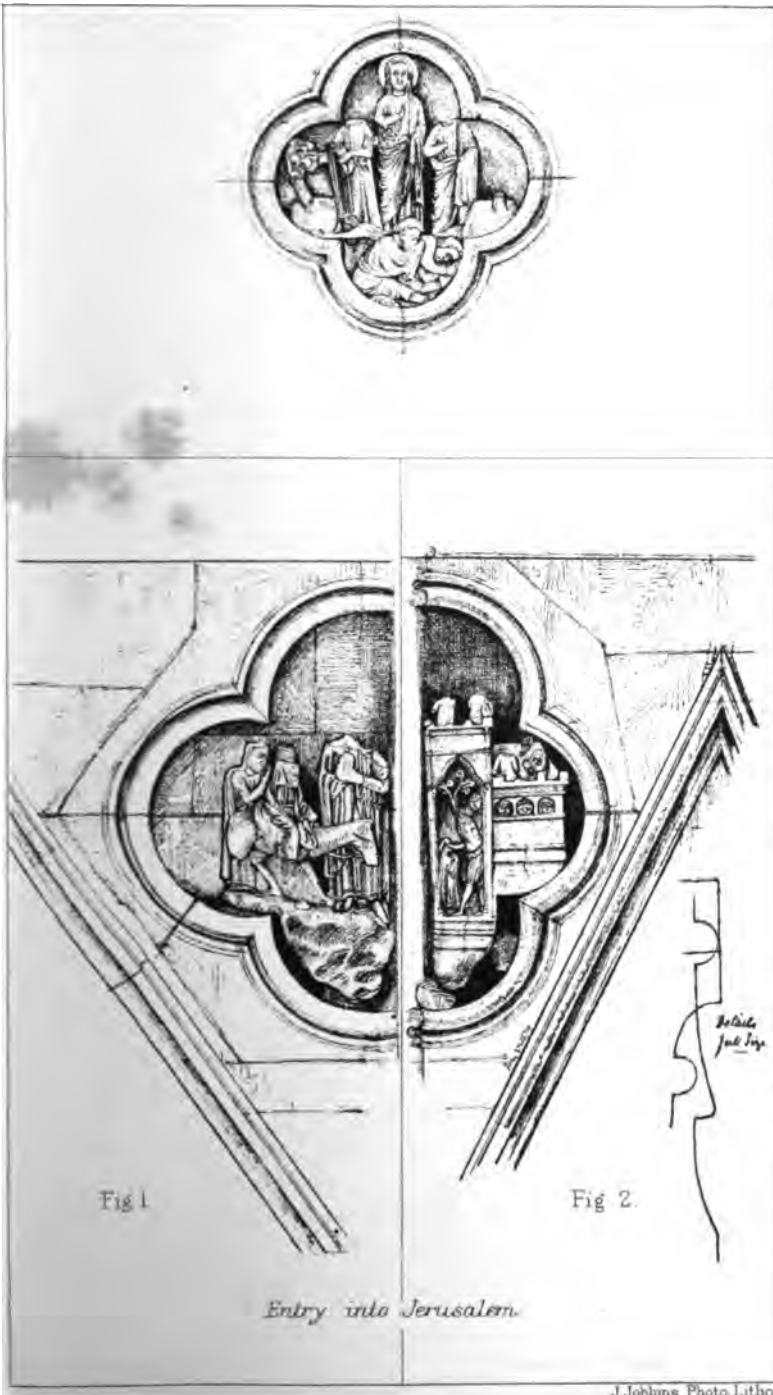
It appears to me that a considerable interest belongs to these particular figures, from the probability that the artist sculptor, wishing to represent men who, in Saxon or early Norman times, gave property to the Chapter and See, at-

¹ Simon Bozon gave Carhampton to the Abbot and Convent of Bath, on condition they should pay £5 to a prebend of Wells. His charter is witnessed by Savarie, Archdeacon of Northampton ; Valmatio or Dalmatio, Senescallo Lungdun ; and is confirmed by Bishop Reginald Fitz Joceline. The figures of St. Decuman and St. Nicholas probably related to the dedication saints of churches on property given by the Fitz Urse and De Gurney families. The one engaged in the murder of Thomas à Becket ; and the other, of King Edward II ; it being undesirable, therefore, to raise figures of the donors themselves.

tempted to carve them in some measure in the style of armour worn at the periods they lived, so far as his knowledge enabled him to do so. Whether correctly or not, may, of course, be a question. But, that it was done with considerable thought and care, is evident from one small item: the treatment of the *section* of the roll defence round the head. In the case of the first, who used only a very *small* and *thick* circular shield, the roll is flattened¹ to enable the arm (when raising the shield to defend the face) to pass up as closely as possible against it without obstruction. In No. 2, the section of roll, though still flattened, projects farther, as the heater-shaped shield gave so much more protection and safety (see 11, Plate 2) and in No. 3 it becomes entirely round (see 3, 3A, 3B, Plate 2); the inner casing of chain-mail rendering the wearer much freer from danger, and making it less necessary to elevate the shield so high, which, indeed, the weight of iron enveloping the arm must have besides rendered undesirable. The careful attention of the sculptor to that freedom in folding which the skin-coat permitted as its material became gradually thinner, is worth notice. Although slight differences appear in other figures (see other sketches, figs. A, B, C), yet as the flat topped helmet, or a covering of ring-mail to the head, is always found even in the small groups (such, for instance, as the Roman soldiers at the base of the group of the triumphant resurrection of Our Lord (see sketch, fig. *), there is little else to be added.

From these figures, I hope some of our members versed in military costume may give an idea as to the extreme dates between which armour as here represented was worn, and thus help us to fix the date of their execution.

¹ See I, Plate 2, and 1A, 1B.



COUNTY AND PAROCHIAL HISTORIES AND BOOKS RELATING TO CORNWALL.

BY H. SEWELL STOKES, ESQ.

IN a graphic but occasionally somewhat pungent article on Cornwall, its scenery, antiquities, and inhabitants, which appeared in the *Quarterly Review* for October 1857, and which was afterwards published by the author (the late Mr. Herman Merivale) in his *Historical Studies*, he mentions the several county and parochial histories of Cornwall which then existed, and pronounces them all unsatisfactory. He adds, "A history of Cornwall, such as we can conceive, would be a more attractive work than almost any other county could furnish, combining the account of very curious physical phenomena and highly striking scenery with that of a most important branch of our national industry; the records of a distinct people and language, of mysterious antiquity, with those of many stirring events of modern times, and family annals unusually rich in variety of character and incident."

Since Mr. Merivale wrote, Sir John Maclean has nearly completed the parochial and family history of the Deanery of Trigg Minor with especial care and accuracy; and Mr. Lake of Truro has published a popular history of the county compiled from the previous histories, with extracts from those which have hitherto been regarded as authorities, and supplying much additional information. These works prove the unabated interest of Cornishmen in their county, and that there is no lack of diligence and industry in authors, or of enterprise in publishers. Though such a comprehensive history of the county as Mr. Merivale looked for may be still a desideratum, we are grateful for what we possess; and some are disposed to think that the historians of Cornwall, whether in former times or in these days, will not suffer by comparison with those of other counties.

And first let us glance at the *Survey of Cornwall* by Richard Carew of Antony, a scholar and a gentleman, and, as has been truly said, "furnished with every grace to adorn a landed esquire of the best days of the Maiden Queen."

His mother was daughter of Sir Richard Edgcumbe. He disputed, in his college days, with Sir Philip Sydney at Christchurch, and he dedicates his faithful and really delightful *Survey of Cornwall* to his cousin Sir Walter Raleigh, who was then Lord Warden of the Stannaries. It is apposite to this occasion to mention that Carew was a member of the College of Antiquaries, which met in the later days of Elizabeth at the house of Sir Robert Cotton, but which was suppressed by her successor. Mr. Merivale admits that Carew's *Survey* "is very pleasant reading, in sound, vernacular English, with many passages of spirited and picturesque description". I gratefully testify that, during more than forty years I have frequently referred to Carew's pages, and whether for information or pleasure have never been disappointed. There are two editions of Carew: one published long ago, and another more recently, with valuable appendices, known as Lord De Dunstanville's edition, in the preparation of which my friend the late Dr. Taunton of Truro (the son-in-law of the historian Whitaker, rector of Ruan Lanyhorne) rendered material aid.

I refer you next to the topographical and historical description of Cornwall by John Norden, being a part of the *Speculum Britanniaë*. It contains maps of the hundreds, and views of the church of St. Germans and other places, and a list of names and seats of landowners. The book is dedicated to James I as King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and as "sole Emperour of all the British Isles, and Lord of all the Ocean adjacent". In the dedication he mentions Carew's *Survey*, from which it is evident that he borrowed often, paraphrasing without improving many passages, as in the quaint description of Restormel. Carew says of that fine ruin, after particularising some of the spoliation, "only there remaineth an utter defacement, to complain upon this unregarded distress". Norden more quaintly, and having evidently a strong inclination for creature comforts, refers to the indications of ancient hospitality as proved by the reliques of an oven 4 yards and 2 feet in diameter; and with the tone of one who had not received as much Cornish hospitality as he had expected, he adds: "In those days men builded for use, and not as men now do their great and glorious houses, for ostentation,—great halls and little meat, large chimneys and little smoak. This

ruined oven layeth open her entrayles that men may yet see the bounty of pristine ages". Then he grows poetic, and says "the whole Castle beginneth to mourn, and to wring out hard stones for tears".

It is pleasant on p. 90 of Norden, to read his tribute to Carew, where he briefly describes East Antony as the house of a worthy gentlemen called Mr. Richard Carew, whose learning and diligence have brought forth very memorable things of his native county in history; and he observes, with his culinary gusto, "Below his house, in a creek of the sea, he hath contrived a pond of salte water, and that stored with much and great variety of good sea-fish". Norden was a native of Wilts, and it is said that he was a commoner at Hart's Hall, and took his degree of Master in 1573. His account of Cornwall, though but a summary, is one without which no Cornish library can be complete.

Next, but much more important, though abounding in personal scandal and irrelevant matter, is the *Parochial History* by Mr. William Hals of St. Wenn, who was diligently engaged on his work from 1685 to 1736. The greater part of the MS. is still in existence. It was for many years in my charge, having been given to me by the executrix of Dr. Taunton of Truro, who was a daughter of the historian Whitaker. Dr. Taunton received it from Mr. George Brown, a proctor of Bodmin, in its present defective state; and it is supposed that the missing portions were lost in the offices of the printer at Exeter, who published the Parts down to the letter L. This MS. was transferred by me to Sir John Maclean, to assist him in his parochial history of Trigg Manor, and it is now in the safe keeping of the authorities of the British Museum.

Knowing the value of the labours of Mr. Hals, I endeavoured to trace the missing parishes, and had hoped to find them in the copy on vellum possessed by Mr. Lysons, which was sold to the Earl of Aylsford for £120; but I ascertained that the vellum copy contained only the same parishes as those in the MS. Afterwards, however, I discovered that the historian and antiquarian, Dr. Borlase, had copies from Hals of several of the missing parishes; and I regret that I did not then endeavour with these copies to complete the MS. Possibly it may not be even now too late to accomplish this; and at all events this might be done in a new

edition of Mr. Davies Gilbert's *Parochial History*, to which I shall presently refer. In that *History* Mr. D. Gilbert has printed all that he deemed essential in the MS. of Hals, which was lent to him for the purpose. Lysons states that the publication of the MS. of Hals was suspended by the printer at Exeter for want of purchasers, occasioned by the scurrilous anecdotes which it contained, and the reflections thrown on some of the principal families.

Mr. Merivale, in the article before referred to, says, "Certain it is that the publication of these remains of Master Hals, and the fear of more behind, occasioned a good deal of excitement through the county. And no wonder; for although we are told the printer exercised very careful supervision, enough has found its way into the printed numbers to justify the terror and wrath which they aroused in sundry manor-houses and county towns,—hints of mysterious and undetected crimes; old domestic jars raked up, and family foibles exposed; *the weak points of valued pedigrees* carefully displayed; stories of secret burials and uncanonical marriages, and discreditable ghosts haunting houses of repute: revelations, in short, which threatened the comfort or wounded the pride of many a powerful kindred, and particularly of all whose forefathers had in any way got into collision with the family of Hals in social or pecuniary matters." Doubtless, as the reviewer remarks, the author seems to have been a splenetic and spiteful personage.

I can only state that, having read most of the MS., I did not find in it the awful hints and revelations which it was alleged to contain, though I did discover that "Master Hals" was an inveterate gossip, and fond of scurrilous anecdotes, which lost none of their salt in his telling. He was also very discursive, delighted to repeat legendary stories of saints and others, and introduced lengthy disquisitions quite unconnected with Cornish history. But with all these faults he compiled a valuable, and for the most part trustworthy, parochial account of Cornwall, and supplied Mr. Davies Gilbert with the principal materials for his work. It is, therefore, fortunate for the county, as the MS. may no longer be referred to here, that Mr. Davies Gilbert has given such copious extracts from it.

The next Cornish topographer who claims attention is Mr. Tonkin of Trevaunance, near St. Agnes, the contempo-

rary of Hals, with whom he had quarrelled, and had ceased to hold intercourse, for reasons, as he says, not necessary to mention; and he takes care to assure us that in his own book he has not relied on old women's tales, and that he has not made use of a line out of Hals, keeping in mind the saying of honest Andrew, "Pray eat your pudding, friend, and hold your tongue." The statement that Tonkin did not copy from Hals is flatly contradicted by Mr. Davies Gilbert, who says that as Tonkin copied largely from Hals, many of the lost parishes were thus partially supplied. Tonkin's MS. came into the hands of the late Lord De Dunstanville, by whose permission Mr. Davies Gilbert printed it. A copy of this MS., with Whitaker's notes, came into my possession with the MS. of Hals, and I delivered it, with that MS., to Sir John Maclean. I mention these circumstances for the information of those who may desire to inspect the documents.

Next in sequence is the part relating to Cornwall of the *Magna Britannia* compiled by the Rev. Daniel Lysons and by Mr. Samuel Lysons, who was for some time Keeper of the Public Records,—a work which is still regarded by some as "*the history of Cornwall*". If not free from errors it has most of the essentials of a county history, and it is well written, and is illustrated by numerous plates. On the frequent occasions when I have turned to this volume I have been impressed by its general accuracy and the practical arrangement of its various subjects. The *errata* were corrected by the author in an Appendix. Mr. Preston I. Wallis of Bodmin has a copy of the book with this Appendix, carefully annotated by the late Vicar of Bodmin, the Rev. John Wallis, who was one of the best informed men of his time in the county, parochial, and family history of Cornwall. I shall presently have occasion to refer to the Rev. J. Wallis' own contributions to that history.

I now come to works which have borne the test of time and criticism, and which will continue to be standard authorities notwithstanding the modern lights which sometimes glimmer with a very doubtful ray, namely, *The Antiquities and Natural History of Cornwall* by the Rev. Dr. Borlase, Rector of Ludgvan, published in 1754 and 1758. Dr. Borlase has been truly described as a member of a good Celtic family, *de la vieille roche*. These volumes are now

scarce; but possibly we may expect new editions with additions from the Doctor's lineal descendant, Mr. W. C. Borlase, who has inherited the antiquarian taste and accuracy of his ancestor. Of Dr. Borlase, Mr. Davies Gilbert says: "His *Antiquities and Natural History of Cornwall* will give ample proof of the ability, the ingenuity, and the diligence, possessed by this excellent man, who had the deserved good fortune of being equally esteemed and admired, not by the neighbourhood alone, but by the most learned and scientific persons throughout Europe."

Next occurs the name of the Rev. Richard Polwhele, vicar of Newlyn, to whom I had the honour of being introduced more than forty years ago at Truro, and with whom I had interesting conversations about antiquities and other more congenial subjects in the house called the "Great House" in that town, where he then resided. His *History of Cornwall*, contained in two quarto volumes of 1,200 pages in small type, with copious notes and extracts in a type still smaller, is a stupendous collection of matter relating to the archæology, biography, literature, and history, of Cornwall, with original portraits and illustrations of places and monuments. The defect of the work is the want of a complete index. It has become scarce, and sells at a very high price. A copy of it, with the rest of Mr. Polwhele's voluminous works in prose and poetry, will be found at the County Library at Truro.

In 1804 Mr. Whitaker, to whom I have before referred, published *The Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall Historically Surveyed*, a work evincing the learning which had before been praised by the historian Gibbon when noticing *The History of Manchester* by the same author. *The Cathedral of Cornwall* contains an account of the introduction of Christianity into Cornwall, the saints to whom the Cornish churches are dedicated, and other matters elucidating the history and antiquities of the county.

Another work on Cornwall which deserves special consideration is the Historical Survey of the County by Mr. S. C. Gilbert, a druggist, of Plymouth, who, in the course of his journeys of business into Cornwall, collected the materials which he ultimately digested into two large quartos, which are sometimes bound as three volumes. He spared no pains, and involved himself in pecuniary difficulties about

this vast compendium and its numerous illustrations ; and though it has errors and defects, it is still deservedly regarded as one of the most copious and trustworthy of our county histories. It was published in the years from 1817 to 1820.

Not less deserving of commendation is the *History of Cornwall* bearing the names of Mr. Fortescue Hichens of St. Ives and Mr. Samuel Drew of St. Austell, but really written by the last named only, and published by the late Mr. Pennaluna of Helston, in Parts, between 1815 and 1824. It should contain twelve plates. I need not dilate on the literary merits of Samuel Drew, the self-cultured author and metaphysician, whose portrait Mr. Tucker has properly included in the series of portraits of Western Worthies with which he has embellished this hall. A tablet to Mr. Drew's memory has been placed by public subscription on the south wall of the fine old church of St. Austell. If you desire to know more of this eminent man I would refer you to Smiles' work on *Self Help*, and you will find a list of his many publications in the *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis* of Messrs. Boase and Courtney.

I now turn to the *Parochial History of Cornwall* by Mr. Davies Gilbert, who was President of the Royal Society, and connected with many other of the learned societies of his time. I have already mentioned some of the merits of this work, which, however, abounds in errors and misprints, and has a very imperfect index. Its chief value is generally considered to consist in the extracts it gives from the histories by Hals and Tonkin, and the Appendix to the fourth volume. This Appendix comprises all that is left of the MS. of Mr. William Scawen, a learned man, who represented St. Germans in Parliament, and was appointed Vice-Warden of the Stannaries immediately after the restoration of Charles II. That MS. consists of a dissertation on the Cornish tongue as exemplified in a MS. entitled "*Passio Christi*", written in the Cornish language, and preserved in the Bodleian Library. Mr. Davies Gilbert's Appendix also gives William of Worcester's *Itinerary* in Cornwall in 1478; Leland's *Itinerary*, so far as it relates to Cornwall; the passage on Cornwall in Drayton's *Polyolbion*; an article on Cornish names by Dr. Thomas Hingston, M.D., whom it was my privilege to know; Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* for Cornwall; copies of documents relative to the Priory of

Bodmin ; and extracts from Dugdale respecting the Earls of Cornwall.

I have already spoken of Mr. Lake's *Parochial History of Cornwall*, not the least important portions of which are the supplementary papers contained in the fourth volume, including the *Itineraries* of Worcester and Leland, extracts from *Domesday*, and a paper, derived I cannot ascertain from what source, entitled "Personal Campaign of Charles I in Cornwall during the Civil War of the Seventeenth Century", and containing two letters from Sir Bevill Grenville to his wife, the Lady Grace.

Of the *Parochial History of Trigg Minor*, now publishing by Sir John Maclean, I will only add to what I have already said respecting that work, that the account given in its first part of Bodmin and its ecclesiastical history and antiquities is very complete.

It does not, however, supersede the *Bodmin Register* of the late Vicar of Bodmin, the Rev. J. Wallis, which comprises a miscellaneous collection of county facts and information.

Besides these histories there are numerous works on special subjects, objects, and localities. And of these may be mentioned Mr. Wallis' *Parochial Register of Cornwall*,—a standard authority ; the Rev. Richard Warner's *Tour* in 1809, which abounds in picturesque description ; and the *Itinerary* of the late Cyrus Redding, a native of Helston, who was for many years connected with the *New Monthly Magazine*. The last named book is written in a sketchy style, but does not lack solid information, and it is beautifully illustrated. To these I would add the several interesting works by Mr. Blight of Penzance, who has for some time been prevented by serious illness from continuing his tasteful and useful labours. Among the works of Mr. Blight I would specially name *A Week at the Land's End*, his book on Cornish Crosses, and *An Account of the Churches and Antiquities of West and East Cornwall*, illustrated by his own faithful and skilful drawings. The list of the several publications of this indefatigable and well-informed Cornish antiquary and artist occupies more than a page in the *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*.

And not least worthy of notice is the volume on the *Nænia Cornubiæ* by Mr. W. Copeland Borlase,—a book

which, with its illustrations, is not only one of the best of Cornish works of its kind, but a real contribution to British archæology.

Among the publications which you will find of particular interest are the *Reports* of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, which are valuable not only for their scientific records, but for their archæological papers; while the Museum of that Society contains antiquarian treasures such as the museums of few other counties can boast. That Institution was established in 1818, and shows no sign of the decrepitude of age. None of its originators now survive. Several of its old members (including one of the most remarkable of the many self-educated men this county has produced, the late Mr. Jory Henwood of Penzance) have within a few years ceased from their persevering and useful labours; but others long connected with it, the Rev. T. Phillpotts, Mr. Robert Tweedy, Dr. Barham, Dr. Jago, and Mr. Nicholas Whitley, still survive, and find active coadjutors in Sir J. St. Aubyn, Colonel Tremayne, Mr. Jonathan Rashleigh, Dr. Le Neve Foster, Mr. Collins the metallurgist, and others.

Among works of a special character I refer you to Mr. Jonathan Couch's *History of Polperro*, with additions by his son, Mr. T. Q. Couch of this town. This is nearly as pleasant a book on its local topics as White's *Natural History of Selborne*; and I need not tell you how eminent in his day was Mr. Jonathan Couch as a naturalist as well as an antiquarian. Then there are Mr. Bond's *History of the Two Looes*, and Mr. Allen's *History of Liskeard*, and the *Cassiterides, The Ancient British Church*, and other publications of the late Dr. George Smith of Camborne, another of the remarkable, self-taught, and self-raised men of the West.

To this class of productions mentioned may be added Haslam's and Trelawny Collins' several accounts of the Lost Church of Perranzabuloe, and Mr. Polsue's illustrated edition of Harvey's *History of the Parish of Linkinhorne*, the birthplace and residence of one of nature's philosophers, Daniel Gumb, on the roof of whose cell among the rocks near the Cheesewring was drawn a diagram illustrating a problem of Euclid. To the Rev. George Harvey, rector of Mullyon, we are now indebted for an interesting account of that parish; and we shall soon receive from the same com-

petent authority a history of the more important parish of St. Mary's, Truro. I should not omit the Rev. J. L. Wilkinson's account of the ancient Guilds of Bodmin, the late Mr. Pedlar's *Episcopate of Cornwall*, Thomas' *History of Falmouth*, Dr. Paris and Mr. Courtney's handbooks of the Penzance district, and Max Müller's somewhat caustic articles on Cornish antiquities in his *Chips from a German Workshop*. But I must bring this catalogue to a close, though I cannot do so without directing you to a few works of a different character, yet containing matter for archæologists and seekers after old customs, superstitions, and historical associations, such as Mr. Halliwell's *Rambles in West Cornwall by the Footsteps of the Giants*, Mr. Hunt's *Drolls and Romances of the West of England*, the late Mr. John Tabois Tregellas' *Haunts and Homes of the Rural Population of Cornwall*, and other graphic and humorous publications ; the *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, by William Bottrell, who truly describes himself as an old Celt ; and not least worthy of attention, *The Footprints of former Men in far Cornwall*, and the spirited ballads of the late Vicar of Morwenstow, Robert S. Hawker.

By the way, for the information of the ladies I may mention, though I dare say many of them have already read the fine descriptions of Cornish scenery in Kingsley's great novel, *Westward, Ho !* and in Black's fascinating story of the *Three Feathers*. But novelists and poets, as your noble President said, will not claim much consideration from you, though, perhaps, the notes which some of these imaginative writers have added to their productions may deserve perusal. Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, charming as they are, would hardly please you so much as the discovery, among the *débris* of Tintagel, of one of the legs of the Round Table, which we may suppose was made of British oak or Cornish elm. But what language did the great king and his knights speak, if, indeed, they ever did speak ? Of course, ancient Cornish, and for an account of that tongue you must turn to Scawen, Llyud, Price, Norris, Williams, and the other authorities cited in the preface to the *Glossary of Cornish Names*, etc., by the late Dr. Bannister, vicar of St. Day.

Respecting Cornish mines and miners, ancient as well as modern, and mining usages and customs, I must refer you to the pages of Dr. Borlase and Dr. Pryce, to Pearse on the

Stannaries, Tregonning's Stannaries, containing the convocations of the stannators, or parliaments of tinnerns, during various reigns, and to the Appendices to the Report of the case of Vice and Thomas, by the late V. W. Sir Edward Smirke, who was not less eminent as an antiquarian than as a lawyer. To this Report are appended copies of, or extracts from, records and documents illustrating the early history of the tin-miners of Cornwall, with full explanatory notes. For practical information and details and reliable statistics respecting Cornish mines and metals, those who are interested in such matters will prize the labours of the late Mr. Jory Henwood, and the publications of Mr. Robert Hunt, who continues to furnish us yearly with accurate returns.

But of books relating to Cornwall and Cornish matters there is no end, as you may judge when you look at the first volume of the *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis* of Messrs. Boase and Courtney recently published, in which the names of authors and works connected with the county occupy more than four hundred folio pages. Another volume of this painstaking compilation, and probably of larger bulk, will soon be published.

THE EARLS OF CORNWALL.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

IN continuation of the series of papers I have had the pleasure of contributing to the pages of our *Journal*, respecting the origin, descent, and armorial bearings, of the Norman earls of the various counties in which we have held our annual congresses, I propose upon this occasion to say a few words concerning those of Cornwall.

The first on the list is Robert, the reputed son of Herluin de Conteville and Herleva his wife, and half-brother to William commonly called "the Conqueror". Our earliest knowledge of him is obtained from the fact of his being made Comte de Mortain in the Cotentin (not to be confounded with Mortagne in La Manche) by his brother aforesaid, on the banishment of William the Warling, son of Malger, and grandson of Richard first Duke of Normandy, on suspicion of treason (for it really amounted to nothing more), his astute and unscrupulous kinsman availing himself of an opportunity to advance, under a pretence of justice, one of his mother's family. This was just previous to Duke William's visit to England in 1051; and Robert, I conclude, might at that period have been nearly of full age, being born, as I take it, *circa* 1031.

In 1054, on the invasion of Normandy by Henry King of France, we find him joining the army of Duke William with his knights and retainers; but he was not in the battle of Mortemer, which occasioned the hasty and ignominious retreat of the French King, being in the Duke's division, and consequently had no opportunity of distinguishing himself. We next hear of him at the family council called by William on receiving the tidings of Harold's assumption of the crown of England, and subsequently at the great meeting at Lillebonne, when he promised to contribute to the invading fleet no less than one hundred and twenty vessels, according to the curious Latin record published by Taylor: an enormous number; but the size has to be taken into consideration, and the list may be held to include boats of every description.

In the great battle of Senlac (popularly known as the battle of Hastings), the rhyming chronicler, Master Wace, tells us he was never far from his brother the Duke, and commanded the chivalry of the Cotentin; but he is not conspicuously delineated in that portion of the Bayeux Tapestry. His share of the spoil is said to have been the greatest. He was created Earl of Cornwall, in which county alone he possessed two hundred and forty-eight manors at the time of the compilation of *Domesday*; fifty-four in Sussex, besides the borough of Pevensey; seventy-five in Devonshire, forty-nine in Dorsetshire, twenty-nine in Buckinghamshire, thirteen in Hertfordshire, ten in Suffolk, ninety-nine in Northumberland, one hundred and ninety-six in Yorkshire, and twenty-four in other counties; amounting altogether to the enormous number of seven hundred and ninety-seven, with two castles in his county of Cornwall,—one at Dunhever, and the other at Tremeton.¹

In 1069 the Earl of Cornwall and Robert Comte d'Eu were left by King William in Lindsey to watch the Danes, who had landed at the mouth of the Humber, and invested York, but alarmed at the approach of the royal forces, retreated to the opposite shore, and took refuge in the fens. Availing themselves of the opportunity afforded them by a festival at which the disaffected inhabitants had invited the invaders to be present, the Earl of Cornwall and the Count d'Eu fell upon them unexpectedly, and pursued them with great slaughter to their ships.

We hear little of the Earl from that period till we find him beside the deathbed of the Conqueror, supplicating for the pardon and release of their brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, who was at that time in prison at Rouen. "My brother Odo", said the dying monarch, "is a man not to be trusted,—ambitious, given to fleshly desires, and of enormous cruelty. There is no doubt that if he is released he will disturb the whole country, and be the ruin of thousands." Yielding at length, from mere weariness, to the urgent and incessant entreaties of Robert and his friends, he reluctantly gave orders for the Bishop's liberation, observing that it was against his own judgment, as he felt assured it would cause the death or grievous injury of many persons. He was too true a prophet. His son Rufus

¹ Dugdale, *Baronage*.

had scarcely ascended the throne when the pestilent Prelate commenced sowing dissensions amongst his subjects, and succeeded in involving the generous brother to whom he was indebted for his freedom, in a conspiracy to depose the nephew who had restored to him the possessions he had deservedly forfeited. Imposing on the duller nature, and working on the affection of Robert, he beguiled him into a rash attempt to hold the Castle of Pevensey against the King, which failing might have cost him his life or liberty and the confiscation of his estates. "The Red King", however, made a judicious distinction between his uncles, banishing for ever the arch-traitor Odo, and accepting the submission of Robert, whom he allowed to return to his allegiance and retain his rank and revenues. This event occurred in 1088, after which time his name disappears from the pages of our historians.

Brooke, in his *Catalogue of Nobility*, says, without citing any earlier writer, "this Robert was slain in Northumberland in the year 1087". Vincent, in his *Discoverie*, points out the error of the date, but is silent respecting the account of the death, which he certainly would not have been if he could have contradicted it. Dugdale was equally ignorant on the subject. "When he departed this world I do not find", he tells us; "but if he lived after King William Rufus so fatally lost his life by the glance of an arrow in the New Forest, from the bow of Walter Tyrrel, then was it", he continues, "unto him that this strange apparition happened which I shall here speak of", and then he relates the story told by Matthew Paris, how that at the very hour the King was killed, the Earl of Cornwall being hunting in a wood at some distance, and left alone by his attendants, was met by a huge black goat bearing Rufus, all black and naked, with a wound in his breast. The Earl adjured the goat by the Holy Trinity to tell him whom it was he carried, and was answered, 'I am carrying your King to judgment: yea, that tyrant William Rufus; for I am an evil spirit, and the revenger of his malice which he bore to the Church of God; and it was I that did cause his slaughter, the protomartyr of England, St. Alban, commanding me to do so, who complained to God of him for his grievous oppressions in this Isle of Britain, which he first hallowed.' All which the Earl related soon after to his followers."

What a pity the goat did not reveal the name of the individual he had caused to do the slaughter! It would have cleared up the mystery in which the death of Rufus is still involved; Walter Tyrrell, who is popularly accused of the deed, having long afterwards, on his deathbed, asserted his innocence, and declared that he was in another part of the Forest at that moment.

This absurd story, one of the many circulated at the time of the King's death, and tolerably well proving a guilty foreknowledge, is only of consequence as bearing upon the question of the decease of Robert Earl of Cornwall, for the narrator does not distinguish the Earl by his baptismal name, and therefore leaves it uncertain whether he is alluding to Robert or to his son William, who had undoubtedly succeeded to the earldom of Mortain and Cornwall before 1103, as in that year he left England for Normandy, and was in open rebellion against Henry I, whom, we are told, he hated from childhood, and by whom he was consequently deprived of his titles and estates for treason.

In the absence of any reliable information I am inclined to believe that Earl Robert's death preceded that of his brother, Bishop Odo, as the Monk of Malmesbury tells us that, not content with the earldoms of Mortain in Normandy and Cornwall in England, his son William demanded from King Henry the earldom of Kent which his uncle Odo had held, and petulantly declared that he would not put on his robe or mantle till the inheritance he derived from his uncle should be restored to him,—a terrible threat, which must have alarmed the King amazingly!

Without presuming to fix on the exact date, I consider then that Robert Earl of Cornwall died between the years 1089 and 1097; and if there be any foundation for Brooke's statement that he was slain in Northumberland, it is probable that he was there with his nephew, William Rufus, on the occasion of Robert de Mowbray's rebellion in 1095. It is not the less remarkable, however, that the death of so important and wealthy a personage should have occurred without its being recorded by a single historian.

Robert Earl of Cornwall had taken to wife, previously to the Conquest (but at what period we are ignorant), Matilda, daughter of Roger de Montgomery, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury, and by her left one son, William, of whom I

have just spoken, and three daughters : Agnes, first offered in marriage to William de Grantmesnil, but subsequently the wife of André de Vitry ; Denise, married in 1078 to Guy, Sire de la Val ; and Emma, wife of William Count of Toulouse.

Of the three sons of Herleve (William, Odo, and Robert), the latter alone appears to have possessed some kindly feeling. He is described by the Monk of Malmesbury as a man of a heavy, sluggish disposition ; but no foul crimes are laid to his charge. He had evidently the courage of his race, and his conduct as a commander is unassociated with any act of cruelty. Scandal has not been busy with his name as a husband. No discords are known to have disturbed his domestic felicity. With the exception of the one occasion, when, ensnared by the artful representations of Odo, he joined in the rebellion against Rufus, no trace is seen of his being involved in any of the events and conspiracies which were continually convulsing both Normandy and England, and his fidelity to the elder William was never for an instant shaken. We have seen him beside the deathbed of that William pleading urgently for the pardon of their worthless brother, and pledging himself generously but rashly to his reformation ; and the distinction made by the second William between his two uncles, upon their surrender at Pevensey, shows that he believed in the contrition of Robert, and thoroughly estimated the amount of dependence he could place upon the word or oath of the faithless, treacherous, and turbulent Odo.

Robert Earl of Cornwall was a great benefactor to the Abbey of Grestein in Normandy, which had been founded by his reputed father, Herluin de Conteville ; and his appropriation of the possessions belonging to the Priory of St. Petroc at Bodmin, for which he has been severely reprobated, appears to be justified by the fact that they had been previously taken from the Priory, and were at that time illegally enjoyed by canons secular.

By a charter to the monks of St. Michael, in peril of the sea on the coast of Normandy, giving to them and their successors, in pure alms for ever, the Monastery of St. Michael on the Mount in Cornwall, we learn that the standard of that saint had been borne by or before him in battle, and may fairly conclude that it was in the decisive one at

Hastings. This charter was subsequently confirmed by him at Pevensey in 1085. Mr. Edward Freeman mistook this date for the original one of the charter, which I presume he never saw, and consequently demurred to its authenticity; the name of Queen Matilda, who died in 1083, being amongst those of the witnesses. It is clear, however, from that very fact, as well as from the other signatures, that the charter must have been executed in Normandy, the Queen never having left that country after 1068; and the probability is that it was granted in 1082, at which time the King and the whole family were assembled at Rouen,—a reconciliation having taken place between the Conqueror and his eldest son Robert after their unlucky encounter at the siege of Gerberoi. In the body of the charter, the youngest son of the King, Prince Henry, is expressly stated to be then a boy, “Henrico adhuc puero”, and he signs himself, “Henrici pueri”. Now Henry was born in 1068, and consequently would have been only fourteen in 1082, in which year he also, with his brothers Robert and William, witnessed the charter of his parents to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Caen. Mr. Freeman, however, might have urged a stronger objection to this charter,—the confirmation appended to it. “Firmata atque roborata est hæc carta anno millesimo octogesimo quinto ab incarnatione Domini apud Pevensel”, being subscribed “Signum Leurici Ecclestriæ Episcopi”, which Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, is said to have died in 1073 or 1074 at the latest. Another document printed by Dugdale and Oliver, which, though undated, must, if genuine, be later than 1073, as mention is made in it of Pope Gregory, the celebrated Hildebrand, who was elected in that year, and died in 1085, commences, “*Ego quidem Liuricus Dei dono Essecestriæ episcopus jussione et exhortatione Domini mei reverentissimi Gregorii Papæ*”, and is subscribed “Signum ejusdem Lurici Essecestriæ Episcopi +.”

I am weary of repeating the phrases, “it is said” and “we are told”, yet on such sandy foundation, alas! how much of history is built. We have here a case in point, and as Leofric was one of your own bishops, I presume you will pardon my digressing for a few minutes from the principal subject of my paper. Authorities, such as they are, are not agreed as to the exact date of Leofric’s decease;¹ and until the

¹ Le Neve, in his *Fasti*, admits it is uncertain, but inclines to the earlier date, 1072.

records of it are shown to be contemporaneous, and not later interpolations or additions from memory, I do not consider their evidence to be of more value than the above documents, which, if not forgeries, testify to his being alive between 1073 and 1085. One Osborn is set down as his successor, and is reported to have been consecrated by Lanfranc in 1073, and to have attended a council in 1072 as Bishop of Exeter; which, as Exeter, notwithstanding the change of see, was not made an episcopal city until 1078, is rather problematical, and also raises a question respecting the claim of Leofric to the title of "Ecclesiariæ Episcopi" if he died in 1073. That Osborn appears as Bishop of Exeter in *Domesday* (completed 1086), does not prove that he was Bishop before 1085, and that veritable record is the earliest contemporary evidence I have found of his existence.

Without an inspection of the original charter and note of confirmation which are, or were, preserved at Avranches, there can be no satisfactory explanation of these discrepancies; but it is remarkable that Dugdale, Sir Henry Ellis, and above all Dr. Oliver, should have printed these documents *in extenso* without a word of comment, and left it to the humble individual addressing you to raise this by no means unimportant question. From blindly believing everything, antiquaries have rushed into the opposite extreme of not believing anything, and too often hastily reject a valuable fact because it is presented to them through a suspicious channel, or opposed to some long unchallenged authority which when tested may turn out to be no authority at all. I make no assertion. I only point out the discrepancies which I am unable to reconcile, simply observing that if the documents above quoted be forgeries, they are the clumsiest ever perpetrated.

To return to our Earls. Meagre as are the materials I have been able at present to scrape together for a memoir of Robert Earl of Cornwall, his character stands out in honourable distinction from those of his brothers William and Odo; neither surrounded by the guilty glory of the King, nor blackened by the baseness of the Bishop.

He was succeeded by his only son, William, as Earl of Mortain and Cornwall, some time previously to the year 1097, the date of his uncle Odo's death at Palermo; for we have seen that he was in possession of his father's estates at

or about that period, as he claimed the earldom of Kent as heir to Odo, in addition to those of Mortain and Cornwall, giving utterance to that childish threat I have already mentioned. So childish, indeed, does it appear that I cannot but think it has been taken too literally. What could it signify to the King of England whether the Earl of Cornwall wore a mantle or walked "in cuerpo" for the rest of his life? Supposing that he actually used the words attributed to him, might he not imply by them that he would not attend the court or the council as a baron of the realm until justice was done to him? Did they not foreshadow the substitution of the hauberk of mail for the robe of state? William is represented as a malicious and arrogant man, not a silly, sulky schoolboy; and Henry must have understood the threat better than the chronicler who reported it, for instead of laughing at it, he, "considering his own unsettled condition", gave to his dangerous nephew "a subtle and dilatory reply". But as soon as the clouds which threatened a storm had passed harmlessly away, he not only refused his request, but called upon him to prove his right to what he already possessed. The Earl indignantly departed for Normandy, and there broke out into open rebellion, attacking the King's castles and despoiling the lands of Richard Earl of Chester, his neighbour in the duchy, and who was at that time a minor in ward of the King. Henry of course seized all the Earl's estates in England, deprived him of the earldom of Cornwall, which he bestowed on Stephen, son of Stephen Comte de Blois and Champagne, and who was subsequently King of England, and banished William the realm. Passing over to Normandy with a mighty power, the King subsequently carried the war into the dominions of his enemies, now leagued together under the banner of his brother Robert Courtheuse, Duke of Normandy, who, as the eldest son of the Conqueror, considered himself entitled to the English crown, and was supported in his pretensions by many powerful nobles, Normans as well as English.

In the decisive battle of Tenchebrai, William, no longer Earl of Cornwall, but Comte de Mortain in the Cotentin, was taken prisoner, sent to England, and died a monk in Bermondsey according to some accounts, or was at least buried there. There is no record of his having married, and

the date of his death is as uncertain as is that of his father. That *he* was the Earl of Cornwall by whom or for whom the ridiculous but compromising story of the goat-fiend was invented, there can be, I think, no doubt. He is said to have hated his cousin Henry from infancy; but we have no information as to his feelings respecting Rufus. That his account to his people of his adventure in the Forest betrayed a guilty foreknowledge of the fatal fact, it is unnecessary to point out. How far he was concerned in the assassination of the Red King will probably never transpire. There is nothing, however, in his character to render his complicity incredible, except his hatred of Henry, who would be a gainer by his brother's death, while all we know of William's father forbids us to entertain the slightest suspicion of his loyalty and family affection.

The earldom of Cornwall was subsequently bestowed on Reginald de Dunstanville, a natural son of King Henry I by a daughter and coheir of Robert Corbet of Alcester in the county of Warwick. It was not, however, to his father that he was indebted for his earldom, but to King Stephen, to whom it had been given on its forfeiture by William, second Earl, and to whose party he transferred his services after having been a strenuous adherent of his half-sister the Empress Maud. The reason of his change of politics does not appear, but he was rewarded for it by being created Earl of Cornwall by Stephen in the fifth year of his reign, A.D. 1140. Scarcely was he invested with this dignity when he was surprised in one of the King's castles in this county by a powerful and wealthy Cornish nobleman named William Fitz Richard, and either a more willing captive to the *beaux yeux* of the daughter than to the *force majeure* of the father, or from the less excusable temptation of the *auri sacrum pecus*, renounced his allegiance to his benefactor, and marrying the beautiful Cornish heiress¹ (for in the absence of any hint to the contrary we are bound to believe

¹ This lady is called "Beatrix Cardinan" in the pedigree compiled by Dr. Drake, and printed in his interesting pamphlet, *St. Finbarras Church, Fowey, its Founders and their History*. I have abstained from naming her, as I find no authority for his assertion quoted by the learned and highly esteemed author, from whom, with all submission, I regret to differ in his views respecting the Turold of the Bayeux Tapestry and the identification of William Fitz Richard. My business in this paper is limited to the descent from *Beatrix* de Vannes, the *mistress* of Reginald. At some future opportunity I may have a word to say about his wife.

her beautiful), he turned his arms against King Stephen, reduced all the royal strongholds, and became master of the whole county, incurring, from his seizure of the property of the Church, the penalty of excommunication in addition to the forfeiture of his titles and estates for treason.

He is subsequently found fighting on the side of the Empress in the battle of Lincoln, and being sent by her to negotiate with King Stephen, was taken prisoner by Philip, a son of Robert Earl of Gloucester, who had revolted to the King's side. We hear no more of him until after the death of Stephen, and the accession of Henry II, in the second year of whose reign he appears restored to his lands and honours, and additionally recompensed with the lordship of Melbourne in Somersetshire, and the manors of Barswell and Depeford, with the hundreds. In the tenth year of the same reign, on the breaking out of the quarrel between the King and Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, Reginald Earl of Cornwall was one of the great men who threw themselves at the feet of the Primate, and with tears implored him to repair to the King, and publicly declare that he would observe the laws ; and eventually was sent, with Robert Earl of Leicester, to communicate to the obdurate Prelate the judgment that had been passed upon him. On the rebellion of the said Earl of Leicester, in 1173, he marched against him in company with the Earl of Gloucester ; and his taking the town of Leicester in the following year is the last event with which his name is connected in the history of England.

It is provoking that this bare record of facts should be the sum of information at present obtainable respecting the life of a man who must evidently have played an important part in the most interesting scenes of that stormy period. He died in 1176 at Chertsey, and was buried at Reading, leaving by his wife four daughters ; and by his mistress, Beatrix de Vannes, a son named Henry Fitz Count, who ultimately became Earl of Cornwall ; but upon the death of his father, Reginald, the King (Henry II) took the earldom into his own keeping for the use of his sixth son John, afterwards King of England, who appears to have held it in conjunction with the earldoms of Gloucester, Somerset, and Lancaster, until the seventeenth year of his reign, when he made a grant to this Henry of the whole county of

Cornwall, with the demesnes and all its other appurtenances, to farm until the realm should be in peace, and the King clearly satisfied that the said Henry should hold it by right of inheritance, or as part of the demesne of the crown.

In the first year of the reign of Henry III (the King being still in his minority), we find Henry Fitz Count acknowledged Earl of Cornwall by a patent signed at Gloucester in the month of February of that year. Vincent, who quotes the roll *in extenso*, adds, "Whether by these words in the patent he was Earl of Cornwall, I leave to other men to judge, to whose correction with respect I submit myself. He enjoyed this new honour not long (not four years), for as he (King Henry) had bestowed it upon him in the first year of his reign, so in the fourth, in regard he retired himself from the court without the King's leave, without his good liking, indeed without his privity, the King discharged all his subjects, and in particular those of Cornwall, from any duty to him; but through the mediation of the Bishops of Norwich, Winchester, and Exeter, Hubert de Burgh, and other powerful friends, and on surrendering the Castle of Launceston and the county of Cornwall, with all the homage and services thereto belonging, his peace was made, with a *salvo jure* as to his pretensions to that earldom, wherein the King was to do him justice when he should come of age. Henry Fitz Count, however, died before that period, and Dugdale is therefore of opinion that, considering the title of Earl was never attributed to him after his surrender of the county in 1220, nothing passed to him by that grant beyond the barony or revenue of the county. It is a nice point, turning upon the meaning and value of the patent of Henry III in February 1216, and one available for discussion in a meeting of this description.

What is positively certain is the grant of the earldoms of Poitou and Cornwall, in 1227, by the same King to his brother Richard, afterwards King of the Romans. This important personage not only in English but in European history was four times married. Firstly, in his minority, to Rohese, daughter and heir of Robert of Dover by his wife Roheese de Lucy, at that time also a minor in ward of William de Brewer; but the young lady, on coming of age, objecting to the match, they were separated, and she became the wife of Richard de Chilham. His second wife was Isa-

bel, sister of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and widow of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester.¹ By her he had four sons, John, Richard, Henry, and Nicholas; and a daughter, Isabel. Of these, the only one who reached the age of maturity was Henry, and he was savagely murdered in the church at Viterbo by the son of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, slain in the battle of Evesham. His third wife was Sanchia, daughter, and one of the heirs, of Raimond Beranger, Count of Provence, whom he married in 1243,² and had by her two sons,—Edmund, who succeeded him in the earldom; and Richard, who, according to Walsingham, was killed at the siege of Berwick in 1296. His fourth wife was Beatrice, niece to Conrad, Archbishop of Cologne, who had crowned him King of the Romans at Aix la Chapelle in 1257. This lady, by whom he had no children, survived him.

Richard Earl of Poictou and Cornwall, King of the Romans ("Semper Augustus" as he wrote himself), died at his manor of Berkhamsted, in Herefordshire, 56th of Henry III (1272), and was buried beside his Queen, Sanchia, in the Monastery of Hales, Gloucestershire, which he had founded in 1246;³ his heart being deposited under a magnificent pyramid in the Church of the Grey Friars at Oxford.

Two illegitimate children are ascribed to him,—a son, Richard, from whom descended the knightly family of Cornwall of Burford; and a daughter, Isabel, who became the wife of Maurice Lord Berkeley. This Richard, King of Almaine as he is called by the old writers, is the first Earl of Cornwall for whose armorial bearings we have undoubted authority; but whether the border bezantée represents Cornwall or Poictou is a point on which I have not yet been able to satisfy myself.

If I had cause to lament the lack of information we possessed respecting the lives of Robert and Reginald, Earls of Cornwall, I have now to regret that the time to which we are prudently limited on these occasions would not be half

¹ "A.D. 1231 mense Aprili Ricardus frater Regis desponsavit Isabellam Comitissam Gloverniæ sororem scilicet W. Marecelli Co. de Pembroc." (M. Paris, 368, 20; Mat. West., 129, 20.)

² "Aº 1240, die Sti. Clementis Comes Ricardus desponsavit uxorem suam Ciaciam filiam Raimondi Co. Provincie." (Mat. Paris, 578, 2.)

³ "Aº 1261, obiit Sanchia Regina Alemanie et sepulta est apud Hales in Monast. quod Dom's ejus fundaverat." (M. West., lib. 2, p. 310, 20.)

sufficient to enable me to place before you in the most condensed form the mass of material available for a biography of this greatest of all the great men who have worn the coronet of this earldom. The romance of history contains few pages occupied by records of a more brilliant career than that of Richard King of the Romans, the mere summary of whose actions and adventures fills upwards of six columns of closely printed matter in the folio volume of the indefatigable Dugdale :

“As in a theatre the eyes of men,
After a well graced actor leaves the stage,
Are idly bent on him who enters next”,

so, on leaving the contemplation of the high fortunes of Richard Plantagenet, we cast but a careless glance on the eventless life of his son and successor Edmund, of whom nothing grand is recorded but his funeral, and look with loathing on that of the worthless parasite of a miserable monarch, Piers Gaveston, who for a few years (the greater portion passed in merited exile) disgraced the title of Earl of Cornwall. Edward III, in the second year of his reign, bestowed the earldom on his brother, John of Eltham, who enjoyed it but seven years, and after his death, in 1334, without issue, the same King erected it into a duchy, and gave it to his son Edward the Black Prince of glorious memory, of whom and his illustrious successors I leave my friend and brother officer, Rouge Croix, to speak, according to his kind promise.

My tale is told ; but I must crave permission, if I have not already wearied you, to add a few words respecting the armorial bearings which have been ascribed to the two first Norman Earls of Cornwall, *videlicet*, “*ermine*, a chief indented *gules*.” The phraseology alone would be sufficient to satisfy any critical student of heraldry that no such coat was known in the eleventh century, or before the end of the twelfth, when armoury had become a science, and the terms of blazon were invented and generally adopted throughout Europe. We have, however, the evidence of Augustine Vincent, in the time of James I, that this coat was first attributed to Robert and his son William by a pursuivant in the reign of Elizabeth. In the margin of Vincent's own interleaved copy of Brooke's *Catalogue of Nobility*, preserved in the College of Arms, and in his hand-

writing, occurs the following note, "Smith set down these arms." This Smith was Rouge Dragon Pursuivant in 1588, and on him at present rests the responsibility of their invention.

No one more than I can deplore the practice of my predecessors, of inventing arms for historical personages who existed previously to the invention of arms itself. No one, I may fairly assert, has done more than I have to disabuse the public on this point, or laboured more earnestly to redeem the science of heraldry from the contempt into which it had fallen, not so much by the demerits of its professors as by the ignorance of its detractors. Time was when a knowledge of heraldry was an essential portion of the education of a gentleman. That it is again attracting the attention of gentlemen, for whose honour and advantage it was first designed, is due to the critical spirit of archæology which Associations such as ours have awakened throughout the land. The invaluable information it can impart is beginning to be appreciated by the genealogist, the historian, and all unprejudiced antiquaries; and proud, indeed, should I be could I entertain a hope that my humble efforts might hereafter be considered to have assisted in restoring the science of armoury to the place in popular estimation it is so eminently worthy to occupy.

THE DUCHY AND DUKES OF CORNWALL.

BY STEPHEN I. TUCKER, ROUGE CROIX.

THE lands constituting the earldom of Cornwall had but recently reverted to the King (Edward III) by the death of his brother, John of Eltham, when, by charter dated 17 March 1337, the various lordships, castles, etc., in Cornwall, and various lands, etc., in other counties, were erected into a duchy, and conferred upon Edward of Woodstock, better known as Edward the Black Prince, the first-born child of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault. The Prince was then seven years old, but had previously (1333) been created Earl of Chester, and invested with the lands attendant on that honour.

The limitation of the dukedom of Cornwall was an irregular and remarkable one, containing, as it did, that which a recent peerage case will have made familiar to you as "a shifting clause";¹ and although it cannot be doubted that the intention of the King was to perpetuate a title and endowment for the heirs apparent of the English crown, it was so worded as to prove inapplicable in several instances to those who subsequently stood in that position, necessitating, as I shall have occasion to point out, in some cases special re-creations, and in others, the adoption of different readings of the clause to that which it strictly conveys; which, translated, is simply this,—that the duchy was conferred on the Black Prince and his heirs, who should be the eldest sons of kings of England. The unwisdom of a "shifting clause" was in this case, as in the late one to which I have referred, experienced within a very brief period. The Black Prince predeceased his father; but the dukedom of Cornwall did not, *ipso facto*, descend to his son, who, although his heir, was not the eldest son of a king of England.

I will trouble you with but the slightest personal details as to the Dukes of Cornwall; but of the Black Prince, notwithstanding that his history is so well known, I should re-

¹ Barony of Buckhurst.

call some few particulars, for Cornwall may well be proud to number amongst her lords one whose gallantry and prowess must have obtained for him a front rank in fame, even had not the accident of his princely birth made them the more conspicuous. He was born at Woodstock, 15th June 1329-30, and was, as I have told you, created Earl of Chester three years afterwards. In 1337 he became the *first Duke* created in England, and on no one throughout the entire roll of British worthies could the highest degree of nobility have been more appropriately established and conferred than on this distinguished man. He was the second Prince of Wales, but was not created to that dignity till 1343, when he was invested with a coronet, a gold ring, and a silver rod. As Duke of Cornwall he was invested with a sword.

And here I may remind you that the eldest sons of our Kings are *born* Earls of Chester and (as now understood) Dukes of Cornwall. They are also Dukes of Rothsay and inheritors of other Scotch honours, as from the union of the two crowns in James I; but they are *created* (not *born*) Princes of Wales. Thus it is that there have been Princes of Wales who were never Dukes of Cornwall, and Dukes of Cornwall who were never created Princes of Wales.

It is said that Edward III designed the honour of the French expedition for his son, who, then only in his sixteenth year, must have early evinced qualities of an unusual character to have justified such forebodings, even in a parent. The King knighted him on his landing, and placed him as the leader of the vanguard at Cressy on the 26th Aug. 1346. Here, indeed, he fully won his spurs, and it is recorded that his father, embracing him after that memorable day, said, "Fair son, God give you resolution to pursue honour; you are my dear son, and have acquitted yourself nobly; you are worthy to govern a kingdom."

The cognizance of the feathers, said to have been taken from the casque of John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, by the victorious Prince, and the motto or mottoes *ICH DIEN* and *HOUTMOUT*, were by his direction placed on his tomb, where they still remain, at Canterbury. Mr. Planché, Somerset Herald, and others, who have given much attention to these interesting badges of the Princes of Wales, have advanced various theories about them. It seems to

me, however, that we have no certain or even ordinarily satisfying origin for them ; and although, from the evident pride taken in them by the Black Prince, we may fairly assume them to have had reference to his personal achievements, it must not be ignored that they are found on seals of various members of the houses of York and Lancaster who were not Princes of Wales.

I will not follow the first Duke of Cornwall through all his military exploits till his victory at Poitiers in 1356. He had now attained manhood, and had to turn his attention to a conquest of another nature. It was his duty to marry, and he seems to have been hard to please. Rejecting three previous proposals, he in 1361 married "The Fair Maid of Kent", Joan, daughter of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, fifth son of King Edward I ; the Pope (Innocent VI) granting him a dispensation for the marriage, and absolution from excommunication on account of consanguinity. The Prince died at the Palace of Westminster on Trinity Sunday, 8 June 1376, and according to his will, made the day before his death in the King's Great Chamber, was buried on the south side, near Beckett's shrine, at Canterbury.

Richard of Bordeaux, the second but eldest surviving son of the Black Prince, was ten years old at his father's death. He did not, as I have shown, inherit the dukedom of Cornwall, the special limitation barring him ; but his grandfather, by charter dated at Havering, 20 Nov. 1376, created him Prince of Wales, *Duke of Cornwall*, and Earl of Chester. He was Duke of Cornwall till the 22nd June following, when he succeeded (as Richard II) his grandfather in the throne. Richard resigned the crown, 29 Sept. 1399, and was, after a gallant defence against nine assailants (four of whom he is said to have slain), murdered by their leader, "Sir Pierce of Exton", at Pontefract, on St. Valentine's day following. His body, embalmed, was covered, all but the face, in lead, and for three days exposed at St. Paul's. He was first buried in the Church of the Friars Predicant at Langley in Herts ; but removed by Henry V, and finally interred with all honour at Westminster.

Henry IV, who had established himself on Richard's throne, found the next difficulty with the limitation of the duchy, entailed on the heirs of the Black Prince ; but he

met it by creating his son Henry Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, in Parliament, 15 Oct. 1399, and he had livery of the lands of the duchy by charter of even date.

This Prince, styled Henry of Monmouth, was born in 1388, and held the dukedom of Cornwall for fourteen years, when (20 March 1412-1413) he succeeded his father as Henry V. The limitation of the duchy had been altered in his instance to "*sibi et heredibus suis Regibus Angliæ*", the effect of which was to vest the dukedom in the crown, upon accession, till regranted; but it was Henry V himself, whose reading of, and declaration as to, the limitation, not only settled the question as to the duchy being the acknowledged endowment of the heir to the crown, but whose more careful definition of the duchy rights and boundaries in the transfer or exchange of the Manor of Isleworth, mainly tended to the settlement of the vexed foreshore question. As we do not know the hero of Agincourt as a great lawyer as well as a great soldier, it is not improbable that we are indebted to Judge Gascoigne (whose name is associated with an episode in the Prince's career) for anticipating the confusion to which the clauses in the original charter would lead, and rectifying them in the two material points to which I have alluded.

The fourth Duke of Cornwall was Henry of Windsor, only child of Henry V, who was born in 1421; but who, succeeding to the throne when but a few months old, does not appear even to have had livery of the duchy. King Henry VI, first deposed by his rival kinsman, and finally murdered in 1471-2, had by Margaret of Anjou an only child,

Edward of Lancaster, who was born in 1453, and two years later had livery of the duchy. This young Prince was slain at Tewkesbury, where it is said he was buried without any solemnity, in 1471.

Edward IV was now King of England, and although heir of Edward the Black Prince, was not the heir of the last created Duke of Cornwall: he doubtless considered it safer to vest the duchy in his son by a new creation; and in effecting this, he recites the acts of his predecessors, Edward III and Henry IV, styling the latter "*indede and not in ryght Kyng of Englund.*"

That son, the poor murdered Boy-King Edward V, was

the sixth Duke of Cornwall, holding the duchy from the 17 July, 1471, to 9 April, 1483.

There is nothing to show that Edward, the only son of Richard III, ever was vested with the lands of the duchy. He had as much right to be Duke of Cornwall as his father had to be King of England, and although he never was created, there are evidences in existence of his having been so considered and styled: he was born at Middleham, in Yorkshire, in 1473, and died before his father in 1483-4. The prince was styled Earl of Salisbury before his father's coronation, but was created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. His dukedom of Cornwall seems to have been "assumed" on the liberal construction of the limitation, as declared by Henry V.

But the right to thrones and bestowal of royal duchies of all those contesting Yorkists and Lancastrians, murderers and usurpers, questionable as it was in most instances, was far clearer and better, from my genealogical point of view, than that of Henry Tudor, who but for his *ex post facto* marriage and claim *jure uxoris*, was in no possible sense entitled to sway the sceptre of the Plantagenets. Prince Arthur, his first-born son, was, however, *rightly* eighth Duke of Cornwall, by right of his mother, as heir of the Black Prince; but Henry had, by Act of Parliament, previously invested himself with the duchy, till he should have a son to enjoy it. This prince was born at Winchester 20 Sep. 1486, entered into possession of his duchy in 1489, and, dying at Ludlow in 1502, was buried with great state at Worcester.

At the death of Prince Arthur, another curious position presented itself as to the descent of the duchy. When the first duke died, *videt patris*, he left a son. On Arthur, the eighth duke, dying in his father's lifetime, his heir was his brother Henry. And now the question arose whether the meaning of the words of the charter of Edward III, "*filius primogenitus*," were to be construed as "*filius primogenitus natus*," or "*filius primogenitus existens*". That is to say whether "eldest son" should be taken as *first-born* or *eldest surviving* son. The latter construction seems to have been adopted, for in a commission under the great seal in the October following Duke Arthur's death, his brother is styled Duke of Cornwall. It is not known when Henry, ninth

Duke of Cornwall, had livery of the lands, but that he had possession is proved by the Parliamentary Rolls, vol. vi. p. 522.

Duke Henry was born at Greenwich 28 Jan., 1491, and succeeded his father as King of England 1509.

Thus far I follow other lists of Dukes of Cornwall, but between Henry VIII and his son Edward VI must be inserted, as tenth and eleventh dukes, Henry, his first-born son by Catherine of Arragon, who was born at Richmond 1 Jan. 1509-10, and died 22 Feb. following; and a second un-named son, also by Catherine of Arragon, who was born in Nov. 1514, and lived but a short time.

The twelfth Duke of Cornwall was Edward, third-born son of Henry VIII, and his only child by his Queen Jane Seymour. He was born at Hampton Court 12 Oct., 1537, probably never had possession of the fruits of the duchy, and succeeded his father as King of England in 1546-7.

Prince Henry Frederick Stuart, the first-born son of James I, was born 19 Feb., 1594-5, and was invested with his lands as Duke of Cornwall in 1610. He died 6 Nov., 1612, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The question as to who was then Duke of Cornwall was seriously considered by the king. It was true that there was a precedent, and not a very distant one, of a second son being admitted to the duchy on the death of an elder brother; but there were some cute lawyers in those times, and James himself was fond of settling curious inquiries. Coke was of opinion "that he who should inherit ought to be first-begotten son of the heirs of the Black Prince, be he heir-general or collateral; but such heir ought to be King of England"; and it was argued that Henry VIII, on the death of his brother Arthur, did *not* inherit, "forasmuch as he was not the first-begotten son, he was not within the said limitation"; which is at variance with the patent fact that Henry was *styled* Duke of Cornwall, and certainly had the rents and profits of the duchy. Ellesmere was more pliant, and favoured the king's view, and the law advisers of the Crown at length agreeing, the king caused to be published a statement of the case and decision. This is well known, having been reprinted by Collins. The work itself is of great rarity. There is a copy (Grenville Library) in the national collection, and I am the fortunate possessor of the

only other known copy, which originally belonged to the Duke of Sussex, and was exhibited by me at the Bodmin Town Hall during the Cornwall Congress. The title of this curious folio pamphlet is as follows :—"The Declaration of Our Sovereigne Lord the King, by the deliberate advice and full assent, as well of all the Lords and others of His Majestie's Privie Councill, as of the M^r of the Rolles, and His Highnesse Counsell learned in the Law, concerning the title of his Majestie's Most Noble and Dearest Sonne Charles, the Prince, and Duke of Yorke, to the Duchy of Cornwall. Published by the King's Majestie's Commandment. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie, anno 1613."

Charles I, therefore, became Duke of Cornwall, and so remained till the 22 March, 1625, when he became King of England. He was born at Dunfermline, 19 Nov. 1600, and was murdered at Whitehall, 30 January 1649.

The fifteenth Duke of Cornwall was an infant Prince Charles, first-born child of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, who was born and died 18 March, 1628. Charles, afterwards King Charles II, born at St. James's 29 May, 1630, was Duke of Cornwall at his birth, and had possession of the duchy from 1645 till his father's death.

The fruits of the duchy were of course appropriated by Cromwell ; and next come within my subject on the birth of James Francis Edward Stuart, son of the second marriage of James II. The genuineness of the birth of this prince at Whitehall, 10 June, 1688, at the moment of his father's greatest unpopularity and difficulties, was for some time questioned, but as soon as the king had time, after the trial of the bishops (which began five days after the child's birth), to turn his attention to the subject, he satisfactorily cleared away the suspicion, and the boy was baptised as a Papist, and as Prince of Wales, on the 15 Oct. following. He was, however, unquestionably a Duke of Cornwall, and it is singular that he should have been omitted from their list.

The eighteenth duke was George Augustus, son of King George I, who was born at Hanover 30 Oct., 1683, had livery of the duchy in 1714, and held it till his accession to the throne, 11 June, 1727, when his son Frederick Lewis, afterwards Prince of Wales, became Duke of Cornwall. He was then not of age, having been born at Hano-

ver 20 January, 1707. The duke died at Leicester House in 1751, and was buried at Westminster. He died in his father's lifetime, leaving a son, heir apparent to his grandfather and the throne. Here was another break as to the dukedom of Cornwall, and the lawyers were again at work, not only as to this succession, but to those of the dukedom of Rothsay, earldom of Carrick, &c. It was considered that all these dignities had reverted to the Crown, the Judge Advocate of Scotland assuming that the Scotch honours had similar settlements with the duchy of Cornwall, but as a like precedent had not occurred in the Scotch succession, no positive judgment was given. An Act of Parliament was drafted to meet the difficulty, but nothing was done in it, and the young prince was deprived of his duchy for the few years between his father's death and that of his grandfather, when he became George III.

Although I am unable to number this fine old Tory amongst the Dukes of Cornwall, I am glad to be able to connect him with the county as Viscount of Launceston, which title he inherited from his father.

George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, was twentieth Duke of Cornwall. He was born at St. James's, 12 August, 1762, but did not take possession of the revenues of the duchy till he attained his majority in 1783. He was for fifty-eight years Duke of Cornwall, and succeeded to the throne as George IV 29 January, 1820.

His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, the gracious Patron of the Congress, is not the sixteenth, as he is made in your latest printed history, not the seventeenth, as by a statement issued by the duchy, but the *twenty-first* Duke of Cornwall and premier Duke of England.

I should only detract from the personal worth and merits of the Prince if I were to presume to dilate upon them. I may, however, unaffectedly say that he is of princes *facile Princeps*, and that I believe no future roll of the Dukes of Cornwall will be written in which a distinguished place and notice will not be of necessity and truth assigned to him.

ANCIENT CANTERBURY.

BY JOHN BRENT, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE origin of Canterbury, not a town or city so called, but a series of human dwellings collected together upon or beside the river Stour and its various branches, is sufficiently remote and obscure to afford ample grounds for speculation and inquiry. Were the earliest settlers influenced by that singular law which induced so many tribes of the human race to establish their dwellings over shallow waters or on comparatively placid lakes, as in Switzerland and in Ireland, or as certain tribes of Pœonians did when they constructed habitations, according to Herodotus, on Lake Prasias?¹ Or did they erect those singular earthworks once observable from the Dane John Mound, with which they seemed in some degree allied; but which have now for some years been annihilated by the offices, buildings, and works, of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway?

Kent abounded in forests which continuously stretched from the Blean, part of the great wood of Anderida, into Sussex. The Isle of Thanet was formerly, according to Lewis, thickly wooded; and one or other of these conditions must have prevailed,—perhaps both were combined.

Men dwelling by the Stour, or by some concourse of waters which flowed between the chalk hills of Canterbury, had in remote ages (we do not speak of historical times) their dwellings at or near the present site of Canterbury. “Durwhern”, the Celts, Belgæ, or Britons, called their homes. “Caer Ceint”, or fortified city, was another designation. The Romans Latinised Durwhern into “Durovernum”,² as we believe; but a writer has been found to controvert this statement. “Cantawaraberg”, the city of the Cantii, or men of Kent, was the Anglo-Saxon name.

According to Lambarde, Canterbury was said to have been built by Lud Hudibras in mythical times; doubtless

¹ Herodotus, *Terpsichore*, v, 16.

² “Errat quisquis Durovernum Antoninum ab urbe Cantuarii diversum putet.” (W. H. Black.) Antoninus, in his second itinerary, has placed Durovernum about twelve miles from the Portus Rutupius, and stated also that it stood on the river Stour.

by a mythical founder. Looking back to a remote antiquity, a gloom which only one ray of light has pierced through, we find above the chalk deposit on which Canterbury stands, the ancient drift and bed of a river or rivers, the very outlines of which are lost. Herein is the existence of man revealed in the manufacture of incised weapons and implements of stone of archaic character; and here, too, often in juxtaposition with flint hatchets, grubbing-tools, and knife-flakes, we discover the tusks, the bones, and the teeth, of the *elephas primigenius*.

A passing allusion to this part of archæology is all that our subject allows. We must not deal with speculation; and although almost universally in the gravel-beds in and about Canterbury these objects occur, they may have been rolled along, borne for some distance by the vast torrential streams of ancient days; and as the surface and levels of the land must have altered considerably from time to time, all we can assume is, that the land was peopled in a remote era, and that Canterbury was, or might have been, a settlement or dwelling-place for man in the early, if not earliest, stages of his existence.

At a much later period, then, settlers by the Stour, if they did not occupy its banks or waters as a species of lake-dwellers, were undoubtedly attracted to its vicinity by the abundance of fish,—the easiest mode of obtaining food in temperate seasons of the year; whilst the almost interminable woods which lay in his immediate vicinity rewarded, in colder seasons, the perseverance and skill of the hunter.

Kent being the nearest point of landing from the Continent, would be the first land to be peopled, and probably its inhabitants, from possessing greater means of intercourse with other countries, would be the first to exhibit signs of civilisation and progress, unless we are to suppose there survived some of the descendants of that ancient and unknown race—the artificers in stone—who once comprised the population of this land before that mighty geological change occurred which rent asunder the chalk cliffs of Calais and of Dover, and produced some of those great superficial changes by which the whole face of the country has been altered. On the other hand, there is little difficulty in supposing Kent to have been peopled by some hardy adventurers from the opposite coast. They would

not have had to venture far on a shoreless sea, as the Malays or inhabitants of Ceylon are supposed to have done when they first found their way to the lands and islands of the southern hemisphere. But we must come, perhaps, by a long leap over a dark period of myth and uncertainty to historical times.

If there be any significance in the ancient name "Caer Ceint" (the fortified town of the Kentish men), Canterbury was surrounded by defences from an early period. But what sort of defences? The people living upon the rising ground and slopes overlooking the waters of the Stour had undoubtedly some sort of fortification, circumvallation, or defence. Earth mounds doubtless formed a considerable portion of these defences.

The earliest mention of the walls of Canterbury is in 1011, when, according to Roger Hovenden, the besieging Danes cast the citizens from the walls. The charter of Ethelbert indeed at a much earlier period (A.D. 605) speaks of the east wall of the city, and of the burh or town gate; but this charter is of very doubtful origin, according to Spelman and most other authorities.¹ Walls were probably in existence in the time of the Conqueror, yet to substantiate this fact we have only the terms "circuitus" and "fossatum," which are more applicable to earth mounds and their defences than to masonry of brick and stone. Houses are recorded in the survey "as lying waste in the ditch of the city," but this would apply better to dwellings thrown down from the slopes of earthworks, upon which they had been temporarily or intrusively erected than to houses built on walls. Even in the time of King John, wood to make hurdles or wattles (*cleias*), keys or spikes, were enjoined to be provided for the defences of the city by Hubert de Burgh, the king's justiciary. Stockades, in fact, which would prove the defences were not walls of stone or brick.

Lambarde speaks of gates and walls as having been repaired in the time of Lanfranc, and afterwards, Simon of Sudbury is said to have raised the wall (of flint and concrete) and the west gate, on the west side of the city, thus showing no wall existed there previous to his time. Lambarde adds, the city was not wholly walled at this period,

¹ Mr. Henry Ellis.

² "Burgenses vastati in fossato civitatis." (*Domesday Book*.)

and in the reign of Richard II, Simon Burley, warden of the Cinque Ports, advises that the societies of St. Augustine and of Christ Church, for want of walls, be removed for security to Dover Castle. Nevertheless, Eleanor, mother of Richard I, in the time of her son's detention abroad, gives orders for the fortifying of the city, and directs her letters to that effect to the clergy and citizens.

Huntingdon, however, speaks of Canterbury as being a wall-defended city from even British times. He must, by this, have meant a fortified city—a city fenced or protected by earthworks or other defences. The city walls were alluded to in the time of Henry IV, and often subsequently.

But what was the state of the *civitas*, or community, where Canterbury now stands, under the Roman domination? In a paper contributed by Mr. T. G. Godfrey-Faussett, F.S.A., at the Congress of the Royal Archæological Institute of England, held at Canterbury in July 1875, Mr. Faussett gave his views "Of Canterbury till *Domesday*." I need not say the treatise was written with the learning and ability which the accomplished antiquary can display upon any subject congenial to him. Upon that portion only which deals with Roman Canterbury I wish to make some remarks. I shall first presume that, except a portion of wall adjoining or abutting on the old church of St. Pancras, by St. Augustine's, we have unfortunately no evidence of Roman masonry above ground. Even this wall may be a reconstruction with Roman materials, after the Roman manner. We are compelled then to look for such evidences of Roman occupation as may be left existing under ground, and this is pretty much what Somner told us two hundred and thirty years ago. These indications are few comparatively, and even these may mislead; for Canterbury, from the earliest era of the Norman times to the reign of the Tudors, was full of buildings dedicated to ecclesiastical or to semi-ecclesiastical purposes. Churches, monasteries, priories, hospitals, leper-houses, and almonies, together with the House of the Knight Templars, the Nunnery of the Holy Sepulchre, and the chantry wherein prayer and psalm went up night and day for the repose of the soul of the gallant Black Prince. Most of these have passed away; the mighty Cathedral, the ornamented Gothic structure of the gateway at St. Augustine's, and the towers of Westgate, almost alone remaining;

the last building once a fortress, a prison, and a hall of justice, alternately; its machicolated parapet and the iron fastening of its drawbridge still existing to attest some of its ancient uses.

We must seek then underground our lost Durovernum. This *mansio*, *civitas*, or *statio* had an important part to play in ancient days, since it might be considered as the central point, at which met the Roman vias from the fortified places of Rutupium, Regulbium, and the Portus Lemanis.

At a period of at least 1,450 years since the later date of the occupation of Canterbury by Roman citizens, the level of the city has risen considerably. Eight feet at least below the present causeway, in the densest part of the city, and somewhat less in the suburbs, may be given as the level at which Roman remains and antiquities may be expected to be found. In the dark soil of bone and refuse deposit, and of ancient drainage, sometimes a few inches above or below the line of brick or tile dust, which in certain parts of Canterbury appear to have been the lining of the roads, lay the broken pottery, coins, the bone pins and implements, which the soil furnishes in places to the excavator. The mortuary urn, with its accompanying vessels, and such other articles as were deposited to grace or to consecrate the ashes of the dead, often lay in the cemeteries at a higher level, as the ground in which they were placed lay for ages otherwise undisturbed. Extensive drainage works, varying in depth from four to sixteen feet, through the streets of Canterbury and its suburbs, undertaken about fourteen years since, and subsequently on a much larger scale about eight years ago, revealed many evidences of Roman presence and occupation.

It is indeed to signs like these we must look for our chief clue to the labyrinths which unfold where once stood Roman Canterbury, and of what fashion and size it was. I was an observer of all the works above alluded to. During the later and more extensive drainage system of Mr. Pilbrow, civil engineer, I was scarcely a day absent from the trenches, and I carefully noticed the depth of the soil and strata by the height of the men when erect at their work. I turned my attention especially to localities where evidences of Roman occupation were detected. I had prepared a paper on what my experiences revealed, when,

finding Mr. Faussett was about to give his views upon the same subject, I thought it best to place my remarks and opinions in abeyance. There were at least two localities where the evidence of Roman walls or buildings to some extent were undoubtedly evident. The one was in St. Margaret's Street, the other in Sun Street. In Sun Street was a massive wall or bulwark, which seemed to trend away towards the Guildhall Street. Evidences of Roman sculpture, a cornice with chamfered mouldings, and three half roll mouldings lay in a line, though at some distance beyond this point in High Street, close to the present Medical Hall. I think this relic can hardly be, as Mr. Faussett supposes, part of an ancient gateway. Opposite the Fleur de Lys Hotel in High Street, Roman pottery and glass were discovered.

The Stour, that branch of it called the "king's river," was probably a boundary of the Roman town on this side, as the same river is some twenty miles lower down of the Roman castrum of Richborough. Walls, however, hardly massive enough for Roman masonry, were found extending down part of Stour Street, bordering on the river, with a cross wall in one place which I can hardly account for; unless the *civitas* here rounded southwards at that spot, as it was nearly as far south-west as Hospital Lane,¹ it was probably part of some mediæval building. In Lamb Lane, however, just before we enter Stour Street, some wooden piles, lying nine feet deep, were noticed, possibly the pilings of a lacustrine community.

I am inclined to place the limit of the Roman town running nearly parallel to the river, either turning at, or west of, Beer Cart Lane, taking part of Watling Street within it, or to carry it a little further west, to a point somewhere near Hospital Lane; and then rounding towards the south-east, into the Watling Street; so to St. George's Street, thence into Burgate, thence from some part of that street back through Burgate, or in a parallel line with it, to our starting point at Sun Street. Where, however, there is such slight direct evidence to guide us—none above, and little under the soil—I wish to speak with caution. I exclude the Dane John, the Castle Precincts, and St. Mildred's Churchyard; yet I think it possible I may have limited too much the extent of

¹ At Mr. Hugman's Stores.

the Roman *civitas*, and that a line might be drawn from part of Stour or Castle Street to the Ridigate ; from Ridigate, within the line of the present city walls, to the Burgate. This would include the little Dunge Hill, which might have formed part of the earth-mounds constructed by the Romans or their predecessors for the defence of the community.

Mr. Pilbrow¹ would extend the Roman boundary from Sun Street into King Street, and so to Lamb Lane, making a somewhat awkward angle. Mr. Faussett has suggested that the Northgate of the Roman town was near the present Cathedral. I can find no proof to favour this opinion. He also alludes to some evidence of a wall near Mr. Rouch's house in the Green Court ; but are these remains Roman or mediæval ? Mediæval, I think ; for only a few weeks since, in making some excavations at the top of Burgate, remains of a building, perhaps the church of St. Michael, were laid open, trending in that direction. The cathedral yard and precincts, when drainage works were carried through them in 1868, were found utterly deficient in Roman remains or relics. This could hardly be if a portion of this ground were within the Roman town, especially as at a short distance in Burgate and Iron Bar Lane a great variety of Roman relics were found.² Mr. Faussett, as in the map before me, enlarged from his own in the *Archæological Journal*, would extend the Roman city very considerably to the west and south, passing from Stour Street into St. Mildred's churchyard, including the Castle, the Worthgate, the Dane John Grounds up to the Ridigate in the Watling Street.

There is no proof, I think, that the castle, St. Mildred's churchyard, the city wall sweeping from St. Mildred's to the Ridigate, were comprised in, or formed part of Roman Canterbury, nor any satisfactory evidence to prove Worthgate to have been one of the Roman gates of the city. Somner, Dr. Stukeley, and other antiquaries, have spoken of the Worth or Wythgate, Fortgate. Somner speaks of it as having a "perfect arch of British brick",³ assuming, he meant by this Roman tile, it is no proof it was of Roman

¹ See *Arch.*, vol. xliii, 1.

² Gold intaglio ; ring,—design, Ganymede ; tessellated pavements ; glass ; Roman fibula ; Samian and other pottery, mostly fragmentary ; bone pins ; stylus, etc.

³ Camden (1586), in noticing the walls of Uriconium, speaks of the "rows of British bricks".

construction. There is scarcely an ancient building in Canterbury in which Roman tiles are not found amongst mediæval masonry. I need only name St. Martin's Church and the perfect arch of Roman tile (a pointed arch by the bye) over the mediæval structure of St. Pancras. Dr. Stukeley is more positive. He says, "To the south is an old obscure gate called Worthgate, partly walled up; it is under the castle. This is entirely a Roman work, the semicircular arch is of Roman brick, beautifully turned, the piers of stone, and the thickness of it, three Roman feet. I suppose this is the original gate of the Roman city." Now this gate might be a Roman building, but not a gate to the Roman city, or it might be a reconstruction out of Roman materials, as was most likely the case. It was in disuse even in Stukeley's time; "blocked up," as he describes it.

It is doubtful now as to where it exactly stood. In the old map of Canterbury in Somner, dated 1703, it is placed to the river side of the castle. If this were its right position, it will very little assist in proving the present city walls round by the Dane John Fosse, had anything to do with the ancient Roman town. The Wincheap gate was clearly a modern construction, the way itself being made since the building up of the present walls.¹ Curiously enough, Mr. Pilbrow, whom Mr. Faussett has cited as an evidence for the Roman origin of the Worthgate, says nothing about

¹ In November last I had the road excavated from wall to wall, where this gate once stood. I found, about six inches below the surface of the road, the foundation of the mediæval wall of flint and concrete, extending no lower than two feet four inches. Below this was the native brick-earth, which had never been moved. The wall had been broken down to construct the road and gateway. This is an important fact, namely, the total absence of any masonry which could be Roman. Somner places the Worthgate at eighty-three perches from the Ridingate. Now this is exactly the distance from Riding Gate to the *Wincheap Gate*, measured along the Terrace, the length of the walls. If, however, Somner's measurement is in a straight line across the Dane John, not along the walls, the Worthgate would be carried forward, near, I should say, the back of Mrs. Chapman's house, opposite the further Dane John Gate. There is here apparently a gap in the wall, which has been filled in; and evidences of Roman tiles and squared *white stones*, just like those given by Dr. Stukely in his plate. They are, however, of *Caen* stone, which the Romans, I believe, did not use. At all events the Worthgate did not stand in Castle Street, nor within eighty feet of the spot where Mr. Pilbrow found the masonry which he considered to be Roman. Mr. Pilbrow's drainage-sewer was excavated in the road, fifteen feet from the White House abutting on the Castle. Now as the Castle stood on four acres of ground, is it likely that the Worthgate was placed so close to it? Yet here lay the masonry Mr. Pilbrow alludes to.

the gate itself.¹ Speaking of the south wall of the castle, Mr. Pilbrow says, "On the inside of this wall, forming part of it, there occurred some hard concreted walls with Roman tiles, two courses bedded in strong mortar, four feet wide, no doubt part of an anterior and Roman walls."

This proves nothing about the Worthgate, and is Dr. Stukeley a trusty witness? Douglas, in the *Nenia*, alluding to a letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1760, recording the discovery in the Isle of Ely of a sword, an umbo, a spear head, a glass vase, and an earthen urn, says, "With the greatest energy and critical definition Dr. Stukeley describes these remains to be three thousand years old, and to have belonged to one of the first inhabitants of the island. He thinks the sword was of the fabric of Damascus, and to have been brought hither by the Midianite merchants who came to Britain with the Tyrian Hercules to search for tin!"

In another statement concerning the discovery of a body (skeleton?) on Barham Downs, the Doctor says,—“It was that of an old Briton, glass beads being round the neck of it; he having observed that beads encircled the necks of British kings on their coins.” Doubtless this was the grave of an Anglo-Saxon *woman*! Again, finding a horse's bit near the surface of Tilbury Hill, Dr. Stukeley asserted the mound was the grave of a king!

Now, if the Worthgate was a Roman gateway to the Roman town, there is this fact connected with it, that south of it and behind it, towards the city, numerous Roman interments were found. Beneath Mr. Ash's malthouse, in the old gasometer, and in Castle Street, were found mortuary urns, containing burnt ashes, and bone and other pins—a large number of urns of this description were taken out during the excavations at the gasometer.² In the centre of the castle, at a depth of several feet, was found a mortuary urn, now in my possession, containing burnt human bones; the mouth of the vessel was secured by a piece of lava of foreign origin. In Wincheap, Wincheap Green, and in the present roadway, without the walls certainly,

¹ See *Arch.*, xliii, 1, p. 158.

² I can confirm the above by a reference to the workmen who exhumed these relics, and a report forwarded to the Archaeological Society of Great Britain, in 1860, by Mr. Good, in whose possession most of these earthen vessels were.

not lying in any line, as if by the side of a *via*, but promiscuously scattered, were a considerable number of urn interments.¹ From the same place a fine piece of Castor pottery was taken, and further on, as if in continuation, crossing the railway into the Wall Field, were numerous Roman interments by inhumation, so distinguished by bronze *armillæ*, faceted glass beads, Roman coins, &c., found with the skeletons.

This does not prove much ; but the fact that Castle Street and the site of the buildings behind the wall, and of course behind the gate, wherever it stood in that wall, were strewn over with Roman interments, is very important. If the Worthgate was a gateway to Roman Canterbury, we must here record a notorious exception to the law of the twelve tables, as quoted by Cicero : “Hominem mortuum in urbe, ne sepelito neve urito.”

If we adopt Mr. Faussett's views, that the present walls and towers of the Dane John represented the outlines of Durovernum, he makes the city approach the ancient earth-mounds on or near the spot where now stands the Railway Station and its works. I remember well these mounds. They were very irregular. We have no evidence about them. They may have been Celtic, and here might have dwelt a British or Belgic community. Mr. Faussett lays a little too much stress upon a bronze celt found by labourers in excavations consequent upon the construction of the railway and the buildings. This little celt was first in my possession, and by me presented to Mr. Evans. It is a specimen of unusual shape,² having two loops,—one on each side ; but I believe that it would be difficult to identify the exact spot it came from. Certainly it was found in or about the Martyr's Field, where other relics, Roman pottery, and coins, were exhumed. None of these objects were *in situ*, but promiscuously distributed, as if mould had been carted or moved thither from some locality where these things had been originally deposited. A late Roman or Anglo-Saxon brooch, described in the *Journal* of the Archæological Association, 1860 (paper read March 28th), was found also on the same spot.

¹ Amongst the objects found were a bronze utensil, and a metal box containing Roman coins.

² Compare J. Evans' *Petit Album de l'Age du Bronze*, Pl. iv, No. 5.

Had the Dane John field been within the Roman town, some evidences of Roman occupation would have been exhumed during the many changes and alterations to which it has been subjected. Nothing of antiquarian interest has, as far as I know of, ever been discovered there, except Roman coins, and these turn up in every field and garden in and about Canterbury. Leland, indeed, speaks of a leaden coffin having been found, "containing a corse" as he phrases it, upon the Dane John Mound; but this would prove little either way. The interment certainly was not Celtic; and if Roman, according to Mr. Faussett's map, it would be another instance of a violation of the Twelve Tables.

The origin of the Dane John Mound is in itself a subject for speculation and inquiry. I will not now enter upon it, but will merely add that there were two mounds formerly; and one, the lesser mound, I have ascertained was also within the walls.¹ Speaking, however, of the origin of the mounds near the Dane John, beyond the fosse, we may fairly remark, when the ditch or fosse, especially that point opposite the mound, which is the broadest part of the excavation anywhere outside the walls, was dug out, where was the mould deposited? Might not all or some part of it contribute to these very elevations which have been subjected to so much discussion?² I do not say they were; but I

¹ The little Dunghill, as it is called, stood in the parishes of St. George and St. Mary Bredin. From an Abstract of Ancient Deeds, dated 6 Dec. 1757, in the possession of Mr. Fryer, a resident and proprietor, I find it was situated adjoining the house of a Mr. John Tassell. Afterwards, in 1782, it is mentioned as being the property of Mr. William Long, one of the aldermen of the city. The house, No. 21 on St. George's Terrace, is in St. Mary's, Bredin; and No. 20 in St. George; the mound, therefore, stood on the site of these two houses, "by the south-west corner of the house of the said John Tassell, next the lane called 'Sheepshank Lane' (now Gravel Walk), extending to the brick wall lately set up, next unto the wall of the said city." Mention is made in the same deed of there being a messuage upon it. We have no account, however, when the hill was lowered, nor can we say it was in existence at the date of the deed, although the name remained to the land whereon it stood.

Douglas, in his *Nenia*, p. 138, gives a drawing of a Roman urn found on an eminence opposite the Dane John Mound, near the *Watling Street*. He could not mean the mounds in the Martyrs' Field, as they are not near Watling Street. If he meant the little Dunghill, which was not far from Watling Street, it would prove this mound to have been part of the city defences in Roman times.

² Dr. Stukely gives an engraving of the Worthgate in his *Iter Curiosum*,—a small round arch formed apparently of Roman tiles. There is no reason why this arch should not have been a reconstruction in Norman times, as the arch at St. Pancras, made also of Roman tiles, was at a still later period. In the same plate given by Dr. Stukely of the Worthgate, is given one of the New-



ROMAN PAVEMENT

recently found at

CANTERBURY.

is shewn Black are dark Blue.

dotted are Yellow.

lined are of Red Brick.

plain are White.

JOHN G. HALL, delt.

think it is not impossible their origin might have some connection with the digging out of the fosse itself.

Crossing St. George's Street, by Mr. Foreman's fruit-shop (now Taylor's), were found some thick parallel walls, the remains evidently of a very ancient building; and westward, within their enclosure, were evidences of Roman houses, manifested by *tesserae* and fragments of Roman pavements found some feet below the soil. In Burgate Street, opposite Philpott's Cooperage, was discovered a fine tessellated pavement now in the Museum; the central design being a double-handled *cantharus*, with ornamental work in various cartouches surrounding the central object. Indeed, the remains of two, if not three, pavements were found in close connection.

I do not limit Roman Canterbury to this spot eastward, yet I think we have scarcely evidence to go much further in the same direction, unless we adopt Mr. Faussett's views, and go as far as the top of Burgate, and touch or include the mediæval city walls at this point. Within this line Roman pottery was found, and lower down westward, a massive gold ring with Roman intaglio, and a brooch or buckle, apparently Anglo-Saxon; whilst from some subsequent excavations, abutting on Burgate Street, on the site of the new church of St. Thomas and Mr. Sanderson's bonded warehouse in Iron Bar Lane, were exhumed a variety of relics, Roman brooches, styli, lamps, fragments of glass, and a choice enamelled stud, Samian vase and other pottery; opposite Christ Church Gate, was found an enamelled Roman brooch and the base of a Roman altar.

If we are to give to Roman Canterbury the dimensions assigned to it by Mr. Faussett, it would be ten times larger than the great Castrum at Richborough, where, towards the close of the Roman occupation of Britain, the second legion, surnamed "Augusta", was stationed. Durovernum was a place of comparative little importance, and is rarely alluded to by Roman writers. In the *Notitia*, where Dover, Reculver, Richborough, Pevensey, and Lympne are all mentioned as being the stations of legions, cohorts, or detachments, no mention is made of Canterbury whatever.

port Gate at Lincoln. Let any antiquary who is a judge of Roman masonry compare them together. The Ridington, which Dr. Stukely examined at the same time, he acknowledges to be a reconstruction, although he assumes he saw "part of a Roman arch".

As regards Durovernum, I think the evidence is very deficient that it was a completely walled town, although the central part of it, in or near the present St. Margaret's Street, was so. Here was placed a strong fortification or *arx*, and the city was, as at Uriconium, surrounded by a vallum. At Uriconium there appears evidence that the vallum was of masonry. Parts of the walls are still erect, but we have no such evidence at Canterbury.

The *arx* in St. Margaret's Street, when I observed the excavations, had in one part an obliquely contrived entrance, such as existed in the Roman wall in Northumberland, and is observable in one of the Richborough gates.

There is one suggestion, however, I wish to make in reference to Roman Canterbury,—that the site of the city when first occupied by the Romans was small, and consisted of a citadel surrounded by earth-mounds; and if by a wall, partially so, and by one of a very different fabric to that of Richborough. As the Roman dominion became firm and established, extending for nearly a period of four hundred years in Kent at least, the boundaries of the city were enlarged; not, however, to the dimensions assigned by Mr. Faussett on the south-west, but greatly beyond their first limits. The Dane John field, with the exception of coins found in the soil, affords no evidence of ever having been included in Roman Canterbury. Although comprising an area of *nine* acres, it is utterly devoid of Roman remains; yet no place for excavations for buildings, improvements, planting trees, etc., has been more dug over. So large a piece of ground, if within a Roman town, would certainly have borne evidences of occupation. Bordering upon it, probably once a part of it, toward Castle Street, was a large and offensive hollow place, called in the Tudor times "The Black Dike", wherein dead horses and cattle were cast to rot, and whence plague and infection were plentifully engendered. The other part of the Dane John was comparatively common ground to the citizens for recreation. In the days of Elizabeth, for practice of "blundering musquets", etc.; in still earlier times, for the cultivation of archery, or shooting with the long bow at the butts which were set up therein. Beyond the Black Dike, more inward, to the Gas Works, and within the presumed Roman city, lay an extensive Roman cemetery.

The other topic to which I have to refer in Mr. Faussett's description of Roman Canterbury, is the lake or piece of water which he has set forth, in the map appended to his paper, as existing, inclusive of both branches of the river Stour, from Eastbridge west, and extending beyond the Westgate towards St. Dunstan's Street. I regret to be obliged to object to such supposed existence of a piece of water. I consider that a portion of our present city, that is the ground comprised within the Westgate and Eastbridge Hospital, was occupied, or partially occupied, by the Romans, although it was without the limits of Durovernum. The lower part of it might have been flooded occasionally, as the houses in St. Peter's Place and Northgate are flooded even now, by some special inundation ; but for the most part it was firm land even in the Roman times ; and my reasons are as follow :—1st. The most extensive Roman cemetery, that of St. Dunstan's, lay directly beyond this assumed piece of water, which, if existing (it is drawn as a permanent lake on the map), must have been crossed—it appears too wide to have been bridged over—by the mourners and their assistants, in boats, at every funeral : a thing almost incredible, especially as there were three¹ other cemeteries adjoining the city. If, however, the Romans did this, it would have been the forestalling of the Styx, with Charon to ferry over, not the spirits, but the ashes or bodies of the deceased. Mr. Faussett speaks of the Roman interments beyond Northgate as forming the “principal cemetery of the citizens”. In this I think he is also mistaken. For the number of urns exhumed, and the relics found for a long series of years, there is no comparison between this cemetery and that of St. Dunstan's. The latter extends down the whole length of the buildings along the London Road, forming a square on one side, abutting on St. Dunstan's ; and at places crossing the Road, and extending beyond the railway cutting, almost down to the Whitehall Lane, near the river. Various relics in glass, pottery, bronze utensils, and implements, have from time to time been found. Now the Northgate or Ramsgate Road Cemetery seems to have commenced at or near the Barracks, and extended at considerable intervals to the Vauxhall Brickfields. But, with two exceptions,

¹ A fourth may be added, the brickfield occupied by Mr. Wilson,—Barton Fields.

no relics of any importance have been discovered in these interments. They contained merely the usual deposits of earthen vessels.

My second reason for dissent is derived from the evidences of the occupation in Roman times of this very part of the city, described in the map as being under water. I first note the remains of a very ancient building, which, with vaults, was found at the angle opposite the east side of Westgate Church. I do not assert it to be Roman, but it had the appearance of being so.

In St. Peter's Place Roman pottery was found nine feet deep. In St. Peter's Street, opposite the house of Mr. Stickals, was found a pavement of Roman tiles, set flat in mortar; the Roman wall of a building at right angles to the street, and opposite to the "Crown and Sceptre," an interment by inhumation, and a bronze buckle. Probably this interment is the same alluded to by Mr. Pilbrow,¹ and is very important evidence against any lake theory. In St. Peter's Lane, near the church, was found at eight feet deep a mortarium nearly entire, an amphora, and other Roman pottery. In Black Griffin Lane was found Roman pottery, and an interment in a leaden coffin. From Groves Lane were exhumed Roman bone pins. In St. Peter's Friars were noted ancient roadways—these might be mediæval, but their depth proved they existed in Saxon times, and Mr. Faussett's Saxon Canterbury exhibits the lake still in a modified form.

My third argument is derived from the levels of the city streets, and those of St. Peter's and Westgate. Some time since I obtained most of the principal levels made by the Ordnance Survey. I premise that the rise of ground from the Roman to the present times would be the greatest, in a natural course of events, where the population existed. That rise, owing to accumulation, formerly of sewage matter, and at all times by the laying on of materials for roads, has been considerable. In the heart of the city it is 8ft., 9ft. or 10ft.

The sites of Sun Street, the Guildhall, and High Street are undoubtedly within the Roman limits. Westgate Within and St. Peter's, even if we allow they were partially

¹ "In St. Peter's Street a skeleton of a very tall and strong man was found, head towards the east, enclosed in clay (there is no such clay in this part), the sides being protected by large and rough stones, and covered by flat, red tiles. Near it were found Roman coins and fragments of pottery, etc." (*Arch.*, vol. xliii, p. 152)

occupied, lay beyond the central branch of the river. The level¹ at the Guildhall is 39.419 feet; at Westgate it is 37.418 feet, but there is a fall through the gate. The mark is on the St. Dunstan's side, so that, allowing for this circumstance, there is actually only 1ft. difference between the height of ground at these two localities.

The mark given for the cathedral, the west face, is 38.417 feet, differs a few inches only, allowing for the same deduction, as at Westgate, for the city side of the gateway. The mark at the junction of Stour Street and Beer Cart Lane is only 35.360 feet—two feet under the level of the waters at Westgate, as described by Mr. Faussett.

In Rosemary Lane, that is, at the junction of Stour Street, stands an Ordnance mark stone 34.519 feet. This mark seems to be taken some inches lower than the Westgate mark. Allow a foot for this, and we actually have the level of the bottom of Rosemary Lane 2ft. below that of Westgate, or rather, I should say, 3ft. below the inner gateway. Now if there be a law of nature not easily controverted it is this, that water finds its own level; and as there was nothing to prevent the lake and the river combined from acting under this law, part of Mr. Faussett's Roman Canterbury could never have been dry land during the Roman occupation.²

I do not wish to misrepresent Mr. Faussett, but I believe he includes "the site of St. Mildred's Church" within his Roman town (page 10), and a line in this direction "from Beer Cart Lane" would include this stone, and also St. Mildred's Church.

It may be said, however, that the levels of ground in 1,400 years must have greatly altered. Certainly, but this would be against the lake theory still more, for the fair presumption, when we have no absolute fact to contradict it, is that the height of level would rise most where a population was settled, and certainly not where nothing but a morass or a piece of water existed, through which a river passed, which was always in some degree controlling it.³

¹ Taken from half-tide at Liverpool.

² Mr. Faussett speaks (p. 3) of the roads taking the plunge in the ford at the river at Beer Cart Lane; but if the piece of water in his map then existed (and you will see it extends beyond Beer Cart Lane), it would be one of the last spots selected by the Romans through which to make their great high-ways.

³ The following are exact copies of the levels quoted: Bench-mark, Westgate, above surface, 2.10 feet, 37.418 feet; B.-m., west face of Canterbury

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1865, it is stated that on June 20, 1758, in digging out a cellar at the house next to the King's Head, in the city of Canterbury, a tessellated pavement was found. I have, I think, found this somewhat indefinite locality as being a house next to Mr. Delasaux, High Street, at the corner of Lamb Lane. Here, not many years since, an old inn stood bearing that title. Now I find the level of the ground at the street between these premises and Ald. Hart's establishment opposite, to stand 34.080 feet, nearly 2ft. below the St. Peter's and Westgate levels. This, too, is assuming the pavement of the Roman house was found at or near the surface, which it certainly was not. The nature of the soil between Westgate and Eastbridge affords no evidence at the depth attained by the excavators of its ever having been the residuum of a lake.

Mr. Faussett's sketch of Roman Canterbury, compared with Mr. Pilbrow's or my own, is the most inviting and the most interesting. In Mr. Faussett's plan, the limits of the city in mediæval times are presumed, on two sides at least, to be the boundaries of the home of the Roman citizen, when he was a settler in Durovernum, and dwelt therein in comparative peace and security. Even the present streets seem to invite us to believe, when we look upon them, as being something like the vias in the days of Carausius and of Constantine.

The eye sweeps round the city walls with their mounds, and moats, and towers, and sees in them the renovation of the *enceinte* of Roman Canterbury. At least, from Northgate and the castle side to the cathedral precincts, if not to Northgate itself. The pride of the antiquary, and, to some of us, the pride of the citizen is gratified by this. The Dane John mound, and the recollection of the other mounds, significant and time-honoured features, give an additional interest, if we could claim them for Roman uses, and as existing in Roman times. But, alas! no; for all this pleasing and fascinating picture certainly is not history, and I doubt also if it be fact.

Cathedral, 2.06 ft., 38.417 ft.; west face of pillar of Museum, Guildhall Street, 1.29 ft., 39.316 ft.; surface of ground opposite Lamb Lane (H. Hart's), 34.080 ft.; top of protection-stone, angle of wall, junction of Stour Street and Rosemary Lane, 1.42 ft., 35.519 ft.; B.-m., All Saints' Church, High Street, 1.25 ft., 35.825 ft.; B.-m., street-angle of the Guildhall, 1.29 ft., 39.419 ft.

British Archaeological Association.

THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING, BODMIN AND PENZANCE, 1876,

AUGUST 14TH TO 22ND, INCLUSIVE.

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THE LORD BISHOP OF EXETER.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 14TH, 1876.

THE British Archæological Association celebrated its thirty-third year of a vigorous existence by carefully planned visits to, and examinations of, the most prominent remains of ancient humanity that are as yet to be found in one of the oldest counties of the kingdom. Under the patronage of the Prince of Wales as Duke of Cornwall, with Lord Vivian, Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall, and the Bishop of Exeter as Vice-Patrons, and the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe as President, a very strong muster of names eminent for general and local archæological acquirements was made; and the responses to the endeavours of the Association to make the Congress one of the most successful ever held, were so eagerly and cheerfully taken up, that nothing was left undone in this part of the matter. The mere view of the scenery of Cornwall, with its hard and rugged features of outline, was in many cases new to the members, who were delighted at the opportunity afforded them of inspecting at one and the same time the natural as well as the artificial beauties of the county. There is no doubt that the thickly scattered primæval antiquities here to be inspected, the cromlechs, kistvens, sacred circles, dolmens, huts, rocking-stones, crosses, and cairns, owe their indestructibility to the solidity of the native granite out of which, for the most part, they have been formed; while other relics of past days, in less favoured places, and composed of less durable material, have perished and are gone for ever.

The Congress was arranged to extend over eight working days, Monday, August 14th, to Tuesday, August 22nd, inclusive; the first moiety being devoted to Bodmin as a centre, and the vicinity; the latter portion to Penzance and the more western part of the Cornish promontory.

The opening of the Congress commenced with an excursion to Cotehele from Plymouth, by a special steamer which left Mill Bay Wharf at 9.30 A.M., and set out on the twelve miles trip up the river Tamar, stopping at Saltash *en route* to allow visitors who came by train from Cornwall to swell the numbers of those attending the excursion.

Opposite the point of junction of the Tavy and the Tamar, a small church was pointed out on the Cornish bank as that of Landulph, in which the last descendant of the eastern emperors, Theodorus Palæologus, was buried. The steamer then proceeded past the wooded sweep of Pentilly, and through the many reaches of the beautiful river, and before midday the landing-place of Cothele was reached. Here the President, the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, who had accompanied the party, duly welcomed them, and a walk through a wood brought them to the house. Seats had been arranged in the quadrangle, and Lord Mount Edgcumbe, taking his place at the angle of the chapel, read a short and very graphic notice of the builder of Cothele and of its principal inhabitants, which has been printed above, at pp. 15-22.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., one of the Honorary Secretaries, then read a paper "On the Architectural History of Cothele House", comparing it with Eltham Palace, Haddon Hall, and other examples of the transitional plans between the fortified castles of the fourteenth century and the purely domestic halls of a later date. The paper has been printed at pp. 23-29.

On the conclusion of the reading the visitors went over the mansion, and inspected the various details pointed out by Mr. Brock, Mr. S. I. Tucker (Rouge Croix), and several others, the tapestry, the votive chapel of Sir Richard, and the armour and trophies in the great hall, where luncheon was liberally provided by the kindness of the president. Afterwards a recall was sounded, and on arriving at Saltash, the party waited for about an hour at the station of the Cornish Railway before the arrival of the train which was to carry them onward to Bodmin. Saltash is ancient, but is hardly a place which would have been chosen for a lengthened stay. But the course of the railway as far as Bodmin Road compensated for the delay. Winding valleys filled with oaken coppice, distant views towards moorlands and broken hills, old manor houses, the castle-keep of Trematon, and the picturesque creek of St. Germans rendered the whole journey an unfolding series of pictures. Then came a drive of four miles through pleasant country to the town of Bodmin, which the Association entered amid ringing of bells and cheers of the populace.

At Bodmin a dinner took place at Sandoe's Royal Hotel, and afterwards an adjournment was made to the Guildhall, where a temporary loan collection or museum had been formed and arranged by the Rev. W. Iago, B.A., chaplain of the Bodmin Asylum, including various Cornish antiquities, chiefly from the immediate neighbourhood, amongst them some granite querns and mullers for grinding corn, carved figures, an inkstand carved from a granite block, charters, manuscripts, and seals. On the walls were rubbings and drawings of brasses, monumental inscriptions, pre-historic and Saxon stones, and

illustrations of barrows, urns, and smaller remains. There were also a pair of banners, the one showing the arms of the county of Cornwall (a shield, *sable*, charged with fifteen bezants, *or*, surmounted by a ducal crown), and that of the borough (an Anglo-Saxon king seated on a throne, sceptre in hand), and a large collection of engravings of eminent personages, lent by Mr. Stephen I. Tucker (Rouge Croix, Pursuivant.) Among them were portraits of many Dukes of Cornwall, eminent commanders and divines, including those who were conspicuous in the West during the civil war; and the much-lined, worn face of "Mr. William Fittock, Mayor of St. Maws, A.D. 1741, being the fourth time of his serving that office, and never betrayed his trust, but refused extraordinary bribes"—

"Firmly attached to Falmouth's worthy cause,
Despising gold and popular applause,
Will ne'er forsake his borough or his lord,
Nor for the whole Exchequer change his word."

Mr. J. Crang, the Mayor of Bodmin, attended by the members of the Corporation, officially received the Association, and presented an address to the President, offering a hearty reception to the Congress, and setting forth some of the principal points in the history of the town. It was read by the Town Clerk, Mr. Preston Wallis. The tenour of the address was as follows :

"To the President and Members of the British Archæological Association.

"May it please your Lordship and Gentlemen,—

"We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and burgesses, of the borough of Bodmin, in council assembled, desire to offer to your Lordship and to the members of the British Archæological Association a hearty welcome on the occasion of your visit to this town. We feel that you have conferred upon us a great honour in selecting our ancient borough as the place of meeting for your annual Congress for 1876. The capacity of our town for entertaining a large number of visitors is, perhaps, scarcely equal to such an occasion, but we gladly place our Guildhall at your disposal; and we shall endeavour, as will our fellow townsmen, to compensate for the smallness of our resources by the heartiness of our welcome. Situated within a short distance of the actual geographical centre of the county of Cornwall, Bodmin possesses within its municipal limits many evidences of its great importance in early days. Ancient British remains still exist in the locality, and implements of stone and bronze have been found, and Roman and mediæval coins are occasionally discovered. From the sixth century Bodmin became the seat of the famous Benedictine Priory of St. Mary and St. Petroc. It was also the early seat of the Cornish bishopric, and a Franciscan priory occupied an important position in the town; and within the parish, on the border, was a hospital for lepers. There were many ecclesiastical establishments and trade-guilds. Bodmin parish church, dedicated to St. Petroc, is the largest in Cornwall. The town has its

historical associations, and contains some objects of general interest. The ivory reliquary of Moorish work, now in the hands of this Corporation, has attracted considerable notice. It is said to have been brought from France to Bodmin in the twelfth century. It has been exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries and to the Archaeological Institute. It has also been brought under the notice of the authorities of the South Kensington Museum. The municipal charters and other documents are ancient and curious. The lists of the Mayors and members of Parliament have been traced down from the thirteenth century. In the districts surrounding Bodmin are to be found very many relics of remote antiquity, which we have reason to believe will present very considerable attractions to the members of your Society. We trust your proceedings during your visit will lead to a deeper appreciation of archaeological science, and we trust you will carry away with you, not only a valuable store of historical information, but also a pleasant reminiscence of your Congress at Bodmin."

At the conclusion of the Mayor's address, the President took the chair, and delivered the inaugural address, which has been printed above at pp. 1-14.

The President's address was followed by a paper "On the Antiquities of Bodmin," by the Rev. W. Iago, in which the various hermitages, religious houses, trade guilds, friaries, and churches were described, and some account rendered of discoveries made during excavations in the immediate vicinity of the town.

Bodmin itself deserves its name—if that is to be interpreted, as Sir John Maclean believes, as signifying "the town under the hills"—Bodmy-nydd. It lies stretched out in a long, broad valley, with the county asylum crowning one of the enclosing hills, the Union and Berry Tower, a relic of the Chapel of the Holy Rood, on another, and an obelisk on a third, raised in honour of the late General Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert, of Indian celebrity, a native of the town, who died in 1853.

The church is the largest in Cornwall, and is Perpendicular, of good character, and is at present in course of thorough "restoration". Outside the west door is the covered well of St. Guron, the first Christian teacher of the district, according to the local tradition, although this may very well be disputed. St. Petrock, who followed him, was one of the great saints of the west country. Seven churches in Devonshire and four in Cornwall are dedicated in his honour—this at Bodmin being the most important.

The place of the old Cornish see was for some time indifferently at Bodmin and at St. German's, and it is almost to be regretted that in its modern restoration Bodmin has not been allowed to recover her ancient honours—if it was right that the bishop should receive any other title than the most primitive of all, "Bishop of Cornwall." In the church are one or two remarkable monuments. There is a curious

slab for Richard Durant, who died in 1632, with his two wives and his twenty children; another for Peter Bolt, merchant, "some time steward of the city of Exeter," who died in 1633—

"Seventy-six dozen moones and odd,
A stewardship I held of God,"

runs his epitaph; and the fine altar tomb, with effigy, of the last Prior of the Black Canons, Thomas Vivian, who died in 1533, and was titular Bishop of Megara. As Bishop he served as Suffragan to Exeter from 1518-1532. The mixture of Renaissance design in the base of the monument with the pure Gothic feeling of the effigy is very noticeable, and the fringed vestments are unusual. Prior Vivian was a somewhat fierce personage, constantly at war with the townsfolk, and it is said that on one occasion he caused small ordnance to be drawn up on the hill above the Priory, and threatened to fire on the town, if he did not actually do so.

By this time the long day's work had begun to tell on the audience, and Mr. Planché's paper on "The Earls of Cornwall," which was to have been read on this evening, was postponed.

TUESDAY, 15TH AUGUST, 1876.

The principal feature of work for this day was a lengthy drive to the interesting church and Castle of Tintagel. The party, consisting of about one hundred and fifty members, started at nine o'clock in the morning, and after three hours driving through Pencarrow grounds and camp, with the mountain heights of Rough Tor and Brown Willy (probably *Bryn Uhellu*, the highest hill) on the left hand, halted at Lanteglos, opposite the church, and gathered around the sculptured stone which graces the rectory lawn. Here the rector, the Rev. J. J. Wilkinson, M.A., received the party, and read portions of Sir J. Maclean's *History of the Deanery of Trigg-Minor*, with reference to the granite monument in view of the audience. This object is supposed to have formerly stood on the earthworks at Castle Goff. The stone is inscribed with an Anglo-Saxon distich, recording its dedication, and appears to be not later than the eleventh century, and probably much earlier. Other stone crosses were then examined, after which the parish church was inspected and described by Mr. M. H. Bloxam and Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., who adduced various opinions respecting the dates to be assigned to respective portions of the fabric. A luncheon was then offered to the visitors by Mrs. Wilkinson and the hospitable rector, and carriages were re-entered to proceed through the slate quarrying district towards the northern coast, making for Tintagel in a course of seven miles.

On arriving at the village a hasty glance was bestowed upon the beautiful and wild scenery around, and the old church inspected under the guidance of the rector, the Rev. Prebendary Kinsman.

Tintagel, and all the grand cliff line of this northern coast, is perhaps most impressive when mist is not entirely absent, when a stormy sunset glows between the cloud openings, and the roar of breakers rises hoarsely from the base of the rock. But the scene can wear another and a very lovely aspect, when sky and sea alike display the most intense blue of summer. Thus it was that Tintagel was seen by the visitors of Tuesday. The headland, with its slowly decaying walls and towers, then assumes something of its old enchanted character. As it sleeps in the afternoon light, we should hardly wonder to find it disappear suddenly, as in the days of Sir Tristram and Sir Gawain it was in the habit of doing twice in the year. It is far too grand and too wild, and the whole scene is too purely northern for a comparison with Claude's famous picture of the "Enchanted Castle"; but the feeling of that best of Claudes is much what is suggested by Tintagel under a cloudless summer sky. But this is the poetry of the place. It is to be supposed that severe antiquaries were more busied with outer and inner baillies, with ground plans and masonry, and with the dates of such fragments of the walls as remain.

The church, if not Saxon, is at least very early Norman (the belief that any portion should be regarded as Saxon was held to be untenable by Mr. Godwin); the carved granite font is early Norman. The south transept had been once screened off. It contains in the windows tracery of the transition period between Early English and Decorated styles. In this transept the rector also exhibited a stone coffin and an early brass.

Mr. G. Godwin, Mr. Bloxam, and Mr. Brock made some further descriptive and critical remarks, and after a careful perambulation of the details described in the preceding discussion, the members of the Association assembled on a hill overlooking the renowned Castle of Tintagel, the reputed stronghold of the great King Arthur, the theme of many a poet, from Gower and Chaucer down to the present day. The ruins mainly consist of crumbling walls, some of which are on the edge of a steep cliff, several hundred feet high; others on an equally lofty peninsula opposite, separated only by a narrow gorge, which is constantly increasing in size through the action of the waves. These ruins are very shapeless, built as they are of the rough dun-stone of the country, and to all appearance without ashlar. Rude as they are, however, they can hardly be earlier than the days of Henry III. At what time the castle fell into complete ruin is not certain. It was sufficiently strong (or at least a part of it) in 1385 to allow of its serving for the prison of a refractory Lord Mayor of London, who, says Carew,

"for his unruly mayoralty was condemned here as a perpetual penitentiary."

During the desultory storming of the Castle by the archæologists, Prebendary Kinsman explained the ground-plan, and read a paper on the subject, referring to the traditions which connect the locality with King Arthur, and demonstrating the original unity of the two portions, which have now become divided by the effect of local land-slips. The chapel was also examined, but with some risk, and its date was ascribed by some of those present to the twelfth or thirteenth century. On the return journey the borough of Camelford was visited, and the members of the Corporation received the pilgrims in the Guildhall, where luncheon was handsomely provided, and the Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, as rector and alderman, welcomed the party to the town, and exhibited the charter and mace. It was nearly ten before the return to Bodmin; but in spite of the lateness of the hour, the reading of papers took place in the Bodmin Guildhall before a good audience, Mr. Godwin presiding. The first was entitled, "The Pros and Cons on the Etymology of certain words in the now obsolete Cornish language," by the Rev. Dr. Margoliouth, which will appear in the *Journal* in due course. The other by Mr. Kerslake, of Bristol, on the "Dedications of Certain Churches to Cornish Saints."

Mr. Rogers said that the Bodmin Gospels now in the British Museum contained a number of Jewish names.

Mr. Kerslake showed that among the two hundred remaining dedications of ancient churches in Cornwall, about three-fourths were national or Celtic, and the names were of so local a character that if met with in any other part of England their uncommon sound would excite special inquiry. This great preponderance was undoubtedly more ancient than those that were common to all Christendom, and had come into Cornwall by later influences. They were chiefly intended to honour the memory of some benefactor who had endeared himself by the conversion of the district, or by martyrdom in the attempt. Among the ancient Celtic dedications in Cornwall, in addition to the native or Damnonian, a considerable admixture of Armorican, Cambrian, and Irish would be found. A detailed analysis of the topographical distinction of the peculiar dedications would most likely yield valuable results, and show the first missionary centres in relation to their surrounding offspring, besides bringing to light other incidents in the ethnic history of the people.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16TH.

The proceedings of the third day, Wednesday, were as interesting as those of the previous days. A long procession of carriages started at an early hour from Bodmin for the Priory at Lanivet, about three miles distance, now the picturesque dwelling-house of Captain Sargeant. Little has been ascertained of its history; but whatever the place may have been, there could be no question as to the charm of its appearance on a cloudless, sunny morning, set deep in its woodland valley, with its grey mullions and porches, its green turf and bright flowers. There are some remains of an early fifteenth century tower, and some portions of domestic buildings of the same date; but whether there was here a house of Benedictine nuns, or whether, as Dr. Oliver believed, the tower was only that of a "chapel of special devotion", is quite uncertain, since it is a curious fact that no early documents remain to be consulted.

Dr. Couch described the mural paintings discovered during the progress of recent (1864) restorations in the south aisle of the parish church of St. Benet, a Perpendicular edifice, at Lanivet. The most remarkable is a figure of Our Lord, representing what is known as the "full passion",—the crown of thorns, the bloody sweat (figured in trefoiled patches over the body), and the wound in the right side, from which the hands receive the stream, one into the other. The wound on the right side agrees with the legend of the good thief, who is said to have been baptized in blood springing from it. And Mr. Bloxam pointed out an unusual arrangement in the church,—the rood-loft had passed over the nave and aisles, with passage-ways cut through the arcades. In the churchyard were two fine crosses, not later than the eleventh century, somewhat like those seen the previous day at Lanteglos. On one there was sculptured a figure of the Saviour wearing a loin-cloth of unusual length. Mr. Bloxam considered them to be about the date 1050, and referred to some flat stone coffins close by, on which were sculptured pre-Norman ornaments.

Built into an adjoining cottage is a stone inscribed with the name ANICUS.

The scene at Lanivet is striking. Fine trees surround the church with its massive tower; and beyond extends the village common fragrant with camomile, and crossed by a sparkling streamlet. But there was little time to linger. A long ride through lanes, with tantalising views here and there over the hedges, brought the antiquaries to Restormel Castle, whence there was a walk of about a mile to Lostwithiel. The pole of one of the well-laden breaks snapped on the way; but there was no accident, and the carriage was replaced at Lostwithiel.

At Restormel Castle Dr. Couch conducted the assembled throng round the circular keep placed upon an artificial mount, clad with ivy, and surrounded by a moat, and pointed out the remains of the portcullis at the entrance, and the square part added probably at a later period, the lower part of which was used as a chapel. The building was originally one of the palaces of the Earls of Cornwall, and was said to have been erected in the reign of Henry III. The construction of this keep has generally been assigned to Richard, King of the Romans, and there seems no reason to doubt that he may have been the builder. With the assigned date the style of architecture agreed. The Castle stood at the head of the Fowey Creek, and commanded that important inlet. Whether it occupied the site of a British stronghold is at least probable. There is not the marked artificial mound of Launceston or Trematon; and the mound on which the shell-wall of the keep rises has been gained entirely by throwing up the earth from the deep external ditch which surrounds it. This would give an earth-work precisely similar to the circular encampments so numerous in the county. The circular shell-wall follows the edge of the mound, and there is a second circular wall at a short distance within. Between these walls were rooms. The base-court, the great hall, and other buildings, have entirely disappeared. The place seems to have been used as the quarry of the neighbourhood.

A start was then made for Lostwithiel, where the fine and ancient church dedicated to St. Bartholomew was the first attraction placed before the party. The church is chiefly noticeable for its tower and spire, which are of the thirteenth century, and exhibit a design that is certainly not English; the beautiful details of the spire and of the octagonal lantern from which it springs, being much admired. It may have come, as was suggested, from Normandy. Each side of the octagonal belfry is surmounted by gablets which produce an effect of richness unsurpassed by any parapet.

The Rev. Mr. Hill, who described the edifice, said that this was one of the few Cornish churches that appeared to have a clerestory on both sides contemporaneous with the building, which was of the same date as the steeple but with later additions. The arcade-piers were without capitals, and are of early fourteenth century work. Altogether the church was pronounced one of the most interesting the members had yet visited. There is a curious fragment of alabaster carving representing the flaying of St. Bartholomew, fixed over the north porch.

After partaking of a substantial luncheon at the Hotel, the party proceeded to the Town Hall, a plain granite building of the eighteenth century, where the ancient silver oar which gave jurisdiction for arrest on the waters of the Fowey was examined. This and the mace were

of the date of Charles II, and were pronounced by Mr. Lambert to be unusually good specimens of chased silver-work. The documents and charters were also examined.

The next place of interest was the strange, ecclesiastical looking building with heavy buttresses and traceried windows, of the Decorated period, known as the Stannaries' Court. The interior was very disappointing, as it is bare of furniture, and whitewashed both on ceiling and walls. The character of the arms of the Duchy showed that they were added in the days of Edward I, when tradition asserts that the building was erected. For many centuries it was used for the transaction of county mining business, but is now used as a drill-hall.

On the conclusion of the inspection the carriages were resumed, and the course directed through the lovely domain of Boconnoc, where the oaks are the largest and most ancient in Cornwall, and where the wide heaths that form outliers to the main park have been dotted with rhododendrons and hydrangias, to remote St. Neot's, the bourne of the pilgrimage, and the most interesting place visited for the day. Here a paper was read by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, which will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

In the evening a meeting was again held at Bodmin, when Mr. H. S. Stokes, the Honorary Local Secretary, read a short account of Cornish histories and books on the county, which has been printed at pp. 35-45.

A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Stokes, who, it was remarked, had modestly omitted mention of his own contributions to Cornish literature.

Mr. Godwin spoke of the necessity of impressing upon the Cornish people a sense of the importance of preserving the old remains of interest which so abounded in the county, and which in too many cases, by unthoughtful conduct, were fast disappearing.

This concluded the meeting at a late hour.

THURSDAY, 17TH AUGUST, 1876.

The fourth day of Congress, and the last with Bodmin as a centre, was devoted to a trip to Launceston, which, however, was not attended by the whole strength of the Association, for there were a few who seemed to require rest from the fatigues of the previous outings, and hence the party was not quite so large. The start was made under pleasant skies, but ere long the clouds gathered thickly over, and a storm seemed imminent. A visit to the quaint ruins of the little Temple Church, with its roofless walls, and the tall tree rising from the midst of their sacred enclosure had been intended, but this it was

found expedient to dispense with. Some very interesting particulars respecting it were, notwithstanding, given in a paper by Mr. Brock, who carefully and minutely discussed the connection of the Knights Hospitallers with the church, and described the architectural details and principal points of comparative interest.

As the drive extended over the wild moorland—the greatest expanse of waste in the county of Cornwall, and as yet insufficiently explored for antiquities of the prehistoric class—the clouds became denser and blacker, and at length it was very evident that the storm which had been threatening had arrived. Fortunately so had the archæologists—at the “Jamaica Inn”—and there they had shelter for an hour, while thunder, lightning, and rain illustrated magnificently what a summer thunderstorm on that high table land is like. This did not form an item in the day’s programme, but it was by no means an uninteresting feature, and in order that the waiting time might not be lost, the Rev. J. J. Wilkinson read the paper which he had prepared on Launceston Castle.

Some of the party made a visit to that largest of Cornish lakelets—Dozmare, or Dosmery Pool—which is within easy distance of the inn, with its legends of Tregeagle and his limpet shell; and its mythical association with the death of King Arthur, so beautifully told by the Laureate, and so quaintly set forth by the fine old author of “Mort d’Arthur,” Sir Thomas Malory.

All have read of the arm which flashed from the bosom of the lake to receive the famous Excalibur flung therein by the reluctant knight. But few are acquainted with the tale as told by Malory, who recounts how Sir Bedivere had twice essayed to throw Excalibur, in obedience to Arthur’s command, into the water, and twice, tempted by its nobleness and richness, had hid it, and told the dying king that his will had been obeyed, and there was nought to see but the water wap and the waves wan; and how then, touched by the rebuke of his master, “Sir Bedivere departed, and went to the sword, and lightly took it up, and went to the water side, and there he bound the girdle about the hilt. And then he threw the sword into the water as far as he might, and there came an arm and a hand above the water, and met it and caught it, and so shook it thrice and brandished. And then the hand vanished away with the sword in the water. So Sir Bedivere came again to the king, and told him what he had seen. ‘Alas!’ said the king, ‘help me from hence, for I dread me I have tarried over long.’ Then Sir Bedivere took King Arthur on his back, and so went with him to the water’s side. And when they were at the water’s side, even fast by the bank, hove a little barge with many fair ladies in it, and among them all was a queen.” And thus Arthur went away from Dozmare into the vale of Avalon.

After the storm had ceased, progress was made to Launceston, which was reached shortly after midday. Here the members of the Association, headed by Mr. Morgan, were welcomed to Launceston—the castle of which they had seen long before the town was reached—at the Council Chamber by the Mayor, Mr. G. G. White, and other members of the Corporation, and the Town Clerk. On the table of the Chamber were laid the charters of the borough, with other ancient deeds, and the Corporate insignia. The charters are dated 1st May, 1383, 2nd May, 1383 (Richard II); 18th September, 1399; 25th January, 1401 (Henry IV); 13th May, 1414 (Henry V); 11th February, 1487 (Henry VII); 29th June, 1509, 16th March, 1515, 15th November, 1543 (Henry VIII); 21st October, 1546 (Edward VI); 14th February, 1555 (Philip and Mary); 24th June, 1573 (Elizabeth); 3rd March, 1603 (James I); 22nd July, 1682 (Charles II.) The seals to several of these are in admirable preservation, and an earlier deed still, referring to the Hospital of St. Leonard, at Gillmartin, circa 1205, has the seal of the hospital absolutely perfect. A very interesting document had been found only the day previously by the Rev. Mr. King in an old chest in the parvise of the church, which had not been opened within the memory of man. This was a grant in the ninth year of Richard II by John Colyn, then Mayor of Launceston, to William Coulynge and Alice his wife. Then there was the original borough patent of arms, dated 1573, and signed by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux. The maces are of silver, large and handsome, with reproductions of the ancient borough seal on their lower ends. They were given, as inscriptions thereon witness, by Charles Harbord, member for the borough, in the mayoralty of Robert Pearce. There is likewise a large silver loving cup, with cover, bearing the borough arms, and made, as the stamp indicates, in 1789.

At the White Hart Inn the Mayor and Corporation entertained the members at a luncheon, and the fine entrance door, with transitional Norman chevron mouldings, attracted universal attention. It was stated that there was a belief that it had originally come from Launceston Priory. An adjournment was afterwards made to the castle, where the Rev. Mr. Wilkinson re-read some portions of the paper he had already delivered during the temporary detention by stress of weather on Bodmin Moor. This paper was a very valuable one for the Congress, and we give a lengthy account of its contents.

Mr. Wilkinson, after referring to the valuable paper by Mr. S. R. Pattison, F.G.S., on the castle, said that he had failed to discover the name of Launceston or Dunheved in any document prior to the Norman Conquest. From the fact of Roman coins having been found at Launceston, and the existence of traces of a Roman road between it and Stratton, it was probable that the Romans had a station there. Most

of the local topographers thought that the British chiefs had a castle there in very early times. He doubted the existence of any important castle, from the absence of architectural traces, the silence of history, and the smallness of the manor in the time of Edward the Confessor. If the Romans had a temporary station, probably the site was utilised by the Britons. When Athelstan in 928 subdued Cornwall, he entirely altered the state of the county. The ownership, as stated in *Domesday*, disproved the common notion that the British Princes were established at Launceston until turned out by the Conqueror. *Domesday* concluded the description of the small manor of Dunheved with "ibi est castrum Comitis"—"There is a castle of the earl." This and Trematon were the only castles in Cornwall named in the survey. Soon after the Conquest, Robert, Earl of Moreton, was created Earl of Cornwall, with a grant of 288 manors in that county alone. In obedience to William's orders that castles with keeps should be built throughout the kingdom to consolidate his power over his Saxon subjects, the earl erected the castles of Dunheved and Trematon. The site of this castle was admirably selected for the purpose of security and the protection of an important entrance into the county. Within easy distance of Polston Bridge, where the Tamar became fordable, on the direct route from Exeter into Cornwall, the castle commanded an extensive view of all the approaches to the river of the neighbouring county—towards the eastern ridges of Dartmoor, the Cornish tors, and the district towards the North. The situation was in those days impregnable. The castle consisted of a west entrance, a base court (now the castle green), with its hall, governor's house, chapel, stables, and other buildings; a watchers' tower, a guardhouse to the steps leading to the keep, and an east gate. Approaching from what was formerly the Deer Park, a league in circumference, and now converted into roads, streets, houses, gardens, and fields, they arrived at the west entrance between covered walls pierced with loopholes, spanning the ditch below by three arched openings. The west part of the ditch was filled in when the north road was made in 1828. There stood the west gate tower, which must have been lofty and substantial, containing several chambers. There was a groove for the portcullis. Following the wall to the south-west angle, they came to what was formerly the watchers' tower, which was accidentally thrown down in the formation of the new road. The name, he said, had been corrupted into witch tower, and men's blood had been well nigh frozen with descriptions of imaginary horrors in the burning of a poor witch, over the place of whose execution the grass had refused to grow. This was all pure fiction. The "watchers" of Launceston Castle were a well-recognised part of the garrison, for whose maintenance provision was made annually by a fixed sum—£3 : 8 : 8 : contributed from lands in each hundred in the

county. The architecture was said to have been similar to the other remains of the castle. From the watchers' tower eastward, following the course of the wall, they found about midway a square chamber outside the wall covered with ivy; and a little further on a postern entrance walled up. From this the walls were continued round the base of the hill to the east gate. The keep stood on a tapering hill, which had been artificially rounded by scarping. Borlase said the diameter was 320 feet and the height 104 feet from the base court to the parapet of the dungeon. The ascent to the keep was by a flight of steps seven feet wide, between two walls covered with lead, and pierced with loopholes for observation. The entrance to this staircase was defended by a semi-circular guardhouse of two storeys, joined to the wall.

The keep was the most interesting part of the ruins. At the top of the steps was a strong gateway, with a portcullis. The round inner tower, 36 feet by 38 feet, contained three rooms, the lowest probably a dungeon without light. On the upper floor were two rooms leading from each other, with a large deeply splayed window, and a fireplace of cut stone. There were no remains of an outer chimney, nor were there traces of any well. The tower was surrounded by a great outer wall, with two staircases in it, leading to the summit, which was crowned with a parapet. From this wall a flat roof joined the tower, to support which there was a circle of square apertures, though in the wall there were no corresponding supports. They were probably destroyed when the roof fell into decay, and the lead was used for bullets. The tower and wall were surrounded by an outer low parapet wall, which had quite disappeared, except some fragments of foundation on the north. Norden gave a wall round the base of the hill, which very probably existed, though no traces of it remained. In the base court stood the principal habitations of the castle, the great hall, the occasional residence of the earls, the chapel, constable's residence, stables, and gaol. Of these there were no remains. Here, in later days, were the assize hall and county prison.

The most perfect part of the buildings was the east gate, which, having become dilapidated, appeared to have been rebuilt in the reign of Henry VIII. In parts of it there was a resemblance to the architecture of the rest of the castle, but the flat buttresses, the sharpness of the masonry, and other features, pointed to a more recent date. Like the west gate, its external approach was covered by walls. The building of the gate-house formed the constable's residence, after that in the base court fell into decay. Here were rooms used as a prison, and the cell, now used as a stable court, was also an occasional prison, the noisome den described by George Fox, who was imprisoned there in 1656 for eight months. Mr. Wilkinson believed that the castle was

commenced by Robert, Earl of Moreton, whose son William probably completed the building after his father's death in 1087. The castle continued to be attached to the earldom. It was not probable that it was inhabited by any of the earls continuously. As head of the barony this was the most important place in the county, and was entrusted to the custody of the sheriff. There was also a resident constable. Much of the property in the county was held of the honour of the castle. Some of the rents were very curious. After the death of the last earl, John of Eltham, in 1337, a survey was made, in which it was stated that the walls of the castle were ruinous, and full details were given of the buildings whereof the castle consisted. From the creation of the duchy until the wars of Charles I, the accounts of the castle were meagre and uninteresting. There did not seem to have been any part taken by the Cornish in the Wars of the Roses. The rebels in Flamank's rebellion, 1490, marched through Launceston. The followers of Arundel, 1549, took possession of the castle. Launceston played a very prominent part in the wars between Charles I and the Parliament. It was first garrisoned for the latter by Sir Richard Buller and Sir Alexander Carew, but was afterwards seized by Sir Ralph Hopton, the enemy flying. It was taken possession of by Essex when he entered Cornwall on his unfortunate expedition. In 1645 Sir Richard Grenville repaired the fortifications, and Charles II resided much there in the autumn and winter, quitting it on the approach of Fairfax in 1646. A survey, taken in 1650, showed that the castle was then much out of repair, and some of the buildings levelled. During the Commonwealth the castle and park were purchased by Colonel Robert Bennet, a Baptist. Fox was imprisoned in 1656 in a horrible den, under Constable John Sowell. After the Restoration Sir Hugh Piper was made Constable of the Castle, and the office continued in his son and grandson; the last dying in 1754. Part of the buildings were used as a county gaol until that at Bodmin was built, and these and the law courts were removed not long after the assizes ceased to be held in Launceston.

Considerable discussion followed the reading of the paper in the Castle yard. Mr. Bloxam pointed to various features of the buildings, and said he was quite satisfied that it was an Edwardian fortress, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century work; and in this Mr. Dingley agreed. Mr. Loftus Brook was surprised to see so few points which could be identified as Norman work. A window in the guard-house at the foot of the deep stairs looked like an erection of that period, though possibly built in the reign of Henry III. Mr. Wilkinson defended the conclusions drawn in his paper, and referred to the documentary and historical evidence that a castle was built on the site soon after the Conquest. It was shown by some local gentlemen that

two different kinds of stone were used in the construction of the Castle,—one, the ordinary granite of the immediate neighbourhood ; the other, that of Poliphant, and this appeared to have been used for repairs. The general opinion, after a leisurely walk through the various parts, and a careful investigation of the few sculptured details, was that it was in all likelihood a Norman fortress almost rebuilt about the time of Henry III.

The last part of the Castle to be visited was the “noisome hole” in which the founder of the Society of Friends, George Fox, was confined,—a small apartment on the ground-level, next the north gate, now measuring 21 feet by 12 feet, but having traces of a partition dividing the area into equal parts, and 10 feet high. It was stated by Mr. Dingley that at the present time no Quakers reside in Launceston, and that when the den is visited by members of the Society of Friends they carefully shake the dust from their boots as a silent protest against religious intolerance.

From the Castle a move was made to the Church of St. Mary Magdalene with its ornately and uniquely carved exterior. Great was the admiration expressed at the elaboration and beauty of the work, its fine general effect, and at the pains and labour which must have been bestowed to produce such results in so hard a material as granite. The interior of the church is in admirable order ; but presents no points worthy of special note, or differing in any marked degree from the Perpendicular churches of the district, except a peculiar irregularity in the arcading, for which Mr. Brock confessed himself unable to account. There are two notable mural monuments ; and Mr. King has recently had brought into the church, from the churchyard, the rude bowl of the ancient font, which is of Poliphant stone, with carvings of the heads of animals. Mr. Brock remarked that the church was one of which the inhabitants might well be proud, and that he had never seen a more elaborate specimen of the Perpendicular style in the west of England. He invited a close inspection of the carved oak panelled work on the very beautiful pulpit. The details were very good and delicately finished ; but it appeared to be formed out of parts of an earlier structure, possibly the rood-screen.

The Rev. E. A. T. Daunt, of Launceston, stated that the pulpit was originally brought from North Petherwyn Church, and had never, so far as memory or tradition served, been repaired.

Mr. Brock pointed out that there was evidence in the pulpit itself that it was a reconstruction. The panels were of very late Gothic ; but the columns dividing them, and the upper part of the framework, were distinctly Jacobean, and the interlaced patterns in places did not match. The person who fashioned the parts into their present form was evidently a man of artistic feeling, and his work was most creditable.

Mr. Daunt thanked Mr. Brock, and said these details had not previously been remarked in the pulpit, which was generally admired.

Mr. Bloxam pointed out that the roof-ceiling was pointed instead of being rounded, as in most Cornish churches.

After leaving the church, the members examined the last of the town gates remaining, that on the Devonshire road. It is a small detached tower with a pointed archway, above which is a room covered in by a high-pitched modern roof. It was not over this gate, but its western neighbour, that that remarkable token of royal favour was set forth by Henry V in the distich,

“ He that will do aught for mee,
Let hym love well Sir John Tirlawne.”

This concluded the perambulation of Launceston, and the party returned to Bodmin in their carriages, after partaking of tea, which had been thoughtfully provided for the weary travellers by the kindness of the Rev. Mr. King, whose hospitality was well timed and greatly appreciated. A second thunderstorm of great violence and intensity attacked the returning party on their journey over the moors to Bodmin.

The members who, from the fatigue of the previous days' work, and from the inclemency of weather, had preferred to stay at home in Bodmin this day, had meanwhile performed a perambulation of that town under the presiding care of the Rev. W. Iago, visiting the church, the Berry Tower, the Gilbert Obelisk, and the sites of some guild-chapels, and inspecting the temporary loan museum.

In the evening the Mayor of Bodmin welcomed the Association at the Guildhall, and a *conversazione* was held. The temporary museum was examined with much interest, and great attention was paid to the remarkable ivory casket, now in keeping of the Town Clerk, which served for some time as a shrine for the bones of St. Petroc. These relics were stolen in 1177, and carried to Britanny. The Prior of Bodmin obtained restitution of his treasure, and brought it back in a *theca eburnea*, which is, no doubt, the casket still in existence. It seems of Moorish type, perhaps Sicilian, and is the largest reliquary of its class which is known in this country. The very massive silver-gilt maces, gifts of Lord Radnor, and the loving-cup of the Corporation, were also exhibited. These are of no great antiquity, but of some art merit.

During the evening a paper was read by J. S. Phené, LL.D., F.S.A., “On the *Kápvuξ*, or Horn of the Keltic People, and its various Applications.” This paper, which was very discursive, entered into a history of different kinds of ancient horns,—the procession before Jericho with rams' horns, the connection of Astarte and Jupiter Ammon with

the horn, the Feast of Trumpets, the Karneian Apollo, the Moslem double horn or crescent, the local customs of horn-blowing in Britanny, Cornwall, Oxford, and other places. The name Belerium conveyed, he thought, the Roman recognition of Bel or Baal worship in this district ; and the Cornu-Wales, the horn, crescent, or Astarteian worship in its original, popular sense in ancient times.

At the close, cordial votes of thanks were tendered to the Mayor, the members of the Corporation, and all the local friends of the Association, for the help afforded ; and the first, or Bodmin portion of the Congress was closed.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 3RD, 1877.

H. S. CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following associates was announced :

John Brent, F.S.A., Canterbury
W. G. Fretton, 88, Little Park Street, Coventry
W. J. Rawlings, Downes, Hayle, Cornwall.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the several donors of the following presents :

To the Society, for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. ix, Part III.

" " for "Archæologia Cambrensis", No. 28, 4th Series.

" " "Ulm Journal of Archæology", No. 10.

" " "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries", vol. vii, No. 1, 2nd Series.

" " "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. iv, 4th Series, Nos. 25, 26.

To the Author, for "A Primæval British Metropolis", by T. Kerslake.

Mr. Walter Money, Local Member of Council for Berkshire, sent for exhibition a drawing of a chimney piece of the latter part of the fifteenth century. This has been found during the last few months in clearing the site for the new municipal buildings at Newbury. It is of stone, and is for an opening 6ft. wide by 3ft. 9in. high. The left hand joint is of one stone, and the head is formed of two. The right hand joint is missing. The head is flat, with small quarter circle sweeps at the junction next the jambs, and both are similarly moulded. Above the head are ten small sunken panels with trefoiled and arched heads. Seven of these contain shields of varying shapes, of which one only is carved with bearings. The two end panels, right and left, are plain, and the third from the right hand side has, instead of a shield, a raised figure, not unlike a raised Y. It is to be hoped that this relic will be preserved in the new buildings at Newbury now in progress.

The Rev. Prebendary H. M. Scarth, M.A., *Vice-President*, forwarded drawings of two pigs of Roman lead. These were found at the beginning of last July at Charterhouse, in the Mendip Hill district, among the old washings of the mining operations of the Roman workmen. They appear to have been accidentally covered up and forgotten.

Mr. Scarth calls attention to the inscriptions, which show that the first is of the date of Vespasian, and the other having Titus associated with him. He considers that they belong to the year in which the latter first became emperor, probably between A.D. 70 and 72.

The inscriptions are :—On the first pig, which weighs 143 lbs., IMP. VESPASIAN. AUG. on the flat top, and BRIT. EX. ARG. VI. on one of the sloping sides. The second weighs 2 cwt. 2 qrs. 16 lbs., and has inscribed on its flat top, in a sunken panel, as before, IMP. VESPASIAN. AUG. There is no inscription on the sides.

Mr. Scarth reminds us that Roman pigs of lead bearing the stamp of the Emperor Vespasian, associated with his son Titus, have also been found at Tarvin, near Chester, and from the product of the Welsh mines, of the date A.D. 74 and 76. He adds, "I have not yet made out the meaning of the VI. after the EX. ARG., all the rest is plain. I think it must relate to the weight. It has been read VE, but on the lead it appears to me to be VI. I shall be glad to hear of any explanation, and have sent a sketch to Professor Hubner."

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited two interesting fragments of a Roman pavement found in Bishopsgate. One was of tesserae of small fragments of red brick rubbed square, and the other of still smaller cubes of white hard chalk-like stone. The following description was given of this find by Mr. Way :—"In August 1875, some workmen engaged in excavating for the foundation of a new building on the western side of Bishopsgate Street, opposite Crosby Hall, for Messrs. Gordon and Co., came upon a Roman pavement, which measured about four yards square. The outer bordering was composed of the common red tesserae, with another border or pattern of black, and the middle filled up with white tesserae of a much smaller size, carefully worked in the usual mortar of pounded brick and lime. The depth at which the pavement was found was about 15ft. below the present footway, and about 50ft. distant west of it. It is interesting, as are all finds of a similar character, and as indicating that the spot was a part of the Roman city. Several pavements have been found at different times near this spot; one only a short time since, which extended 7ft. beneath the roadway. It was of elegant and large design. Another has also been found recently beneath the additions to Crosby Hall, near the surface, while another of older date was found at the corner of Camomile Street; others have been found in the immediate vicinity."

The Chairman remarked that this pavement belonged to a well

known group, the largest of which was the celebrated one found in Old Broad Street. They all formed part, most probably, of Roman villas of large size and importance. The pavement now under notice was hardly inspected at the period of its discovery, owing to the rapidity of the building operations, and it was either destroyed or covered up.

Mr. Way also exhibited several other objects of much interest, including some sling stones from Sidbury Castle, near Sidmouth.

The Reverend Charles Bontell presented to the Association a fine series of twenty-five photographs of the Misereres of the ancient stalls of Worcester Cathedral, and which he briefly described. The carvings were executed *circa* 1395-1400, and the style of the carving well justifies this period. They continued in the cathedral until 1551, when they were removed to make way for other work, and altered arrangements. A very laudable desire being manifested by the authorities for their being replaced in the cathedral, they were rescued from a heap of lumber, and very carefully and judiciously repaired by Mr. Perkins. Thirty-seven have been refixed, but there were originally forty, and the original arrangement is lost. They are admirably carved, with much diversity, and the series shows a considerable number of Norman figures and grotesques, with foliage of great beauty. Thanks were expressed for this contribution to the Association.

Mr. Bontell also exhibited a sketch of a remarkable figure drawn by himself from a richly illuminated MS. of about A.D. 1290 in the Lambeth Palace Library. It represents St. Laurence with his gridiron and a palm branch in the right hand and a book in the left. He is habited in deacon's costume, namely, an amice, alb, and dalmatic. Early figures of deacons are very rare, and when given, generally, if not in every instance, they represent St. Laurence. A good example in sculpture occurs in one of the niches of the Tudor chantry in Worcester Cathedral. In the brass to John Byrkhed, priest, 1468 at Harrow, a figure of St. Laurence is introduced, and another appears in the apparel of the cope of William Ermyn at Castle Ashby, A.D. 1461. Reference was also made to the numerous excellent illustrations of figures of deacons in the "*Vestiarium Christianum*", by the Rev. W. B. Marriott.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a variety of London relics, viz., (1) a beautifully moulded and jewelled stem of a Venetian wineglass, the bowl of which must have been more capacious than a large champagne glass; (2) two green glazed costrels, both of the fifteenth century, each possessing a diameter of nine inches (one is remarkable for three loops), and resembling closely the water-bottles slung from pilgrims' shoulders in mediæval sculpture and painting; (3) two fumigating vessels of red and yellow glaze, both with handles.

The vessel of yellow glaze is of unusual shape, being almost a censer, and the arrangement for the transmission of air is through a cavity in the foot ; (4) a large portion of a Samian bowl, profusely ornamented with wreaths, dolphins, and Bacchanalian dances, found together with a small Roman cantharus (wherein was a snail shell), and a large portion of a hollow vessel of earthenware, resembling Roman, but marked in white pigment, with a Chinese character. The whole of the foregoing were found in London. Mr. Mayhew called attention to the extraordinary character of the latter discovery, as affording perhaps another reason for believing that Roman commerce extended to the far East.

Mrs. Bailly contributed a bottle of lustrous red terra-cotta, which, with three other vessels of similar character, was purchased at Naples in February 1857, but all save the one now submitted, were smashed some years ago. Upon this bottle Mr. H. S. Cuming made the following observations :—"At the opening meeting of the present session Mr. Huyshe exhibited an elegant two-handed cup of red terra-cotta, adorned with incuse devices, and which a dealer in curiosities had declared to be a genuine piece of ancient Samian ware. It has certainly a classic air about it, its forms being evidently derived from the Hellenic *Kantharos* or wine goblet of Bacchus ; and its paste, colour, and lustrous surface are all remindful of the Ceramic ware of Arretum, the history of which has been so ably elucidated by Dr. Fabroni. But though this diota cup displays a marked resemblance in several respects to antique productions, it is, beyond all question, the work of an Italian potter of the seventeenth century, and of the same *fabrique* as the *Fiaschetta* now before us. This singular vessel has, however, far less classic design about it than is traceable in Mr. Huyshe's *Kantharos*. Its body is in the shape of a huge lemon laid on its side, with seventeen broad oval depressions about it, as if the fruit had shrunk in places. The short neck rises up in the middle, and is flanked by a pair of reeded handles, the whole object looking somewhat like some of our old costrels. It measures upwards of 6in. in height and 7½in. in width, the mouth being 1in. in diameter. This *Fiaschetta* weighs but about twelve ounces. On the upper central shelf, in the case of Italian majolica in the British Museum, are some fine examples of Neapolitan coralline ware, evidently from the same workshop as the flask just described. Pre-eminent among them are two tall and rather fantastic vases with several handles, the form of the body of one being apparently suggested by a bilobed gourd. Though the paste, hue, and lustre of these pieces may with propriety be compared with the so-called Samian ware, it must not be supposed that the Neapolitan potters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ever intended to pass them off as ancient relics. The bizarre forms are characteristic of the ages in which they

were issued, and the classic shapes are due to the love of the antique which followed in the wake of the revival of learning at the close of the fifteenth century, and which has never since died out. In recent times Ferdinando del Vecchio, the Giustiniani, and Giovanni Mollica have taken for their models the *pelike*, *kyliz*, *rhyton*, and other vessels of Vulci and Nola, but on most of their productions is stamped the name of the maker, so that no fraudulent purpose can be attributed to them any more than to their predecessors, who wrought the curious coralline ware vessels of which we have been speaking."

C. Lynam, Esq., Local Member of Council, then read a paper on the "Ancient churchyard crosses of Staffordshire", which will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*. The author illustrated his paper by a set of drawings of the various crosses described, and a series of castings, taken expressly for the occasion from the sculptured portions of the Wolverhampton cross, and these were attentively inspected.

The Chairman called attention to the interlaced patterns which were so conspicuously shown on many of the examples brought before the meeting on Mr. Lynam's sketches. He pointed out this striking resemblance to those on the early crosses in the Isle of Man, and to the fact that the same patterns were met with in great numbers in the early Irish MSS.

Mr. Loftus Brock said that he might readily have taken some of these Staffordshire examples now before him for the first time to illustrate some of his remarks before the ancient crosses of the extreme west of Cornwall. Many of the patterns were so identical as to attest their being of the same age and origin. He briefly traced the occurrence, not only in Scotland, but in the north of England—Durham, Northumberland, and Yorkshire; while crosses of kindred patterns were met with in the south; and he instanced those in the Bath Museum, and the fragment from Keynsham. The family resemblance to the Welsh crosses was also indicated, and the inquiry was made whether the name "Celtic," to designate the whole of these early works, would not be more accurate than the terms so often used, of Saxon, Welsh, Manx, Irish, or Scotch.

Mr. Geo. R. Wright, F.S.A., read a letter from the Rev. Mr. Jago, of Bodmin, announcing the recent discovery of a small granite cross, with inscription of Saxon date, near Tintagel.

The Chairman exhibited a series of drawings sent by Mr. Watling, representing effigies of military personages in Suffolk churches, and read the following notes:—

ON SOME KNIGHTLY EFFIGIES IN SUFFOLK CHURCHES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

"I desire to introduce to your notice three drawings by Mr. H. Watling, of knights in armour, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,

the originals of which are still extant in Suffolk churches. The first sketch represents a sepulchral figure in Stonham Aspel Church, believed to be that of its founder. This effigy, of painted stone, reclines at length on an altar-tomb of about a foot in height, the head resting on a saddle (?), and the feet upon a lion, the latter being sadly hacked about. The good knight wears a sugar-loaf or egg-shaped bascinet, to which is laced the camail or neck-guard, and which, with the sleeves and chausses, is of gilded, interlaced chain-mail. The shoulders, elbows, and knees, are respectively protected by épaulieres or poleyns, cotes, and genouillieres, of plate; the folded hands, with gauntlets with separated articulated fingers; and the feet, from the toes to the insteps, are covered with articulated bands, and to which the spurs seem to be attached. The body of the effigy is clothed in a short, sleeveless jupon or surcoat of a blue colour, embellished with three golden chevrons, evidently the arms of the Aspel family, viz., *azure*, three chevrons *or*. Just over the hips is buckled a belt decorated with good-sized bosses, the centres of each depressed, and lined with a red cement, once employed to fix real or fictitious gems, all of which are now lost. The short, tight-fitting jupon contrasts strongly with the long, loose, flowing cyclas with its graceful folds, so conspicuous on the sepulchral effigies of the thirteenth century; and it is rarely that we find so brief a garment accompanying so large an amount of chain-armour as is shown on this Stonham Aspel sculpture. Were we to take the knight's hauberk as our sole guide to the date of this monument, we should feel inclined to assign it to the very commencement of the fourteenth century; whilst the emblazoned jupon, if its skirts be not broken away, is suggestive of the close of this era. This remarkable effigy has at some period been cruelly mutilated; but the head and extremities were discovered concealed in the staircase leading to the rood-loft, and were again joined to the trunk when the church was renovated a few years since.

"It may be well to add that in the east window of this church is a shield charged with the arms of Aspel impaled with those of Cornard, viz., *azure*, a fess between two chevrons *or*, with a label of three points *gules*.

"The magnificent monument in Wingfield Church, attributed to William de la Pole, first Duke of Suffolk, is rendered familiar to us by the engraving in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*; but as this sketch is tinted after the original, it will, I trust, be found of interest. This first Duke of Suffolk was put to death (under circumstances graphically narrated by Mr. Gairdner in his edition of the *Paston Letters*) while passing from England to Calais in 1450; but the effigy reclining on his presumed tomb points far stronger in its fashion to the reign of Edward III than it does to that of Henry VI, as will be apparent to

every one who will take the trouble to compare it with that of Edward the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral, who died in 1376. In each we have the sugar-loaf bascinet with the heavy camail of chain ; the short, tight-fitting jupon engrailed at its lower edge ; and the unusually prominent genouillieres, or knee-caps. The four quatrefoils enclosing shields, in the front of the tomb, and the elegant canopy surmounting it, are each and all characteristic of the fourteenth century ; and the monument must surely be that of an earlier Pole than he who was so ruthlessly murdered in 1450.

“ The third and concluding effigy to notice occurs in the north window of Bardwell Church, and is, I feel assured, erroneously supposed to be the portrait of Sir Roger Drury, who died in 1400, and was, with his lady, interred in St. Mary’s Church, Roughton.¹ This noble figure, whoever it may represent, is in kneeling posture, with the hands folded in prayer. He wears the sugar-loaf bascinet with camail of chain, the sleeves and knee-gussets being of the same fabric. The gauntlets, cuisses, and jamps with dovetail joinings, are of plate. The shell-like genouillieres with invected edges, and the extraordinary, lengthy, articulated, and studded solerets, are well deserving of observation. The spurs have very large rowels. The jupon, as was the mode from the reign of Edward III to that of Henry V, sets tightly about the body ; and if faithfully copied from the one worn by the knight, the real garment must have been a gorgeous piece of embroidery, the motive being the heraldic bearings of the owner, viz., a fess dancette ; in chief, two mullets pierced. This coat appears in the same window with the figure in question, and is similar to that on the seal of John de St. John, *temp.* Edward III. An anelace depends at the right side of the knight, the pommel and lobated quillons of which are of rather peculiar make ; and the sheath of the weapon seems to be metal-bound, and decorated.² With respect to the date of this painted glass, we can hardly place it later than the reign of Henry IV (1399-1411), so that its period might well suit that of Sir Roger Drury ; but the shield accompanying the figure does not display the bearings of the Drury family, which are, *argent*, on a chief *vert* a tau between two mullets pierced *or*.

“ The effigies we have just considered are not only highly instructive in regard to chivalric costume, but offer good illustrations of a fashion introduced into heraldry towards the close of the fourteenth century. About this period artists began to decorate the shield with a foliated pattern of more or less elegance and elaboration, the conceit sometimes being wholly confined to the field, at others localised to the charges. The chevrons on the jupon of the Stonham Aspel effigy are adorned

¹ For engravings of their brasses, see *Gent. Mag.*, July 1813, p. 19.

² For a notice of anelaces, see *Journal*, xxxi, p. 263 ; xxxii, p. 250.

with graceful meanders, whilst the *field* of the jupon of the knight in the painted glass at Bardwell is richly embellished in conformity with the escutcheon in the same window.

"Another instance of the practice here referred to may be seen in the painted glass in Farley Church, Somersetshire, representing Sir Thomas Hungerford, who died in 1398. The worthy knight holds a shield, the field of which is enriched with bold tendrils; and his jupon is likewise ornamented in the same way. And we may add that tendrils of identical character cover the field of the shield on the seal of the lordship of Hexham employed by Robert Weldby, Archbishop of York, A.D. 1397."

Mr. Boutell, in illustration of the remarks made with respect to the unique jupon of the figure from Stonham Aspel, put in a sketch of an effigy in the chancel of the church of Llanfair Caereinion, and which has an inscription around the belt on the figure.

The evening concluded with a paper by Mr. C. W. Dymond, of Penallt, Weston-super-Mare, entitled "*The Megalithic Antiquities at Stanton Drew*," illustrated with a most carefully executed plan to a large scale. The paper and plan will be printed in a future place in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 17 JANUARY, 1877.

T. MORGAN, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Walter Myers, 21, Gloucester Gardens, was elected an associate.

Thanks for the following present were ordered to be duly returned :

To the Author, for a paper "*On the use of Symbolic Devices on Sepulchral Memorials*", by Theophilus Smith, 8vo. Oxford, 1877.

A large collection of pipeclay wig-curlers, found at Newbury, similar to those lately figured in the *Journal*, was exhibited by Mr. W. Money.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., V.P., communicated a note on the arches at Britford church. Mr. Smith has inspected these arches, and expressed himself convinced that internally they are both of Roman origin, enveloped in masonry of a later date, and adapted for a purpose totally different from that for which they were originally designed. In his opinion they are part of a building, other portions of which would probably be discovered by excavation. The brick, or rather tile work, he pronounces to be of the very best kind, and quite different from the imitations of later periods, to which it is generally, we infer, supposed to belong. Foundations of Roman buildings have been noticed in the immediate vicinity.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a bottle of Etruscan ware, a glass lachry-

matory, a specimen of volcanic lava, a fragment of white mosaic, embedded in cement, a Roman lamp from Pompeii, and a lamp from the collection formed by General Count di Cesnola from excavations in the island of Cyprus in 1866.

Mr. Brock announced with regret the demolition of the church of St. Antholin. The progress of the work of destruction had revealed the form of an older church on the same site and of the same ground plan, several skeletons, fragments of Roman and Norman pottery, and a large number of encaustic tiles—exhibited to-night by Captain Josephs and Mr. Brock—which originally formed part of the floor of the church which was burned during the fire of London. One of these tiles was of white delf, painted by hand, and not unlike in material and workmanship several which were exhibited last session. It has the date 1591, BL. B., painted in blue. The second is a fourteenth century encaustic tile of the same age as those shown by Mr. Brock.

Mr. Birch exhibited, by kind permission of the Rev. W. T. Tyrwhitt Drake, two rolls belonging to T. F. Halsey, Esq., M.P., of Great Gaddesden Place, Herts:—1. The History of England drawn up in the form of a genealogical descent of the kings, with an accompanying summary of the principal events of their reigns. It begins with the creation of the world, and proceeding through Japhet and the heathen gods to Æneas and his grandson Brutus, the first king of Britain, enumerates the Roman governors; and thence passing on to Arthur and to the Saxon heptarchy, comes down to the beginning of the reign of Henry III, where it ends imperfectly. The period of the writing is *temp.* Henry VI. 2. A copy of Lydgate's well known metrical Chronicle, with portraits of the kings of England, commencing with William I, and ending with Henry VI, about the period of its writing. There is a very fine copy of the Rhyme in the Cotton Library; and Mr. Tucker described a similar roll in the Heralds' College.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a device or mark on a Chinese public tablet, in the collection of the Ven. Archdeacon Grey in the Crystal Palace, in illustration of a similar mark exhibited on a former occasion on the portion of a large terra-cotta unglazed vessel, said to have been found with Roman remains.

Mr. T. Blashill exhibited a variety of pottery relics, described by Mr. Cuming in a paper read during the evening, and also a metal knocker of early English workmanship, from the door of the church of Dormanton, co. Hereford, now under process of restoration by the exhibitor.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a Saxon knife with leather sheath, found in the Thames.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew also exhibited an old English slice or turn-over, exhumed in Liverpool Street, July 1875. This shovel-shaped

utensil is close on 18in. in length, and cut out of a stout plate of latten. The slightly concave blade is pierced with twenty-nine round holes, and measures 4in. across its straight edge. The broad flat handle terminates in a disc, with a perforation in its centre to permit its being hung on a hook. In the middle of the handle and near the blade is the little circular stamp of the maker, in which appears his initials, "T. C.", surmounted by a *fleur-de-lys*. This same stamp also occurs on latten spoons found in London.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, in assigning this curious piece of domestic furniture to the seventeenth century, said that although this was one of the earliest slices he had yet met with, it must not be supposed that such articles were unknown at a much older period. The writers of the sixteenth century were evidently familiar with the slice, for it is named by Palsgrave in 1530, and in Sir Thomas Elyot's *Dictionary*, 1559, it is described *s.v.* *Spatha*, as "an instrument of the kitchen, to turne meate that is fried." Hannah Woolley, in her *Queen-like Closet*, London, 1684, p. 237, mentions a tin slice in her directions "*To Poach Eggs the best way.*" In the English part of Boyer's *French Dictionary*, London, 1699, we have, "A slice to take up fry'd meat with, *un friquet.*" And the utensil continued to be employed for this purpose until it was superseded by the introduction of the steak-tongs.

Mr. J. W. Grover, C.E., read a paper on "Suez Canals from the most ancient times to the present", which will be inserted in the *Journal* on a future occasion.

Mr. H. S. Cuming read a paper "On Siegburg Stoneware", which was illustrated by an extensive series of relics from that manufactory. The text of this paper will be given in the *Journal* hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, 7TH FEBRUARY, 1877.

H. S. CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

Général Baron de Mallet, 19, Claremont Crescent, Southampton, was duly elected an associate.

The thanks of the Association were ordered to be returned for the following presents:—

To the Society, for "Archæologia", 2nd part of vol. xlv.

" " "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge", vols. xx, xxi, 1876.

" " "Canadian Journal", vol. xv, No. 4, January 1877.

" " "Journal of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. iv, fourth series, No. 27.

To J. Temple Leader, for a Facsimile of a Document relating to Sir John Hawkwood, which will be described on a future occasion.

Mr. Scott laid before the meeting a rubbing of the brass of Sir J. de Bures in Acton Church, Suffolk, dated 1302. Mr. Brock described the monument in detail, and pointed out the peculiarities worthy of special note in connection with this very fine brass memorial.

Mrs. Baily contributed a dagger from the great weapon-find made at Brook's Wharf, Upper Thames Street, in November 1866. This specimen is 12½ in. in length, 7½ in. being taken up by the sharp-pointed, thick, convex-backed blade. The tang is edged with brass, and faced with convex strips of box wood, secured by twelve brass rivets. The pomel is lost, but the guard remains, and consists of a disc of iron, 1½ in. in diameter, with a thick slice of boxwood on its upper side.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming reminded the meeting that on the 6th of last December the Rev. S. M. Mayhew produced a remarkable dagger, exhumed near Billingsgate, which he recognised as an example of the *dague à roëlle*, of circa 1400. They had now before them a second example of this once favourite weapon, of about the same age as the one referred to, but differing from it in respect to the material of the hilt, the former being entirely of brass, the latter of iron and wood. The blade of the dagger under review is inlaid on one side with the letter B, apparently in gold. And it may here be noted that the blades of weapons of this type vary considerably in length. The present, as already stated, is only 7½ in. long, but Demmin (p. 404, fig. 10) gives a *dague à roëlle* of the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, the blade of which measures nearly 14 in., and in Skelton's *Meyrick* (cx. 2) is a specimen of the time of Henry VI (1420-61), where the blade is 12 in. in length. The grip of the latter is spirally reeded. The *dague à roëlle* makes its appearance at the sides of knightly effigies in monumental brasses, and illuminations of MSS., towards the end of the fourteenth century. It was in common use during the fifteenth century, and, as pointed out in the last volume of our *Journal* (p. 525), it is to be seen with other weapons delineated in the *Albucasis Chirurgicorum*, 1532.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming called attention to a drawing of the head of a pastoral staff he had received from Mr. J. T. Irvine, together with a note, of which the following is an extract:—"I venture to trouble you with an old drawing I purchased from a book stall at Bath. It is a representation of the head of a pastoral staff, evidently one that had been found in some coffin of an English bishop. The date seems to be about Edward I or II. I could get no information about it at Bath, and it adds another lesson to the many that have gone before, that people should always put a name and date on their drawings." Mr. Cuming said he had made diligent search in various publications, in the hope of discovering a clue to the history of this beautiful ecclesiastical relic of the thirteenth century, but had as yet failed in meeting

with any mention of it. The head, which is probably of ivory or bone, consists of a graceful volute, from which spring eight leaves, and five fruits resembling mulberries. The object measures nearly $11\frac{1}{4}$ in. from the crown of the volute to the base of the socket, which received a staff little less than 1 in. in diameter. Some distance down the stem is a plain compressed knop or button, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. On one side the socket is drawn the ferrule, full $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, and on the other side is what looks like a metal knop, and a portion possibly of the ferrule. It is hoped that this description of the staff head and its accompaniments may help to identify the find. The style of drawing and character of paper on which it is executed, indicate it to be the work of a skilful artist of the last century.

Mr. Henry Prigg, of Bury St. Edmund's, exhibited the following objects lately exhumed. The fine inscribed Anglo-Norman sword, found near the water mill at Fornham St. Martin, on the site of the battle of 1173, of which a description was given on page 501 of the *Journal* of last year. An iron lance head, with a long sharp-pointed blade and a round socket retaining a rivet, and portions of the wood of the shaft from the same site. Also an iron dagger of somewhat peculiar make, 15 in. long, found not far distant from the battlefield. The handle plate is flanged, and contains six rivets. The brass or bronze pommels of two iron swords of the thirteenth century; they are round, and wheel shaped; one is ornamented on both sides with a cross *pattée* in slight relief, the other is plain; from the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmund's. An imperfect iron lance-head having an egg-shaped ferrule, apparently to strengthen the open socket; found in digging sand at John's Hill, Farnham. A heavy and rudely made pike head of iron, having a blade 13 in. long, and a rounded tang or bolt terminating with a screw 4 in. long; one of two procured from a dealer in old metal at Bury St. Edmund's, at an interval of two months. A sword blade $33\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, 1 in. 6-10ths wide, channeled in five lines for 7 in. from the hilt, and having both edges undulated at intervals of 1 in. throughout its length. It bears an armourer's mark on either side, the incised figure of a running animal; also the head of a flagstaff or of a halbert, most probably the former, of open work. Included in the design is the figure of a man in half armour with vizor closed, armed with a spear, and having by his side a long sword. Both found upon the Haberdon, Bury St. Edmund's. The upper portion of a hexagonal mace of iron, beautifully ornamented, and formerly gilt; the handle forms the barrel of a pistol, and has attachments near the end for the lock. An iron-handled dagger and scabbard of German work, of the sixteenth century, ornamented with the figures of dragons, masks, and genii in low relief. A bronze bust of Mercury, wearing a close-fitting *petasus*, and having eyes apparently of silver. It is of fine work, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

in height, and beautifully patinated; found at Cowlinge, near Newmarket, not far from the line of an ancient *via*. The head and shoulders in brass of a female figure, with a coiffure of peculiar form, in which the hair is plaited into twelve twists, and tied in a four looped bow on the top of the head. A bronze handle of a knife or mirror, terminating in the diademed head of a female; found with the preceding within an ancient encampment at Cockfield, Suffolk, known as the Warbank.

Mr. Prigg also exhibited, from the gravel of the Haberdon and the continuation of the same hill known as the Grindle, six finely worked and formed specimens of palæolithic flint implements, and read a paper descriptive of the sites, which will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited two Samian *pateræ* from the same excavation whence came the *ficilia* with Chinese character, and fragment of Arezzo ware, lately exhibited and discussed. Copies of the Chinese character had, by the kindness of a friend, been dispatched to Paris and Jeddo. A very fine but fractured porcelain, from the same locality, formed another unit of the group, concerning which the Chairman said such a specimen of Roman "Cologne ware" was rarely seen. One of the *pateræ* bears the stamp REDITI. M. (*Rediti manu*). A fine drinking vessel, 11 inches high, two-handled, of red earthenware covered with lustrous, dark brown glaze. The exhibitor said that from the paucity of such specimens in local museums, and their frequency in London, the manufacture might be supposed a branch of metropolitan industry and art of the close of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Mayhew called attention to a massive silver finger-ring from Tewkesbury, with the inscription, in thirteenth century letters, *Þicztur anani Zapta!* Doubtless a charm against evil. Also a Greek inscription, which was placed in his hands by a member of the Association, who stated it had been copied from a sculptured stone lying by the road-side near Wimbledon, and asked further information. A correspondence with Sir Henry Peek, Bart., has led to the conclusion that the stone can be no other than one collected with many others by the late noble owner of Roehampton, and by him built into a summer-pavilion in the grounds. This building, it is understood, has been destroyed, the stones and contents dispersed; and this inscribed and sculptured tablet formed part of a group destined for mending the roads, and, till broken up, "lying at the road-side as though tilted from a cart." It is understood an excavated stone was with it, probably part of a sarcophagus. The rescued inscription is:

ΖΩΗΥΡΟΣ ΖΩΗΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ ΕΣΤΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΑΜΟΙ...

The lettering is not perfect.

Mr. Mayhew also placed on the table two vases of Venetian glass, both of the best period in the seventeenth century. It is impossible, without photographs, to do justice to the delicate, beautiful, and true lines of enameling with which each is adorned and covered. The smaller (7 inches) bears the leaf of the maidenhair fern, with a trefoil flower of pale blue. In the larger (11 inches), the enameling takes the tint and general design of old lace, with flowers of asphodel and golden bands. Very general admiration was excited by these lovely art-subjects.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that although the tall *poculum* produced by Mr. Mayhew was found in London, it was undoubtedly of foreign origin, and resembled in every respect vessels discovered at, and in the immediate neighbourhood of, Cologne. Examples of this kind of Rhenish pottery are rarely exhumed in England, but our *Journal* (xvii, pp. 290, 292) records two instances, one at Stanmore in Berkshire, the other at Colchester in Essex. The paste of the Rhenish *fictilia* is nearly as fine in texture as that of some of the so-called Samian ware; and the surface of the cups is occasionally covered with a metalloid glaze of exceeding thinness; a mere film, in fact, which is easily erased. Of all the Roman pottery manufactured in England, that of Castor in Northamptonshire bears the strongest approach to the Rhenish ware in paste, form, and style of decoration.

Major Taylor of Corwen, Merionethshire, North Wales, exhibited a bronze paalstab found at Cynwyd in 1835, a bronze mace-head exhumed at Corwen in 1840, and a stone carving of a horse's head obtained at Minera.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that the two bronze objects submitted by Major Taylor were among the finest of their kind which had yet fallen under his notice. The paalstab was of large size, measuring full $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches across its convex cutting edge. It has a deep channel on either side the shank; and down the blade, from the shoulder to near the edge, is a mid-rib with a short branch on each side, emerging from the margin of the shoulder, and curving towards the central ridge, thus producing a sort of shield-shaped ornament unlike anything shown in our *Journal* (ix, p. 69). The mace-head is of still higher interest than the paalstab. It is a conic tube about $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches long; 1 inch diameter at its smaller, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter at its larger end; and armed with eight strong pyramidal spikes arranged in two rows. Whether we are to regard this choice Keltic relic as the head of a mace, or the mount of a war-flail, it is beyond all question an object of great rarity. It may in some degree be compared with an example, full 3 inches in length, discovered in Roscommon, and of which a woodcut is given in the *Dublin Penny Journal* (ii, p. 20); and with another, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, figured in the *Catalogue* of the

Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, p. 493. A third specimen, 4½ inches in length, discovered at Macon, France, is described in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (x, p. 600). These heavy conic weapons were in all probability employed as mace heads, and remind us of the spiked clubs of wood used by the natives of the South Sea Islands and the Dor tribe of the White Nile. The broad dentated bronze rings of the type engraved in Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, p. 45; Demmin's *Weapons of War*, p. 115; Wilson's *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, p. 393, and our *Journal*, xvii, iii, were more likely designed as mounts for the swingel of the battle flail, being apparently too light for the purpose of mace heads.

The horse's head is rather a puzzling affair. It is wrought out of a mass of white steatite or soap stone, undistinguishable from that met with in Cornwall; but there is little about its execution which will aid us to fix its date with certainty. The mane is bushed on either side the neck, and a lock of it brought on to the forehead. The mouth is rather open, showing the teeth, the tongue being visible on the left side. The bit and bridle, with strap passing beneath the head, are slightly developed, and do not suggest the idea that the piece of sculpture is earlier than the seventeenth century, but it was thought to be Roman by a former possessor. All that is known of the history of this singular fragment is that "a farmer's wife, in returning from Wrexham Market at least sixty years ago, in passing through Minera, asked a man who was wheeling some *débris*, to give her a few stones for her children to play with, among others he gave her the horse's head."

Mr. J. Brent exhibited two small bronze objects, perhaps door bosses or studs, lately found at Canterbury, with a piece of a Venetian glass of the sixteenth century.

Mr. W. H. Cope exhibited two thin gold figures of bulls' heads, formerly Roman fibulæ, but now forming prominent portions of a modern gold bracelet.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., Honorary Treasurer, read a paper "On the Ruins of Mycenæ, with reference to the late discoveries there."

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., in illustration of Mr. Morgan's paper, exhibited a large collection of drawings and views of Mycenæ and of Cyclopean remains in Greece. Also several others, showing the analogy between these and others in Etruria and other parts of Italy and elsewhere, and which, by architectural evidence, afford proof of the truth of Niebuhr's theory, with respect to the area occupied by the Pelasgi. He described the various styles of Cyclopean (Pelasgic) walling, and the mode of construction of the dome of the so-called Treasury of Athens, pointing out, as indicative of the value of the comparison of the works of one country with those of another, that the plan of this building is very similar to that of the chambered tumulus of New

Grange. The arrangement of the walling stones is also very similar to what was seen during the recent Congress in Cornwall at Chapel Ewny and other places, and which were shown on some capital drawings made by Miss Morgan. The peculiar interlaced patterns on some of the stoneworks of the treasury were described, and a belief expressed that an analogy would be found to exist between these and some of the gold ornaments discovered by Dr. Schliemann.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, Hon. Secretary, read a paper by T. Wise, Esq., M.D., on "Celtic Monuments", in which special attention was directed to the circle at Callernish, in the Island of Lewis, of which a diagram was exhibited in illustration of the paper. Mr. Wise's remarks regarding the Oriental customs in connection with Celtic culture, were pronounced to be worthy of considerable attention. The text of this paper will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

This concluded the business of the evening.

WEDNESDAY, 21ST FEBRUARY, 1877.

MR. GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following gentlemen were elected associates :—

R. E. Way, Sydney Villa, Mervyn Road, Brixton.

Rev. Frederick Fitzgerald, M.A., Rectory, Brasted, Sevenoaks, Kent.

The thanks of the Association were ordered to be returned for the following presents :—

To Mr. G. B. Wright, F.S.A., for "Roman Antiquities, illustrated by remains, recently discovered on the site of the National Safe Deposit Company's Premises, Mansion House, London." London, 1873. By J. E. Price, F.S.A. Square folio.

To Dulau and Co., for "Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Italian Books." 1877. 8vo.

To the Editors, for "Ulm Oberschwaben Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Kunst und Alterthum in Ulm und Oberschwaben", No. 1. 1877.

Mr. Gilbert Scott exhibited several capital rubbings from churches at Bury St. Edmund's.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a series of medallion portraits of the twelve Cæsars, cast in white plaster, with blue borders of foliage, from bronzes of Italian renaissance work, in the collection of the late Lord Clive.

Mr. Blashill exhibited some Roman pottery just found by John Riley, Esq., on his estate at Putley, in Herefordshire, together with wall tiles, roof tiles, and other objects. These remains, together with

some which were exhibited by Mr. Blashill last year, from the foundations of Putley Church, indicate a considerable Roman settlement of some kind, in a locality not before known to contain any such antiquities.

Mr. Loftus Brock exhibited two fictile vessels of remarkable form. One was an *ascos* of very thin brown earthenware, with a green glaze on the upper portion and handle. It was globular in form, but with a flat base. The handle was in the form of a loop, on top and over the small orifice of entrance. The second was in the form of an ordinary Bellarmine jug, but of light ware, without handle, and with a circular orifice *below* the neck, which was *solid*. Both these unusual vessels were recently found in a deep excavation near the bank, and are of early fifteenth century date. Mr. Syer Cuming called attention to the peculiarity of these forms, and recapitulated some of his remarks on Ascoi in the *Journal*, vol. x, p. 375.

Mr. Grover exhibited a silver medal of the Duke of York and Albany, regarding which Mr. Tucker made some remarks upon the titular inscription and heraldry.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited two *flagella* or penitential scourges, one composed of seven chains of thin wire, the other a continuous chain, set with short spikes of wire projecting from the links, and evidently sharpened down to a fine knife edge, for the self-infliction of painful wounds. These objects were brought from Rome in 1844, and were stated to have been in use among the nuns of that city.

Mr. H. S. Cuming, F.S.A.S., exhibited a gilded gutta percha impression of the personal seal and heraldic counter seal of Ela Basset, Countess of Warwick, c. 1280, forwarded by Mr. Hopkins, of Great Grimsby. Mr. Birch described the seal as showing some unusual arrangements with regard to the display of the heraldry, which render this seal remarkably valuable to the student of early English seal engraving.

Mr. S. I. Tucker (Rouge Croix), exhibited a lady's waist girdle of richly embossed silver, weighing nearly six ounces, respecting which Mr. H. Syer Cuming has furnished the subjoined note.

"This truly elegant ornament is full 22½ in. in length, and consists of fourteen pieces, united by links and hinges, and embossed with elaborate designs, somewhat in the *rococo* style, so prevalent during the second half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century. The outline of the broad *repoussé* clasp displays many bold and graceful curves, and the surface is covered with scrolls, roses, and shell-like forms. The belt itself is made up of four cast and chased triplets, each triplet being composed of an oblong cartouche, with a shorter one hinged at either end, and the whole united by a double line of oval links. Two of the larger panels are occupied by standing draped

figures of Religion, supporting an open book on the right arm, and holding a burning torch in the left hand, and on the same side is a cylindric object, either a great lantern or small temple. The two other panels have each a nimbed figure of our Lord, with the right hand raised in the act of benediction. The eight smaller members of the zone are embellished with four types of seated figures—viz., a female holding an oval mirror in her right hand, perhaps intended for Contemplation ; a female, probably Meditation, resting her left elbow on the top of a pillar, against the side of which leans a book ; a semi-nude effigy of St. John, supporting an open book with his left hand, and accompanied by the eagle ; and a semi-nude effigy of St. Mark, pointing with his right hand over the head of a lion, which is at his feet. Each subject is bordered with graceful scroll work, festoons, &c. On the back of one of the plaques bearing Religion, is graved ANO. 1711, no doubt the year in which the chief portion of this choice and valuable piece of trinketry was produced. I say the chief portion, for I cannot divest myself of the idea that the clasp may have been wrought subsequent to the girdle, and by another and superior artist, the pupil possibly of the designer of the twelve hinged plaques ; and the question naturally arises, Who was this pupil ? The query can only be answered by conjecture. Let any one compare the rich clasp with the well-authenticated work of George Michael Moser, which I now exhibit, and I think they will admit that there is such a marked resemblance in manner between the two that it renders it highly probable that the fastening of this costly adornment for the lady's waist was an early production of that renowned chaser, who was born in Switzerland in 1705, and died in London in 1783.

“ It may not be altogether irrelevant to add that metallic ceintures for the waist are of remote antiquity. The Grecian warrior wore a broad *zoster* of bronze, secured by a couple of strong hooks. And Herodian, in his life of the Emperor Severus (iii, 46), alludes to the iron girdles of the Northern Britons, and waist-torcs of gold have been exhumed in Ireland. In the old Danish lay of *Ingefired and Gerdrune*, mention is made of the golden girdle of Ingefired. And later on in the middle ages noble ladies are frequently described as wearing splendid girdles of beaten gold and silver, dight with precious gems, and enriched with enamel work. At the sale of the Bernal treasures in 1855, lot 1375 is described as ‘A girdle of metal gilt, enamelled with blue and white on upright flat plates, of elegant arabesque design of the fifteenth century.’ In the Forman collection, preserved at Pipbrook House, Dorking, is an exceedingly fine example of a sixteenth century jointed girdle of gilt metal, set with large pieces of cut paste of divers hues. And our first President, my lamented friend the late Lord Londesborough, possessed a curious girdle, composed of a series of quadr-

angular plaques of silver parcel-gilt, held together by links, and embellished with *appliqué* figures of Venus, Cupid, Mars, &c. The device on the clasp being an embossed representation of the Annunciation. This was a German work of the commencement of the seventeenth century. Mr. Tucker's silver girdle proves that metal zones encircled the ladies' waists during the early years of the last century, and there is no lack of evidence in our day that a love for such trinketry still survives among the daughters of England."

Mr. S. I. Tucker (Rouge Croix), exhibited a pair of tongs $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, cut out of a strip of stout latten, and graved with crossed lines, &c., the grips being bent on one side, and apparently intended to represent serpents' heads. Mr. H. Syer Cuming, in assigning this rare implement to the reign of James I, stated that it was employed by smokers in lighting their pipes, and cited the following passage in Decker's *Gull's Hornbook*, 1609, where directions are given "How a Gallant should behave himself in an Ordinary:"—"Before the meat come smoking to the board, our gallant must draw out his tobacco box, the ladle for the cold snuff into the nostril, the tongs and priming iron, all which artillery may be of gold or silver, if he can reach to the price of it; it will be a reasonable useful pawn at all times, when the current of his money falls out to run low." Mr. Cuming added that he possessed a small pair of iron pipe tongs, which has a tobacco stopper or priming-iron projecting from the top of the annular spring, the straight grips for holding the lighted paper, &c., being closed by a ring, which can be moved up and down the stem of the implement. This specimen is of the time of James I, and was found in Smithfield in 1865. Paper was not the only material that such tongs as the foregoing were made to clip. Raphael Thorius, who died of the plague in 1625, says in his *Hymnus Tabaci*—

"With a light chip of the wood aloës
Give fire unto thy pipe, so shalt thou reap
A fragrant savour spread through the whole heap,
And with a grateful odour cheer thy brain."

Mr. Tucker also submitted two pretty little silver boxes. The oldest is a patch box of late seventeenth century date, the top neatly engraved with a cipher, formed of the letters H C N, surrounded by an ornamental verge. Patches were worn in England as early as the reign of Charles I, and that the ladies indulged in such vanities in the last century is clear from Belinda's words in Pope's *Rape of the Lock*—

"Thrice from my trembling hand the patch-box fell".

The second example is a small cylindrical scent box, with a staple and ring fixed on one side, by which to hang it to the chatelaine. The top and bottom are composed of the *obv.* and *rev.* of a Dutch coin, both struck

incuse. The *obv.* bears the familiar bunch of seven arrows tied together with a cord, and placed between the numeral and letter I. S. (I. *Schilling.*) The *rev.* has the legend HOLLANDIA 1820. A bit of tonquin bean was a favourite substance to keep in such cases as the one here described.

Mr. Grover exhibited a photograph of an ancient ceiling, adorned with royal and noble English heraldic bearings of the fourteenth century. A paper was promised upon this fine example of internal decoration.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew sent for exhibition six articles of iron lately exhumed in London, and of which Mr. H. Syer Cuming gave the following description. The two earliest objects are of Roman date, and found together at Aldgate. The one is the *cuspis* or head of the ordinary *hasta*, used alike for thrusting and throwing. The socket extends some distance up the lanceolate-shaped blade, which measures upwards of 1 in. across its broadest part. The present length of this spear-head is $6\frac{3}{8}$ in., but the point is broken off. The second specimen is the head of a *veru*, a missile weapon employed by the light-armed troops, and which received its name from its resemblance to a spit. It is $7\frac{3}{8}$ in. in length, and so slender in make that it would, like the *hasta velitaris*, bend and become useless did it strike against a hard substance. The remaining objects are of the fifteenth century, and were all found together in Clerkenwell. They consist of a key, spur, and pair of stirrups. The key is $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, the bow somewhat reniformed, and the broach long, strong, and rather pointed. The spur has a long straight stem with a rowel of six points. The shanks bend down sharply and then rise again, and end in double perforations. The stirrups are perhaps the most important items in the present group. Their accompaniments help us to fix their date to the close of the fifteenth century; had they occurred alone, they might have been thought of greater age. They have ovate foot-rests, with a rhombic opening in the centre of each. The cylindric side-bars slope inwards as they rise to the slit for the suspending straps. Their dimensions are, height 6 in., greatest width $5\frac{1}{4}$ in., width at top 2 in. A copper stirrup of the same type as this pair was discovered in the steelyard, Upper Thames Street, in 1865.

Mrs. Baily sent for inspection a remarkable dagger, one of the large number exhumed in the excavations for the river wall at Brook's Wharf, Upper Thames Street, October 1866. The grip appears to be of wood, cased in stamped leather. It has an iron cross-guard, measuring over 4 in. from one extremity to the other, each quillon widening vertically from the centre to the end; and having an obtuse point in the middle, descending on either side the blade. The blade is slightly concave on the sides, and at present measures little over 9 in. in length, but at least 3 in. must have been broken off the point. It is

full $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide and $\frac{3}{8}$ in. thick at back next the hilt, and on one face is stamped a small fleur-de-lys.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said the dagger now produced might safely be referred to the fifteenth century, and that it was evidently designed for use, and not for ornament; that it was, in short, a soldier's weapon, and reminded him much of the old German *Lansquenet* dagger, which had a broad blade varying from 12 to 14 inches in length. The fleur-de-lys stamped on the blade might be taken as an indication that the weapon was of French origin; but Mr. Cuming thought it far more likely to be of English make.

Mr. J. R. Planché, V.P., read a paper "On a Painting of the Fifteenth Century in the National Gallery", and illustrated his remarks by the exhibition of two ancient pictures on panels, of the fifteenth century, ascribed to Uccello, and a variety of photographs of tracings of the same, and other specimens of that painter's workmanship. Great interest was shown by the meeting at the contents of the paper, which will be printed hereafter.

The Chairman said, credit was due to the author of the paper for his ingenious arguments founded upon a comparison of the date of the Uccello (this celebrated painter of battle-pieces) with the military and heraldic costume depicted in the scenes placed before the members. He also referred to a painting by Uccello in the Louvre, the characteristics of which resembled those of the pictures now exhibited.

Mr. Simmons bore testimony to the exhaustive nature of Mr. Planché's remarks, and described another picture by the hand of Uccello in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. The two pictures before the meeting were preserved at Venice for many years, and at that time their author was not known. Mr. Coleman purchased them, and brought them to Rome, and it was then that Uccello's name was first mentioned in connection with them.

Mr. T. Blashill read the following paper, entitled

BRITISH INTERMENTS AT LANCASTER.

BY JOHN HANKER, ESQ., M.D.

"Recently, at the building site of the barracks for the new military centre of Lancaster in Bowerham Lane, the workmen employed in excavating the surface-soil for the purpose of preparing the foundation of the new building, discovered some sepulchral remains. These objects are of the same general type as those of the dawn of the bronze period described in our *Journal* for 1865, p. 159, and further at p. 81, 1872. The site of the new military centre is an elevation commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country and of Morecambe Bay, and is located to the south-east of the town of Lancaster. The sepulchral objects were found at the highest part of the military estate, about three hundred yards distant from the Lancaster Moor where the

British interments, to which reference has been made, were found, and at about the same altitude.

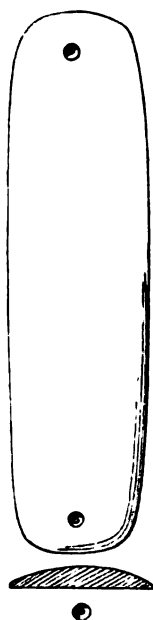
"The remains, as in the former instance, consisted of cinerary urns, six in number, which were arranged in an irregular line, in pairs, running from east to west. The workmen unfortunately broke up all but one specimen, which is now in the possession of Mr. R. P. Moser. The urns in question were not, as in the case of the pots formerly described, placed within a fencing of flags, but simply deposited a few inches beneath the soil-line. The small and extremely pretty urn in Mr. Moser's possession is about 8 inches in height, wide-mouthed, with a deep collar and a flat bottom of narrow diameter. It is made of clay mixed with fine gravel, and was filled with calcined bones. The collar is very tastefully decorated with incised lines, the design being a Vandyke between encircling lines. Close below the collar is a line of dots made by screwing a pitchy stick in the soft clay. The upper part of the body, beneath the line of dots, is adorned with lines crossing in opposite directions, excepting at what may be considered to be the front of the vase, which has three rows of herringbone pattern, which together produce the effect of a fringe.

"This elegant urn was found within another urn of much larger size and coarser structure, over which was a coverlet or lid something like the size and shape of a cardinal's hat. The large urn resembled No. 3 in Plate 2, *Journal*, 1865. This pot was filled with calcined bones, and in it was found an extremely pretty limestone ornament, 4 inches broad, convex in front, and smooth at the back; and at each end is a very fine perforation, probably drilled by another fine pointed stone, the hole on the under side of the ornament being rather larger than the front, the perforation between the two borings being as fine as is possible. This stone has not been burnt with the bones, and presents a high condition of polish, being a beautiful specimen of the stonework of the age. The material is a mountain limestone, somewhat metamorphic, and very dark and bright in appearance. I have, as in the case of the bones in the other finds, carefully examined the bones, more particularly as to the jawbones, and find that, as in the former instances, the teeth had been removed from their alveoli; so that there seems to be some foundation for the suggestion that the teeth have been removed as 'keepsakes to adorn the persons of the living', as the aborigines of the South Sea Islands were wont to perforate human teeth, and string them as pendants for their necklaces."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming pointed out the resemblance which the above object bore to one of blue slate found in a barrow on Mere Down, and figured in Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*, Pl. 11; and to another of polished green stone discovered in a barrow in Aberdeenshire, and engraved in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 157; and further,



Height, eight inches.



Length four inches; width one inch; thickness $\frac{3}{16}$ th inch.

BRITISH ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT LANCASTER.

to specimens of soft honestone in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, in the *Catalogue* (p. 89) of which collection they are called burnishers. Mr. Cuming thought Dr. Harker justified in denominating his limestone article an ornament, for he felt no doubt that it had formed a portion of a necklace, either as a pendant or a member of the circlet, the perforations permitting other pieces to be attached to it.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

THE wonderful treasures discovered by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, which have hitherto been kept in their cases at the National Bank, have been shown lately to the public. Not the whole of the treasure discovered has been exhibited, but only a small part of it; enough, however, to excite the wonder and admiration of all beholders. The quantity of beaten-out gold is surprising. It is very thin, but of the purest quality, to which the richness of its colour amply testifies. The workmanship is very skilful. There are jugs and vases of exquisite design, and covered with delicate tracery. Some of them are much injured, and out of shape; but fragile as they are, it can have been only by means of the greatest care that they were dug out without being destroyed. Some of the gold masks were exhibited, all in very good preservation; also the small head with golden horns, like a ram's head, although other suggestions have been made. Amongst the things, that which created the most interest was a bone, said to be part of Agamemnon's leg, viz., from the knee-bone to the ankle. Round this bone, just below the knee, is clasped a golden ornament elaborately worked. There are several arm-bands and bracelets and other ornaments, which are very beautiful. It is not yet known when the whole of the costly treasure will be exhibited; but it will probably not be until after some months, when it has been duly deposited in the Museum. The Archæological Society of Athens will carry on the excavations at Mycenæ, under the direction of M. Koumanondis.

The Charters of the Priory of Beaulieu, with Notices of the Priors of Pluscardine and Ardochattan, and of the Family of the Founder, John Bysset. By Edmund Chisholm Batten. Printed for the Grampian Club.—This book evinces a vast amount of patient labour, and is of high interest to antiquarians.

Ancient Burial-Ground at Kintbury.—The following extracts are from Professor Rupert Jones' Report, in the *Reading Mercury* :

"Visiting Newbury lately, I had the opportunity of seeing the ancient burial-ground at Kintbury, where human bones (referred to in various letters in the newspapers of late) have been found for some years during the process of digging away the chalk in the pit at the Whiting Factory. Mr. Walter Money, of Newbury, first drew attention to these ancient bones, having found several among some chalk that had been brought from Kintbury to Greenham. I had already seen a few of the old bones obtained at Kintbury, and had found that some of them presented certain interesting features known to be characteristic of the oldest human bones met with in caves in North Wales, West Yorkshire, central France, and Gibraltar. I allude to the sharpness of the front edge of the shin-bone, and other prominent ridges and edges of the limb-bones. Archæologists and anatomists call this a 'platycnemic' character, typified by the sabre-like or broadly compressed tibia or shin-bone. The sharpness, however, of the shins and other ridges is not so strongly developed in the bones at Kintbury as in other cases.

"Under the surface-soil of the sloping field in which the chalk-pit has been dug, we noticed several sections of graves or cists that had been dug in the chalk to the depth of nearly three feet, filled in with disturbed chalk and earth, and subsequently covered over by accumulations of soil. One of these ancient graves, which had been trenched upon in digging the chalk, was seen in section on the face of the pit, looking south. It showed some bones just exposed; and we carefully examined it by digging down to its floor, and right and left to some portions of its east and west sides; but we had not time nor convenience to expose its whole extent. In the lowest portion of its rubbly infilling we found remains of two adult skeletons, some parts of which had already fallen away into the chalk-pit; also a skeleton of a female with the bones of a child, apparently in her arms; also the skeleton of a tall old man, and indications of one or more skeletons which we did not unearth. The four first mentioned skeletons lay with their heads to the west, on the back or side; the woman on the side, and bent forward; the old man on the back, with the head bent sharply forward. They looked as if the corpses had been placed in the graves without much care, and without coffins or cerements of any kind. The leg-bones of some other skeletons (not uncovered) reached over from the east side of the grave, and crossed the feet of some of those above mentioned. Nothing was found with the bones; but on a protruding portion (mastoid process) of the base of one of the skulls was a stain of verdigris, apparently indicating the probable existence of some copper or bronze article there at a former period. If this were the

usual *obolus* placed in the mouth of the deceased, according to Roman custom, some approximation would be made as to the probable date of burial; but the indication is poor, and nothing else was found to substantiate the notion. From the peculiar race-character of the bones mentioned above, namely, their relatively sharp ridges, we might refer the remains to those prehistoric inhabitants of our islands and of Europe, who used stone implements, and lived here and there in caves. The shape of the skulls we examined is that of the same cave folk; and their nearest existing allies, judged by such natural standards, are said to be the Basques, Iberians, and Aquitanians; and the Finns are regarded as not far removed. Indeed, these people are supposed to be remnants of a primeval race who retreated before the Celts, invading Western Europe from the East, just as the Celts retreated to the same and neighbouring fastnesses when pressed, in their turn, by the Teutonic and other races. The Iberians and Celts are thus found together in Ireland, Wales, and elsewhere. This subject is treated of in Professor Boyd Dawkins' interesting book on "Cave-hunting" (8vo. 1874), p. 225, &c., and references to Huxley and other ethnological authorities are there given.

"The relatively large amount of animal matter existing in most of the bones may be against the notion of a very remote prehistoric burial, and favour the idea of the sharp-shinned people having lived on at Kintbury, with some modification of the platynemic character.

"We can, as yet, form scant notion of the habits and customs of the old folk who used this chalk slope, overlooking the Kennet, for their cemetery. They may have lived close by, or they may have had their fastness on the higher hill behind. A careful search for stone and metal implements, for coins, and for pit-marks of old earth dwellings in the neighbourhood, such as the learned and acute Dr. Stevens, of St. Mary Bourne, has so successfully discovered in Hampshire, should be systematically carried out.

"At all events, these bones seem to belong to a race of people whose scattered remains are found in various caves of immense antiquity, as old before history began as history itself may be, and whose successors are traced in Europe of to-day. Whether they lived and died at Kintbury in those earliest days, or survived among new comers, is a point belonging to the story of this land, if it can be pieced together; and we hope to learn from the combined researches of archæologist and anatomist, of local explorer and the student of history, something to elucidate these questions."

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Bronzes of European Origin in the South Kensington Museum. With an Introductory Notice by C. Drury E. Fortnum, F.S.A. London.—The *Standard* says the use of bronze over

a great portion of Europe in the early ages succeeding, and indeed partly synchronous with, the stone period, is one of the most singular facts presented to us in the prehistoric times. The ores of copper are widely distributed, and their peculiar appearance would easily attract the attention of people rising from a condition of savagery, and eager to turn all their available resources to the best advantage. The metal, from its malleability, was admirably adapted for cooking and drinking vessels, and for many other purposes, and yet it seems to have been but very little used. Lead ore again is widely diffused, its appearance is very striking, and it is easily smelted; and yet lead seems to have attracted but little attention. Iron ore also, found in so many countries, and calculated to attract early observation from its weight and colour, and convertible into an invaluable metal by means of a rough appliance like the Catalan forge, was also altogether overlooked. It is marvellous that at this early period of the world's history the use of bronze, a compound of copper and of tin, whose ore is found only in one corner of the island of Britain, possesses but a slightly mineralised appearance, and is by no means likely to attract the attention of an untaught observer, should yet have become general not only in the locality in which the tin existed, but throughout all Europe. It is strange, too, that thus early the best proportions in which the metals can be mixed with each other should have been universally used, and that the bronze of the earliest weapons should be equal in quality to the best products of the *ateliers* of Greece, or to anything which the skilful workers of the mediæval times were able to discover. These proportions are from seven to seven and a half parts of copper to one of tin, and although from the earliest times until modern days each founder has had his own recipe, and lead and zinc have been added, a preponderance of the latter metal producing the alloy known as brass, yet for durability, hardness, sharpness of outline, and beauty of tint the early examples of bronze have never been surpassed. The history, as far as it is known, of the manufacture of bronze, from the earliest times to the present day, is admirably epitomised in Mr. Fortnum's introduction to the catalogue of the South Kensington bronzes, and we see the proportion of the alloys used, and the nature of the methods employed by the Greeks, the Romans, and the mediæval workmen. The catalogue itself gives the description of the national bronze art treasures, with illustrations of many typical specimens, and with its aid any one could, in a few visits to the museum, acquire such a knowledge of art in bronze as he could scarcely gain in as many years of study without the assistance thus afforded him.

The Kent of the Romans.—A paper entitled "Footprints and Handmarks of the Romans in the neighbourhood of Sittingbourne", written

by Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., V.P., was recently read at a meeting of the Sittingbourne Literary and Scientific Association, from which the following passages are extracted.

“The leaden coffins discovered at Bexhill are of the highest interest, and it is a reproach to the intelligence of the day that so often they have been sacrificed for the paltry consideration of the value of the metal. They are valuable illustrations of the manufactures in native lead, one of the mineral productions of Britain which tempted the Romans to subjugate this remote and ungenial country, and maintain it so long by such costly sacrifices of men and money. The exports from Britain in lead, tin, and iron, must have been very great. Evidences are abundant of the extent of the mines, and also of the iron foundries. From the earliest period of occupation to the time of Severus, at least, pigs or blocks of manufactured lead, stamped with imperial names, have been found here and there, lost most probably in transit; and we find that throughout the province this metal was applied to public and domestic purposes much as at the present day. Roman leaden coffins must have been very common among the higher class, for within the last few years a considerable number have been discovered and preserved. Previously they were never understood, and consequently destroyed for the sake of the metal. They are nearly always, not invariably, ornamented, and sometimes tastefully, with good designs. These designs have given rise to speculations on their meaning in reference to their application to the furniture of the grave. But I very much doubt if symbolism ever entered into the minds of the manufacturers. Even in the scallop shell, which, in the middle ages, was an emblem with the pilgrims, I see ornamentation only applied capriciously, according to the humour or whim of the maker.

“If you take a map, and draw upon it a straight line from London to Dover, you trace the course of the main Roman road, to which, at Canterbury, were united those from the *Portus Lemanis* (Lymne) and from *Rutupium* (Richborough). These were the three great ports, through which passed most of the exports from and the imports to Britain. The road from Canterbury (*Durovernum*) to Lymne is to be traced and walked up, in a direct line, to within a short distance of what was once the port. That to Richborough has been traced by Mr. Sheppard, although it is almost wholly effaced or obscured by agricultural operations. From Dover to London the Roman *via* must have been almost identical in its course with the present highway. The chief break is at Strood Hill. There the modern road to Gravesend separates from it, the Roman, in a straight line, passing by Cobham Park, by Springhead, through Swanscombe Wood to Dartford Heath, where the two unite. It is to be noted that the first four stations upon this road all take their names, in part, from *water*, “duro,” as *Dubris*

(a contraction), *Durovernum*, *Durolevum*, and *Durobrovis* (Rochester). The sites of three are proved beyond doubt, and their positions justify their names. Not so with the third from Dover, intermediate between Canterbury and Rochester. It was of the class called *Mutatio* and *Mansio*, resting places or inns, sometimes very substantial, but seldom leaving the means of identification, liked walled towns. Springhead, in its remains of buildings, helps us to the site of a station between Rochester and London (*Vagniacæ*); but, for *Durolevum*, we have no safe guide, save that of the necessary, nay, indispensable existence of water; and, guided by this indication many years since, I suggested its site at or near Faversham. Ospringe, where also there is water, has been suggested; but until some fortunate excavations shall divulge positive evidence of Roman buildings of suitable character, we must remain in doubt of the precise spot. This district, as indeed the entire country through which ran the main road, must have been densely populated, for the intervals are few where Roman remains have not been found.

"I have often drawn attention to the absence of Roman lapidary inscriptions in Kent. Not one has been recorded from the localities which have furnished materials for my present brief remarks. One cause for this absence of the most valuable of all remains of antiquity is in the fact that owing to the superior civilization of Cantium, its alliance or submission to the Romans was more easily effected than the North and West of Britain, and, consequently, there was no fixed military tenure; and it is from this source most of the inscriptions have been furnished. Their number and importance can be best estimated by reference to my friend Dr. Bruce's *Lapidarium Septentrionale*."

Saxon Inscription at St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln.—The following communication has been published in the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*:—"Some time ago an attempt was made to find out the meaning of the inscription on St. Mary-le-Wigford Church. Most persons who have passed along the High Street will have noticed not only the remarkable tower, but also a square inscribed stone built into its western face, and surmounted by another of a triangular shape. The lower inscription, in Latin, is easy to decipher, and appears to be the monument of a certain Sacer, son of Bruscus, a Senonian Gaul, who lived, perhaps, in the first century after Christ (see *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vii, No. 191). This tombstone seems to have attracted the eye of the founder of the church, who built it into his tower, and left a record of his work in the five lines which he inserted in the vacant space at the upper part. It has generally been concluded that the church was erected by Saxon builders soon after the Conquest. It is natural to suppose that the occupation of the upper town by a Norman castle and cathedral

would dislodge a good many of the old inhabitants. However this may be, it is certain that the inscription is Anglo-Saxon or Early English, and that it records the foundation of the church. The interpretation of it has long been regarded as a great difficulty, but lately Professor Mullenhof has made the first step towards its explanation. He saw that it was to be read upwards, not downwards, and that the last words were *Criste to lofe and Sancte Marie* (to the praise of Christ and St. Mary). I am now able to send you Professor Earle's interpretation of the lower lines, made from the copies given by Hübner in his *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, No. 170. It must be considered at present as conjectural; but it is certainly much nearer the truth than any that has been given before, and a comparison of it with the original will probably bring out what is necessary for the final decipherment. His restoration is as follows:

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MARIN
OFETSC
NCRISTETOL
N7FIOSGODIA
EADPIGMELETPIRCEA

that is to say, *Eadwig me let wircean & fias godian Criste to lofe & Sancte Marie* (Eadwig had me built and endowed to the praise of Christ and St. Mary). There are, as you will see, some letters in this which do not agree with the ordinary readings of the stone, and Mr. Earle is in doubt between *Eadwig* and *Elfwig*. There is also a difficulty, Mr. Earle reports, in the use of the genitive *fias* (cf. *fee*) after the verb *godian*; but the sense seems to be made out. Mr. Earle also makes an interesting suggestion as to the origin of the name *Wigford*. Does it contain the last syllable of the name of the church's founder? And was the place originally called *Eadwigford*? Some antiquary may, perhaps, be able to answer this question, and to throw some light on its history."

Restoration of Tewkesbury Abbey.—By permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a meeting, presided over by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, was held in the Library of Lambeth Palace for the purpose of receiving the report of the committee who had set themselves the task of providing funds for the restoration of this noble specimen of mediæval architecture to something of its former grandeur. Up to the 23rd of February, the sum of £4,805 had been subscribed, chiefly by the parishioners of Tewkesbury and the inhabitants of Gloucester and Worcester, towards the maintenance of the fabric and its interior restoration; and the object of the meeting was to promote the consummation of a work which might justly be called national. Towards such consummation a further sum of about £6,000 is still required.

Tewkesbury Abbey is one of the great monastic churches which,

though divested of its possessions, has been preserved to the country as a parish church. In modern times the interior of the whole church has been stripped of its ancient fittings, and encumbered with modern pews and galleries, while all the roofs have been either lowered from their ancient pitch or otherwise greatly altered; and the system of gradual degradation from its ancient beauty has become general. Happily, however, the building itself has suffered less from time and mutilation than was the common lot of ancient structures. It is towards the restoration of the building to its original symmetrical proportions that the present movement is directed.

Tewkesbury Abbey was founded by Robert Fitz-Hamon, who was a cousin of William the Conqueror, and was allied to him from having married his niece. From William Rufus he received the grant of the manor of Tewkesbury; and about the year 1100 he began to lay the strong foundation stones of Tewkesbury Abbey. He only lived about five years after that; and his only daughter was married to Robert, first Earl of Gloucester, who took up the work his father-in-law had commenced. In his days the Abbey was dedicated with great splendour; and after a certain time the property passed into the house of the Clares, and they held the estates for nearly a century. In that period some of the noblest monuments were raised within the Abbey to the memory of members of that ancient and illustrious family. It then passed to the baronial house of the Despencers, in whose time the church was principally reconstructed in the state in which it is now found. It afterwards passed to the Beauchamps, and then into the hands of the great King Maker: from him to the King, to come back in a short time to the Duke of Clarence, who with his wife were buried near the altar. The battle of Tewkesbury was fought almost under the shadow of the Abbey walls, when some of the best blood of England flowed; and it was a month or so after this before any sacred rites were resumed in the church. Then came the breaking up of the monasteries, and the last abbot of Tewkesbury became the first Bishop of Gloucester. Portions of the building were destroyed, but the good town of Tewkesbury came forward with as much as would be about £5,000 of our money, and restored the church, in which the town now worshipped; and the Abbey was restored piece by piece by the town. If all the town had done were considered, it would be quite enough to move the hearts of generous people to help them in this the nineteenth century. Enthusiasm seems to have taken possession of all who had taken part in this restoration. The Rev. Mr. Blunt had published a very interesting history of the Abbey, which he had handed to the committee, so that the proceeds might be devoted to the restoration fund.

The obstructive galleries, pews, and organ loft were cleared away, after which the walls, pillars, and ceilings were thoroughly cleaned, by

freeing them from the many coats of whitewash which had effectually concealed their beauty. The modern flooring has also been entirely removed, and a substantial foundation of concrete has been laid throughout these portions of the building ready to receive a suitable pavement. Where the columns and walls of the choir had been cut into and defaced, for the purpose of supporting the beams of galleries or other modern erections, they have been carefully, soundly, and thoroughly repaired, and portions of responds, which had been entirely cut away, have been rebuilt. The partial colouring and gilding on the vaults of the choir have been restored to their original state, as have also the beautiful artistic and historical bosses in the tower, the transepts, and the two bays of the nave, which have been taken in hand with the choir. In the east wall of the south transept, and immediately over the apsidal chapel, called the Baptistry, a chamber of great interest has been discovered, and by the removal of rubble which blocked up a fine arch, it has been opened out again to the church. This chamber is part of the Norman edifice, and is pronounced by the best authorities to be nearly, if not quite, unique. It is accessible from the general staircase which formerly led from the monastic buildings to the church, and through it to a Norman triforium, which existed before the present clerestory was erected. In the centre of the ceiling of this chapel is a beautiful fresco, coeval with, or very little subsequent to, its erection in the twelfth century. The thirteenth century chapels, east and north of the north transept, which had been completely built in and shut off from the church by a thick wall of masonry, have been once more opened to the church, and when restored will form architectural features of unusual beauty and interest. Lastly, the three chapels of St. Margaret, St. Edmund, and St. Faith, have been thoroughly restored, so far as the repair of stonework, the reopening of windows, and the decoration of the ceilings are concerned. The committee having exhausted all the resources at present at their command, now appeal for public sympathy and co-operation in their endeavours to carry on the work. The great size of the abbey places its complete restoration beyond the power of local subscription alone, while its historical associations and great beauty place it in the class of national monuments, which have a claim extending beyond the locality in which they are situated. The building is larger than Hereford Cathedral, and only just smaller than Gloucester.

The lordly houses of FitzHamon, De Clare, Despencer, and latterly of Beauchamp, had been successively associated with Tewkesbury Abbey for exactly four hundred years—the blood of FitzHamon flowing in the veins of the last Beauchamp. During these four centuries nearly all of them were laid to rest—some after peaceful deaths, four of them bruised and battered on the battlefield, four sent thither by the axe or the halter, some in early youth, but none reaching old age—

within the walls of its choir. The personal memorials of most of them have been destroyed; the monastic buildings, which their munificence erected, are utterly gone; but the glorious church which they built is their best memorial, and it bids fair to commemorate them still for many ages to come. Further notes will be found in *Journal*, xxxii, p. 44.

The late Rev. J. J. Wilkinson.—Some friends of the late Rev. J. J. Wilkinson, Rector of Lanteglos, are desirous of placing a tablet in the church of that parish, and a memorial stone over his remains, which will record their appreciation of his many good qualities as a clergyman, sound scholar, and genial friend. A committee has been formed, consisting of the Right Hon. Lord Eliot, Sir John St. Aubyn, Rev. Prebendary Kinsman, Mr. Stephen Tucker (Rouge Croix), Commander Liddell, Mr. H. S. Stokes, Mr. W. C. Borlase, Mr. N. Male, Mr. T. Q. Couch, with a treasurer, secretary, and others, to carry out the desired object. The exact form of the memorial will be decided by the committee of subscribers when the fund is complete. Mr. Wilkinson preserved from destruction several relics of antiquity at his own cost. He was very hospitable to archæologists when they visited his neighbourhood, and his entertainment of the British Archæological Association at the Congress last autumn will be in the recollection of many.

The late Mr. George Smith.—A committee has been formed to raise a fund for the benefit of the family of the late Mr. George Smith, the distinguished Assyrian scholar and explorer. The important services rendered by Mr. Smith to the cause of historical inquiry and biblical research, by his acquisitions as a decipherer of cuneiform inscriptions, are well known. The intensely interesting nature of his discoveries relating to the Chaldean account of the Deluge, brought under public notice at the end of 1872, induced the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* to entrust to him (with the sanction of the Government and the Trustees of the British Museum) the conduct of an expedition, to promote in Assyria itself those explorations which he was convinced would lead to further important discoveries. The result of this expedition was so satisfactory that Mr. Smith was in 1873-74 sent by the Trustees of the British Museum and the Government to renew these explorations. He was again sent out in 1876; and, on his way home, wasted by sickness, brought on by excessive fatigue and exertion in the fulfilment of his mission, died at Aleppo on the 19th of August. A pension has been granted to Mrs. Smith out of the Civil List, in recognition of her late husband's "interesting and devoted labours", which "have shed fresh light on ancient history". It is now proposed to raise a fund for the benefit of the six children. Subscriptions should be forwarded to Messrs. Bosanquet, Salt, and Co., 73, Lombard Street, E.C., for the "George Smith Fund."

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THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THE ANCIENT CORNISH LANGUAGE.

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THOUGH most people know of the former existence of the Cornish language, it is very curious what a vague and confused notion prevails, even in Cornwall, as to what it was or when it ceased to exist. I remember not very long ago being told as a fact, and that by a Cornishman, that the last old woman who spoke Cornish, walked up to London in the Exhibition year of 1851 to see the Queen, and when I expressed a doubt on the subject, I was assured that the fact was well known; to which I could only reply that she must have been at least 180 years of age. But, for all that, the Cornish language has been, I will not say thoroughly *worked* out, for much yet remains to be done, but very considerably *talked* out. Every one who has written upon Cornwall, even down to the authors of magazine articles on summer tours, has had something to say upon the subject, more or less correct. So I am afraid that I have nothing very new to put forward in this paper, and what originality it may possess will be rather in the way of omitting oft-repeated nonsense than of adding to facts already put forward. As the subject is, perhaps, an out-of-the way one, I shall speak as though my hearers knew nothing at all about it (though I am sure such is not the case with them all), and shall begin at the beginning, and tell you what the Cornish language was.

I hear that something has been said during this Con-

gress of the connection of Cornish with Hebrew, and that a learned Hebraist had taken some pains to show that by a judicious manipulation of the letters, a Cornish word might be made to look something like a Hebrew word, which either had or had not (generally the latter) a somewhat similar meaning. Now any philologer, who has not gone back into the eighteenth century for his system, would have no hesitation in saying that Hebrew and Cornish are about as much connected as English and Arabic. They belong to two totally distinct classes. Cornish is one of the three members of the Cymric division of the Celtic languages, which form a branch of the great Aryan or Indo-European family. The other division of the Celtic languages is generally known as Gaelic, and contains the three dialects of Irish, Scotch Gaelic, and Manx; but with these we have nothing to do at present. The Cymric branch includes Welsh, Breton (in the four dialects of Leon, Treguier, Cornouaille, and Vannes), and the now dead Cornish. There is great reason to suppose that the ancient Gaulish belonged to this branch; and if that is so, it is probable that the language of the Galatians, alluded to by St. Jerome, was also a dialect of Cymric. Judging from the Cymric glosses in early MSS., such as those in the Luxemburg folio (which I consider to be Breton, though they are generally claimed as Welsh) and in the Cambridge Juvenius, or even from early specimens of Welsh literature, it would seem that Cornish, in its undecayed state, represented more exactly the ancient British than the more cultivated Welsh does. It is especially noticeable that a firm vowel-sound is retained in Cornish, where in Welsh it has become diphthongalised, as in such cases as *men*, for the Welsh *maen* (a stone), *mul* or *mol* (bare) for *moel*, etc., but in both languages many inflections have been dropped, and certainly in practice, by reason of the customary impersonal form of the verbs, Cornish was less inflected than Welsh. Want of space will not allow a minute discussion of this question, which certainly belongs rather to the domain of philology than of archæology, so I will not pursue the subject further: suffice it to say that it is highly probable that Cornish and Breton are the modern representatives of the languages of the Southern and more civilised of the ancient Britons.

Except for the existence of the Cornish names in the

Bodmin Gospels, and as alternative names of places in one or two early charters,¹ and of the Cornish vocabulary in the Cottonian Library (of which I shall have something to say presently), the earliest mention of the Cornish language that I have yet discovered occurs in Cott. MS. Vesp. A. xiv, in the British Museum (the volume in which the said vocabulary is included), in a Latin life of St. Cadoc. This speaks of St. Michael's Mount as being called "in the idiom of that province," *Dinsol* (or the Mount of the Sun). Next in date to this comes a passage in the register of Bishop Grandison, of Exeter (1327-1369), quoted by Dr. Oliver in his *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis* (p. 11), which, in an account of the submission of the parish of St. Buryan to the bishop, after a certain quarrel between them, states that a formal submission was made by the principal parishioners in French and English (the names are given, thirteen in number), and by the rest in Cornish, interpreted by Henry Marseley, the rector of St. Just, and that after this the bishop preached a sermon, which was interpreted by the same priest for the benefit of the Cornish-speaking members of the congregation. From this it would appear (as might naturally be supposed from the history of the county) that the gentry were Normans and Saxons (though mostly bearing Cornish names), and did not speak Cornish, but that that language was confined to the peasantry. If this was so at St. Buryan, within six miles of the Lands End, the same would no doubt be the case throughout the county.

But until the time of Henry VIII we have no trustworthy information about the state or extent of the language. It is highly probable, from the number of names of places still retaining undoubtedly Celtic names, and retaining them in an undoubtedly Cornish form, that until at least the fifteenth century the Tamar was the boundary of English and Cornish. In the reign of Henry VIII we have an account given by Andrew Borde in his *Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, written in 1542. He says, "In Cornwall is two speches, the one is naughty Englysshe, and the other is Cornyssehe speche. And there be many men and women the which cannot speake one worde of Englysshe, but all Cornyshe." He then gives the Cornish numerals and a

¹ *E.g.*, in Cott. Aug. ii. 44, charter of Edred, 949, "Welegford quæ sita est in Cornubia ... ubi ruricolæ illius pagi barbarico nomine appellant Pendyfig."

few sentences of ordinary conversation. These are much mixed with English, and were, no doubt, such as might have been heard on the borders of Devon, for he probably did not penetrate very far, being doubtless deterred by the impossibility of obtaining drinkable beer—a circumstance which seems to have much exercised his mind in describing Cornwall.

Then we find, as mentioned by Carew, Polwhele, Davis Gilbert, Borlase, and others, that in the time of Henry VIII Dr. John Moreman, the parson of Menheniot (a small town near Liskeard) was the first to teach his parishioners the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Commandments in English, these having been "used in Cornish beyond all remembrance". This same Dr. Moreman is mentioned in the petition (or rather *demand*) presented to Edward VI by the Cornwall and Devon insurgents, in favour of the old form of worship. One paragraph of this is as follows :—"We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game. We will have our old service of Matins, Mass, Evensong, and Procession as it was before ; and we the Cornish, *whereof certain of us understand no English*, do utterly refuse the new service."

In the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, during the course of the many discussions on church matters, a number of articles were drawn up, to judge by their general tone, by the extreme Protestant party, and a copy of these, taken from a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, occurs in Egerton MS. 2350, f. 54, in the British Museum. They are entitled "Articles drawn out by some certaine, and were exhibited to be admitted by authority, but not so admitted," and their date, to judge by accompanying letters, etc., is about 1560. The last article is "A punishment for such as cannot say the Catechisme", and in it there occurs the following sentence :—"Item that it may be lawfull for such Welch or Cornish children as can speake no English to learne the Præmises in the Welch tongue or Cornish language."

It is a pity that this article did not pass, for if the said "Catechisme", as might have been probable from the decidedly North British tone of theology in the articles, resembled that called the "Shorter" (because "it's no atther as lang as the Bible"), the whole Cornish language might have been preserved to us.

In the same reign, but somewhat later, a report on England, addressed to Philip II of Spain by an Italian agent, speaks thus of Cornwall: “Li habitante sono del tutto differenti *di parlare*, di costume et di leggi alli Inglesi; usano le leggi imperiale cosi como fa ancola li Walsche loro vicini; quali sono in prospettiva alla Irlanda et sono similmente tenuti la maggior parte Cattolici.” However, since the agent insists that the *Severn* divides Cornwall from England, he can hardly have known much about the county. The report occurs among a number of Spanish state papers in Add. MS. 28,420, in the British Museum.

In Carew's Survey of Cornwall, written about 1600, we read, however, that the language had been driven into the uttermost parts of the county, and that very few were ignorant of English, though many affected to know only their own tongue. It seems, however, from what he says further on, that the *guaries*, or miracle plays, were then commonly acted in Cornish, and that the people flocked to them in large numbers, and evidently understood them. Carew adds that the principal love and knowledge of the language died “with one Dr. Kennall, a civilian”.

In a survey of Cornwall, by John Norden, entitled, “Speculum Magnæ Britanniae, pars Cornwall”, addressed to James I, the following account of the language is given.

“The Cornish people for the moste parte are descended of British stocke, though muche mixed since with the Saxon and Norman bloude, but untill of late years retayned the British speache uncorrupted as theirs of Wales is. For the South Wales man understandeth not perfectly the North Wales man, and the North Wales man little of the Cornish, but the South Wales man much. The pronounciation of the tongue differs in all, but the Cornish is far the easier to be pronounced.” Here he goes on to compare the sound of it with the Welsh, to the disadvantage of the latter. . . .

“But of late the Cornish men have much conformed themselves to the use of the English tongue, and their English is equal to the best, especially in the Eastern partes; even from Truro eastward is in a manner wholly Englishe. In the west parte of the county, as in the Hundreds of Penwith and Kerrier, the Cornishe tongue is mostly in use, and yet it is to be marvelled that though husband and wife, parents and children, master and servauntes, doe mutually commu-

nicate in their native language, yet there is none of them but in manner is able to converse with a stranger in the English tongue, unless it be some obscure persons that seldom converse with the better sort."

The next account we find in a diary of the Civil War, written by Richard Symonds, one of the Royalist army in Cornwall in 1644 (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 17,052). He gives a short vocabulary of common words, together with four short sentences. To these he appends the following note :

"The language is spoken altogether at Goonhilly, and about Pendennis and the Lands End they speak no English. All beyond Truro they speak the Cornish language."

Much about the same time the vicar of St. Feock, near Falmouth, chaplain to Pendennis Castle during its siege by the rebel troops, was in the habit of using Cornish for the words of administration of the Sacrament, because the old people did not understand English.

In 1662 and 1667 John Ray, in his *Itinerary*, mentions one Dickan Gwyn (evidently his real name was Dick Angwin) of St. Just as the only man who could write Cornish. Ray adds that few of the children could speak it, "so that the language is like in a short time to be quite lost."

Writing in the latter part of the reign of Charles II, William Scawen, a Cornish antiquary, gives a long account of the state of the language in his time, in a treatise in which he laments the decline thereof (accounting for it by no less than sixteen elaborate reasons). According to this, the inhabitants of the western promontories of Meneage and Penwith were in the habit of speaking the language, so much so that the parson of Landewednack, Mr. Francis Robinson, used to preach in Cornish down to the year 1678, as being the only tongue well understood by his parishioners.

The next authority is that excellent Celtic scholar, Dr. Edward Lhuyd, who published his *Archæologia Britannica* in the year 1707. He gives the following list of the parishes in which the language was spoken (I give the present usual spelling of their names) :—St. Just, Paul, Buryan, Sennen, St. Levan, Morva, Sancreed, St. Madron, Zennor, Towednack, St. Ives, Ielant, Ludgvan, and Gulval, and along the coast from the Lands End to St. Keverne (this would also include St. Hillary, Perran Uthno, St. Breage, Germoe,

Mullion, Gunwalloe, Ruan Major and Minor, Landewednack, Grade, and St. Keverne), adding that many of the inhabitants of these parishes, especially the gentry, do not understand it, "there being no need, as every Cornishman speaks English."

Then the language quickly receded, until, in 1735, there were only left a few old people at Mousehole, Paul, Newlyn, St. Just, and other parishes along the coast between Penzance and the Lands End, who even understood any of it. It was about this time that Gwavas and Tonkin made their collections on the subject, and the language they found was a most irregular jargon—a peculiarity of which was a striking uncertainty of the speakers as to where one word left off and another began.

At this time there seems to have been a little coterie of antiquaries at Penzance and the neighbourhood who busied themselves much with the remains of the old language. The patriarch of these was old John Keigwin, of Mousehole, the translator of the poem of *The Passion* and the play of *The Creation*. He was born in 1641, and died in 1710, and, according to Lhuyd and Borlase, his knowledge of Cornish was "profound and complete". However, that did not prevent him from making some extraordinary mistakes in his translations, which should perhaps be set down to the archaic form of the language with which he had to deal. He seems to have been a considerable linguist, being acquainted with Latin, Greek, French, and even Hebrew, and in a translation into Cornish of the letter of King Charles to the people of Cornwall, he makes use of his Hebrew knowledge when he failed to remember the exact Cornish word, writing "milcamath" for "war". Among the other members of this little party may be mentioned William Gwavas, John Boson and his brother Thomas, Thomas Tonkin, the historian, Oliver Pender, and last (as probably the youngest) Dr. William Borlase, the author of the well known history of Cornwall. It does not seem that any of these, except perhaps Keigwin, troubled themselves much about Cornish literature, but they did good service in the way of preserving words, proverbs, colloquial sentences, etc., and seem to have found great enjoyment in translating various passages of Scripture, songs, etc., into the Cornish that was current in their own day. These being spelt phonetically

(as far as the writers could manage to do so in the days before "glossic" and "palæotype"), and therefore varying a good deal in orthography, are now of great value in determining the sound of the latest Cornish. It is curious to note that, like Manx, but unlike other Celtic dialects, the sounds of the vowels had in their changes kept pace with those of English, and had not at that period retained the "foreign" or "Italian" sound. This is evident from a comparison of words as they appear in the earlier dramas, etc., with the form that they took in the writings of these men when the modern English system of spelling was applied to them. When Lhuyd was at work upon his Cornish grammar, he received considerable assistance from Keigwin, Gwavas, and Tonkin, and a vocabulary compiled by the two last was afterwards printed by Dr. William Pryce in 1790, with Lhuyd's grammar, *as his own composition*. This fraud was exposed by Prince L. L. Bonaparte, into whose hands the original MS. fell; but though it certainly was not right of Pryce to act in this manner, he does deserve some credit for having published the vocabulary at all, and the service that he did in so doing may be the better estimated by a knowledge of the fact that it was very considerably through the medium of Pryce's publication that Dr. Edwin Norris obtained the acquaintance with Cornish necessary to enable him to bring out his valuable edition of the early Cornish dramas. It is strange that so much abuse has been heaped upon Pryce, while Davies Gilbert has escaped with comparative freedom, in spite of a villainously careless edition of a number of scraps of Cornish (printed at the end of his copy of the play of *The Creation*), gathered entirely from Gwavas' MS., now in the British Museum, and inserted, with notes and all, without a word of acknowledgment, and in such a manner as to lead one to think that the translations and notes at any rate were his own doing. Pryce certainly took the trouble to correct his proofs, and Davies Gilbert could hardly have attempted to do so.

In 1746 Capt. Barrington, brother of Daines Barrington the antiquary, took a sailor from Mount's Bay, who spoke Cornish, to the opposite coast of Brittany, and found him fairly able to make himself understood; at least, so he said, but I doubt it very much. In 1768 Daines Barrington himself writes an account of an interview with the celebrated

Mrs. Dolly Pentreath, popularly supposed to have been the last person who spoke the language. He also contributed to the *Archæologia* a letter received in 1776, written in Cornish and English, from William Bodenor, a fisherman of Mousehole. The writer states that not more than four or five people in this town, and these old folk of eighty years of age, could speak Cornish. Dolly Pentreath died in 1778; but both Pryce, in his *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica* (1790), and Whitaker, vicar of Ruan-Lanihorne, in his Supplement to Polwhele's *History of Cornwall* (1799), mention the fact of two or three people still living who were able to speak Cornish, though theirs is only hearsay evidence. Some time ago I came upon a letter in the British Museum addressed to Sir Joseph Banks, dated 1791, in which the writer mentions his own father as the only living man who could speak it.

Then, as a spoken language, Cornish died out entirely, and there only remained various traditions thereof in the shape of words, sentences, etc., handed down among the inhabitants of the districts where it was last current. Even these have very much diminished of late years, and, though there are many people still living who have heard such things as the Creed, Lord's Prayer, etc., repeated in Cornish by the old folk many years ago, when I made some investigations last year at Newlyn and Mousehole (the results of which may be read in a paper contributed by me to the Philological Society), I only found that a few people of great age could repeat the numerals as far as twenty, and one or two knew a few detached words and two short sentences. But, though Cornish is dead, its ghost still haunts its old dwelling, in the form of idioms, provincialisms, words, and phrases, and still more apparently in the names of every hill, farm, river, rock, stream, or well, and of the descendants of those who once spoke it. And this brings me to a most important point in my paper. I believe that the Ordnance Survey is being made at present, and though, as a *map*, the last survey was most excellent, the constructors thereof were not so successful in one important matter—the *spelling of Cornish names*. Some of these were apparently spelt phonetically, others according to a curious idea of assimilating Cornish to Welsh, and others after a wildly affected plan, with accents and strange philological tricks,

based upon the system adopted (very usefully in *that* case) in Canon Williams' Cornish Lexicon. The phonetic plan is too liable to variations, and too arbitrary to be good for much. The Welsh plan is founded on an erroneous conception of the nature of Cornish, which is not Welsh, never was Welsh, and never spelt itself like Welsh in its life, though of course it was a kindred language. The philological plan is all very well for philologists, but utterly useless to the very large majority of people who, though able to read, are not scientific. Now, what I want considered is this. Let a committee be formed which shall decide all questions relating to Cornish spelling, and let the form which the names should take be settled by them on principles consistent with the *present sound*, the *derivation*, and the *meaning*, taking care in all cases in which the spelling has been already settled by anything like common usage, to preserve it as so settled. I would suggest that the system should be based upon modern English, avoiding all scientific affectations, such as the foreign or so-called "Italian" vowel sounds (as tending after awhile to alter the pronunciation), and all use of accents, or of the *dh* for the broad sound of *th* (as tending to puzzle all but scientific people). If any such plan should be adopted, I shall be very willing to give any assistance that my time will allow, but I give notice that I shall violently oppose any antiquated vagaries or unnecessary deviations from established usage, and shall try to get the spelling settled in accordance with practical common sense, and not with any design for cramming a smattering of ancient Cornish down the throats of a number of people who do not in the least want to be bothered with it.

And now, as far as time will allow, I will attempt to describe the literary remains of the Cornish language.

These literary remains are but scanty. For the most part they consist of plays on Scriptural or hagiological subjects, and these plays appear to have been acted down to at least the seventeenth century. As an account of the manner of acting the plays will probably form part of another paper to be read at this Congress, I shall not occupy time with any words on that subject. Such performances were very common during the middle ages, and there is no doubt that this manner of setting forth

religious truths, strange and even profane as it may appear to modern minds, was both popular and profitable to the more simple-minded Christians of pre-reformation days. This is not the place to discuss the question of the propriety of such exhibitions, but I think anyone who studies the subject fairly and carefully, not from the point of view of a nineteenth century Englishman, but by putting himself, in imagination, in the place of the devout but uneducated peasants of the middle ages, will find in these pageants not profanity, but a devout identification of religion with the details of daily life. The custom is a very early one. The first known Scriptural play is one by St. Gregory Nazianzen, entitled *Χρίστος Πασχών*, in which the events of the Passion are given in the form of a Greek tragedy of the classical type, and a very beautiful one it is too, quite as worthy of the attention of scholars as those of the recognised tragedians. From that time down to the present day there have been numberless instances of such plays in almost every European language. Probably the most recent performances occurred a few weeks ago in Wales, when, according to the *Western Mail*, the plays of "Joseph a'i Frodyr" (Joseph and his Brethren) and "Moses Bach" (Little Moses) were performed to the edification of a large audience at a Baptist Chapel at Briton Ferry, Glamorganshire.

The following is a list of the known remains of Cornish :—

1. The manumissions of slaves in the Bodmin Gospels. (Add. MS. 9381, in the British Museum.)
2. The Cottonian Vocabulary. (Brit. Mus., Cott. Vesp. A. xiv.)
3. The Poem of Mount Calvary. (Brit. Mus., Harl. 1782.)
4. The "Ordinalia" plays, entitled "Origo Mundi", "Passio Christi", and "Resurrectio Domini". In the Bodleian Library.
5. The Life of St. Meriasek, with the Life of St. Sylvester the Pope. A play. In the Peniarth Library.
6. The Creation of the World, with Noah's Flood. A play. In the Bodleian Library and in the British Museum. (Harl. 1867.)
7. The Gwavas collection of songs, translations, etc. (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 28554.)
8. The Borlase Collection, similar to the preceding. In the library of W. C. Borlase, Esq., F.S.A., of Laregan, Penzance.

9. The grammar, etc., of Messrs. Gwavas and Tonkin. In the library of H.I.H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte.

This list contains the names of all that have been as yet discovered. It is known from various sources, among others from a letter to Wm. Camden, by Nicholas Roscarrock (7 Aug. 1607), that a life of St. Columba of Cornwall, the patroness of the two parishes of St. Columb, once existed in Cornish; and William Scawan, whom I mentioned just now, alludes to two or three other MSS. that have since disappeared. Having given this list, I will take each of the MSS. in their order and describe them shortly.

1. *The Bodmin Gospels*.—This is a quarto MS. on vellum, written apparently in France during the tenth century. The greater part of the book is taken up with the four Gospels in Latin, but at the beginning and end occur a large number of manumissions of slaves, almost all the names being Cornish, while the accompanying text is either Latin or Saxon. About two hundred Cornish words can be gathered from this book.

2. *The Cottonian Vocabulary* (see Plate 1).—This forms part of a MS. of the end of the twelfth century, and consists of about seven pages, preceded by a calendar containing many Celtic names, and followed by lives of Welsh and Cornish saints. The words are classified under various headings, such as heaven and earth, different parts of the human body, birds, beasts, fishes, trees, herbs, ecclesiastical and liturgical terms, and at the end occur a number of adjectives. It has been printed by Zeuss in his *Grammatica Celtica*, by Dr. Norris with the *Ordinalia*, and has been incorporated into Canon Williams' Cornish Lexicon.

3. *The Poem of Mount Calvary* (see Plate 2).—There are five MSS. of this in existence. One is in the British Museum (Harl. 1782), and is probably the original, said to have been found in the church of Sancreed. It is a small quarto, on rough vellum, written very badly in a fifteenth century hand, and embellished with very rude pictures. Of the other copies two are in the Bodleian, one in the Gwavas collection of Cornish writings in the British Museum, with a translation by William Hals, the Cornish historian, and one is in private hands. It has been twice printed, once with a translation by John Keigwin of Mousehole, edited by Davies Gilbert in 1826, and by Dr. Whitley Stokes for the

Philological Society in 1862. There is very little in this poem beyond a versified narrative of the events of the Passion, from Palm Sunday to Easter morning, taken directly from the four Gospels, preceded by an account of our Lord's fasting and temptation. The only peculiarities and additions are the following :—1. In the account of the death of Judas it is said—

“Eneff Judas ny allas dos yn mes war y anow
Rag y anow a ammas the Jhesus leun a rasow
Dywolow yfarn a squerdyas corf Judas ol the tharnow
Hag a notho a gerhas y eneff the dewolgow.”

The soul of Judas could not come out by his mouth,
For his mouth had kissed Jesus full of grace.
Devils of Hell tore the body of Judas all to pieces,
And thus they bore away his soul to darkness.¹

2. Pilate is spoken of as “Pen Justis”, the chief justice.
3. The finding of the beam for the cross is described as in the play, of which I shall speak presently. 4. The well-known story of the smith and his wife, who made the nails, is given. 5. The legend of the holes for the nails being bored too far apart, and of the means used to set right the mistake, is told. 6. A curious interpretation is given of the words of Our Lord, “The Son of Man hath not where to lay his head”:

“Rag gwan spyr hag ef yn ten caman na ylly gwythe
Warnans na basse y ben rag an arlont a ussy
Mar posse an neyll tenewen rag y scoth hy an grevye
Ha whath gwetha wre an pren war thellargh mar an gorre.

“Na war rag ef ny ylly pose rag own bos megis
Yn erna del redyn ny y lyffrow y thew scrifys
Then ethyn gwyls rag nyethy tellyryow esa parys
The Crist y ben py sensy teller vyth nyn go kefys.”

For weakly he breathed, and was constrained ; he could not keep
any way.

On nothing could he lean his head, for the garland that he wore.
If he leant on the one side, for his shoulder it pained him ;
And yet worse did the tree, if he put it backwards.

¹ A similar idea is to be found in an English poem of the early fourteenth century, called *Vita Jude Cariote* (Harl. MS. 2277), wherein it is said,

“Him silf he heng vp a treo, for such deþ he schulde to
His wombe to-berste a-midde a two, þo he schulde deye,
His guttes fulle to grounde, menie men hit iseye,
þer wende out a liþer gost, atte mouþ hit ne mizte,
For he custe er oure louerd þerwiþ mid unrizte.”

Nor could he lean forward for fear of being choked.
 Then as we read in books as it is written ;
 For the wild birds to make nests, places were prepared ;
 For Christ, where he may lay his head no place was found.

7. The centurion is called "den henwys sentury" (a man called Century). 8. According to the usual legend the soldier with the spear is represented as being blind, and is called Longis (Longius or Longinus). 9. At the end is a statement of the number of the wounds in Christ's body, which is estimated at 5,475, and the following declaration :

"Pub tetholl neb a vynne leuerel pymthek pater
 A leun galon rag gorthye pascon agan Arluth ker
 Yn blythen y a vye ha bederow keneuer
 Hag a owleow ese yn corf Jhesus worth neuer."

He that would every day say fifteen paternosters
 With a full heart to worship the passion of our dear Lord,
 In a year there would be as many paternosters
 As there were wounds in the body of Jesus by number.

The metre consists of eight-lined stanzas (written as four lines) of seven-syllabled trochaic lines. There are about two hundred and sixty of these stanzas.

4. *The Ordinalia*.—These consist of three dramas collectively known under this title. The first play, called *Origo Mundi*, begins with the Creation of the World, the Fall of Man, Cain and Abel, etc.; this being followed by the building of the Ark and the Flood, the story of the temptation of Abraham closing the first act. The second act gives us the history of Moses, and the third represents the story of David and of the building of Solomon's Temple, curiously ending with a description of the martyrdom of St. Maximilla, as a Christian (!), by the Bishop placed in charge of the Temple by Solomon. Villemarqué, in the preface to his translation of the Breton miracle-play *Barzud braz Jezuz*, conjectures that this last incident may refer to the death of Joan of Arc (particularly as the Bishop is made to speak a mixture of French and English) ; and this, of course, might tend to fix the date of the play. The second play represents the history of Christ from the Temptation to the Crucifixion ; and this goes on without interruption into the third play, which gives an account of the Resurrection and Ascension, with the death of Pilate. As in the poem of *Mount Calvary*, the pseudo-Gospel of Nicodemus is largely drawn upon.

But interwoven with the Scriptural narrative comes the beautiful and curious Legend of the Cross. The legend is this. When Adam found himself dying, he sent his son Seth to the Gates of Paradise to beg of the angel that guarded them the oil of mercy, that his father might live. The angel let him look into Paradise, where he saw many strange and beautiful foreshadowings of things that should be upon the earth; and the angel gave him three seeds from the Tree of Life, and he departed. When he came to where his father was, he found that he was already dead, and he laid the three seeds in his mouth, and buried him therewith on Mount Moriah; and in process of time the three seeds grew into three small trees, and Abraham took of the wood thereof for the sacrifice of Isaac his son; and afterwards Moses' rod, wherewith he smote the rock and divided the sea, was made from one of their branches. And soon the three trees grew together into one tree, whereby was symbolised the mystery of the Trinity; and under its branches sat King David when Nathan the prophet came to him, and there he bewailed his sin, and wrote the Miserere psalm. And Solomon, when he would build the Temple on Mount Sion, cut down the tree, which was then as one of the chiefest of the cedars of Lebanon, and bid men make a beam thereof; but it would in no wise fit into its place, howsoever much men cut it to its shape. Therefore Solomon was wroth, and bid men cast it over the brook Cedron as a bridge, so that all might tread upon it that went that way. But after awhile he buried it, and over where it lay there came the Pool Bethesda with its healing powers; and when our Lord came on earth the beam floated up to the surface of the Pool, and the Jews found it, and made thereof the Cross whereon Christ died on Calvary.

The metre of these plays is very much the same as that of the numbers of English and Latin miracle-plays that existed in the middle ages. It has been used also in that beautiful imitation of a mediæval play in Longfellow's *Golden Legend*, as well as in another imitation less beautiful in its idea, though perhaps more so in its language, called *The Masque of Queen Bersabe*, by Mr. A. C. Swinburne. As a specimen of the style of thing, I will give the following short passage from one of the well known Chester

miracle-plays (that of the Drapers' Guild). The words are addressed by the Creator to Adam,—

“ Here, Adam, I give thee this place,
 Thee to comforte and solace,
 To keepe it well while thou yt hast,
 And done as I thee saye.
 Of all the trees that be herein
 Thou shalt eate, and nothing synne;
 But of this tree, for wayle or wynne,
 Thou eate of by noe waye.
 What time thou eatest of this tree
 Death thee behoooves, beleeve thou me;
 Therefore this frute I will thou flee,
 And be thou not too boulde.
 Beestes and foules that thou maye see
 To thee obedient aye shall be;
 What name they be given by thee,
 That name they shall houlde.”

5. *The Life of St. Meriasek*.—This play, which was written in the year 1504, as appears by the colophon, was discovered by Mr. Whitley Stokes a few years ago among the MSS. of the Peniarth Library. It represents the life and death of Meriasek, called in Breton Meriadec, the son of a Duke of Brittany, and interwoven with it is the legend of St. Sylvester the Pope and the Emperor Constantine, quite regardless of the circumstance that St. Sylvester lived in the fourth century or so, and St. Meriasek in the thirteenth. The language of the play is later than that of the *Ordinalia*, the admixture of English being greater, while a few of the literal changes, such as the substitution of *g* (soft) for *s*, and in one instance (*Bednath* for *Bennath*) the change of *nn* to *dn*, begin to appear. The grammar has not changed much, but the use of the compound and impersonal forms is more frequent, and the verb *menni* has begun to be used as a simple future auxiliary. The metre is much the same as that of the *Ordinalia*, so it will be unnecessary to describe it. As an account of this play will form part of a paper by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, I shall not describe it more fully.

6. *The Creation*, by William Jordan, A.D. 1611.—The construction of this play is very like that of the first act of the *Origo Mundi* (the metres are exactly the same), and the author has sometimes borrowed whole sentences from it; but as a whole Jordan's play possesses far greater literary merit. Occasionally sentences of several lines in English

are introduced, and it is curious to note that whenever this is the case, they are invariably given to Lucifer or one of his angels, and in such a manner as to seem as if the author meant to imply that English was the natural language of such beings, and that they only spoke Cornish when on their good behaviour, relapsing into their own tongue whenever they became more than ordinarily excited or vicious. Four complete copies of this play are known, two of which are in the Bodleian, one in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 1867), and a fourth in private hands (bound up with the MS. of *Mount Calvary* already mentioned). Besides these there is a fragment in a similar hand to that of the complete Museum copy (certainly not that of John Keigwin, who translated the play in 1693 at the request of Sir Jonathan Trelawney, then Bishop of Exeter, though with his translation on the opposite pages to the text) in the Gwavas collection in the British Museum. In a list of books published in *Welsh* (as it is expressed), given in one of Bagford's collections for a History of Printing (Lansdowne MS. 808, British Museum), I find mention made of this play. No date is given, but the names of the books are arranged chronologically, and this comes between one of 1642 and one of 1662. The play has been printed (with Keigwin's translation) by Davies Gilbert in 1827, and with a translation by Dr. Whitley Stokes in the Philological Society's volume for 1864.

7. *The Gwavas MS.*—This valuable collection was made at the beginning of the last century by William Gwavas of Newlyn. The following is a brief abstract of the Cornish part of its contents (a fuller description of which may be seen in the catalogue of Additional MSS. acquired by the British Museum in 1870, under "Add. MS. 28,554"). 1. Five songs of various lengths, mostly unpublished. 2. The story of "John of Chy-an-Hur" (printed by Pryce). 3. Translations of Genesis i and iii, St. Matthew ii and iv, the Old Hundredth Psalm (literal), King Charles I's Letter to the People of Cornwall, and various fragments and verses from the Bible. 4. Several versions of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. 5. A large number of epigrams, mottoes, and other scraps. 6. Portions of letters of William Gwavas and others. Besides these the MS. contains the poem of *Mount Calvary*, with a translation

by William Hals, the historian, and a fragment of the play of *The Creation*, with part of what I believe to be Hals' Cornish Vocabulary (alluded to by Pryce in his grammar), and a number of notes, lists of words, etc. The greater part of this has never been printed, and it is hoped that, if the proposed "Cornish MSS. Society" should be started, this MS. will furnish matter for its first number. The collection passed to Mrs. Veale, daughter of Gwavas, and to her son, the Rev. H. Veale, from whom it came to the Rev. W. Wingfield, vicar of Gulval, Penzance, who presented it to the British Museum.

8. *The Borlase MSS.*—This collection, made about 1748 by the Rev. William Borlase, D.C.L., F.R.S., contains very similar matter to the preceding. The following is a list of its contents:—1. Notes, etc., on the language, with an abstract of Lhuyd's grammar. 2. Vocabularies, etc., partly printed in the "Antiquities of Cornwall". 3. Sentences of Cornish, colloquial phrases, proverbs, etc., a large number hitherto unpublished, some being taken from a play called "The Duchess of Cornwall's Progress", probably by John Boson. 4. Songs, translations, etc., many unpublished. 5. "Nebbaz Gerriau dro the Carnoack" (*i.e.*, a few words about Cornish), being a short treatise in Cornish and English, probably by John Boson, in the handwriting of the Rev. H. Ustick, vicar of St. Breage. This important collection will also furnish materials for the "Cornish MSS. Society."

9. *The Grammar of Tonkin and Gwavas.*—This contains little besides the grammar, vocabulary, etc., printed by Pryce as his own in 1790, so it needs no further description.

This, then, completes the literary remains of Cornish, and brings my paper to a close. I have omitted any discussion of the grammatical peculiarities, etc., of the language, and may refer any one who would like to read a short sketch of these to a paper read by me before the Philological Society of London in March 1873, and printed in the Society's Transactions for that year (Part I, p. 165). The following list of works useful for the study of Cornish may be of interest:

1. *Archæologia Britannica*, by Edward Lhuyd, 1707.
2. *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*, by Wm Pryce, 1790.
3. *Antiquities of Cornwall*, by Wm. Borlase, 1754.
4. *The Cornish Drama, with a Sketch of Cornish Grammar*, by Edwin Norris, Oxford, 1859.

march. Equa. caſſec. Aſin⁹ & Aſina. aſen. Camelus: cammarch. Onaget.
 aſenguill. Elephan⁹: Oliphant. Uſuſ: Oſt. Simia: ſim. Lure: doſeryſt.
 ſibet: beſet. ſerun⁹: y eugen. Q uſtela: Louennan. Talpa: god. Carruſ.
 Couril eg: kar. h y rici & Ernat⁹ ſort. Liſſen⁹ & ouſ: & ſouge: logo.
 den. Uernuſ: priſ. Ceruiſ: carui. Cerua: kuhic. Dama & Damula.
 ha. h immul⁹: loch. enhic. Capreotat: k y rouch. Caprea: y oach.
 Cap. Ph y rē: boch. Capra. & Capella: gauray. ſebuſ: oul. Lepuſ.
 ſouarnoc. boiē. hoch. Suſ: baney. Scroſſa: guſ. Ape: & yeres:

BRITISH MUSEUM. COTT. VESP. A. XIV. f. 9.

LATIN-CORNISH VOCABULARY. LATE XIIITH CENTURY.

5. *The Poem of the Passion (or Mount Calvary) and Jordan's Play of the Creation*, edited by Whitley Stokes for the Philological Society, 1860, 1864.

6. The same, with additional matter in the way of proverbs, etc., edited by Davies Gilbert, 1826, 1827.

7. *The Life of St. Meriasek*, edited by Whitley Stokes, 1872.

8. *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*, by the Rev. Robert Williams, 1868.

PLATE I.

LATIN-CORNISH VOCABULARY OF THE LATTER PART OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

[*N.B.*—The words are arranged in columns for the sake of greater convenience. Those that occur in brackets are interlinear and marginal glosses in Welsh added by a later hand. The first and last words are supplied by the preceding and succeeding pages.]

Equs. march	Porcus : hoch
Equa. cassec	Sus : banen
Asinus. vel asina : asen	Scroffa : guis
Camelus : caurmarch	Aper vel verres : bahet
Onager : asenguills [assenguyll]	Magalis : torch
Elephans : oliphans	Porcellus : porchel
Ursus : ors	Bos : odion
Simia : sim	Vacca : vel Buccula : buch [buwch]
Lutrus : doferghi	Vitulus : loch [llo]
Fiber : befer	Iuencus : denenoit
Feruncus : yeugen	Ovis : dauat
Mustela : louennan	Aries : horp
Talpa : god	Uernes : mols
Cattus vel murilegus : kat	Agnus : oin
Hyricius vel Erinatius : sort	Pecus vel Inmentum : ehal
Clissemus vel mus : vel soorrex : logoden [lhogod]	Animal : mil
Uermis : prif	Canis : ki
Cernus : carun ¹	Molus : guilter
Cerna : euhic	Catulus : coloin
Dama. vel Damula : da	Draco : druic
Hinnulus : loch euhic [lho ewic]	Vipera. vel serpens. vel anguis : nader
Capreolus : kytiorch	Coluber : gorpfel
Caprea : yorch	Rubeta : croinoc
Caper. vel hyrcus : boch	Rana : guilschin
Capra. vel capella : gauar	Lacerta : wedresif
Hedus : min	Stellio : anaf
Lepus : sconarnoc	Locusta : cheliocreden

¹ Omitted by Zeuss, Norris, and Williams.

Sanguissuga : ghel
 Limax : melyen
 Testudo : melpioges
 Formica : menwionen¹
 Eruca : prifpren
 Pediculus : lowen
 Pulex : hwannen
 Cunex : contronen
 Tinea : goupan

NOMINA HERBARUM

HERBA : les
 Algium : kenineuynoc
 Dilla : tanolen
 Libestica : guyles
 Febrifugia : lesderth
 Simphoniaca : gahen
 Anadonia : gouiles
 Aprotanum : dehoulas
 Sinitia : madere
 Feniculum : fenochol
 Malua : malou
 Consolda : boreles
 Solsequium : lesengoc
 Ruta : rute
 Betonica : lesdushoc
 Costa : coste
 Millefolium : minfel
 Calamus : koisen
 Canna vel arundo : heschen
 Papauer : mill
 Absintium : fuelein
 Urtica : linhadan
 Archangelica : coiclinhat
 Plantago : enlidan
 Marrubrium : lesluit
 Lappa : lesserehoc
 Sandix : glesin
 Caula : vel magdulans : caul
 Carista : vel kerso : beler
 Minte : mente
 Serpullum : coifinel
 Artemesia : lotles

Cardus : askellen
 Hermodactula. vel tilodosa : goit-
 kenin
 Lilium : lilie
 Rosa : breilu
 Vigila : melhyonen
 Raphanum : redic
 Filex : reden
 Carex : elestren
 Juncus : vel scupus : brunnen

NOMINA ARBORUM

Arbor : guiden
 Flos : blodon
 Cortex : ruso
 Folium : delen
 Buxus : box
 Fraxus : onnen
 Quercus : vel illex : glastanen vel
 dar
 Taxus : hinin
 Corillus : colwiden
 Alnus : guernen
 Malus : auallen
 Pinus : pinbren
 Fructus : fruit
 Baculus : lorch
 Virga : guaylen
 Virgultum : luworch guit
 Ramus : scorren
 Glans : mesen
 Granum : gronen
 Radix : grueiten
 Pirus : perbren
 Plumbus : plumbren
 Ficus : ficbren
 Ulicia : kelin
 Populus : bedewen [kerdinen]
 Genesta : banathel
 Sentes : drein
 Frutex : sernic
 Ramnus : eythinen
 Spina : drain

PLATE II.

POEM OF THE PASSION, OR "MOUNT CALVARY", LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

[*N.B.* The letters in italics are extensions of the abbreviations used in the text.
dh is used to represent the *z* of the original, with the sound of *th* in *the*.]

An queth tek a ve dyskis | han purpur ryche a vsye
 hay bowys y honon gurris | a dro dhodho hy a ve

¹ Mistake of the copyist for *neurionen*.

gans y vam y fye guris | hag ef gensy ow teno
 kepar Ihesus del devys | yn della an bows a wre
 Oil monas y a vynne | bys yn mont a galvary
 a vest dhen dre y dhese | meneth vghell yredy
 an grows I a rug gorre | war scoth Ihesus dhy don dhy
 dhe Ihesus crist may teffe | ol an greff han belyny
 Dew lader dreys o dampnys | a ve dygtyis gans Ihesu
 ganso ef may fens cregis | onon dhodho a bub tu
 Ihesus a ve hombronkis | ha war y lyrgh mur a lu
 dre volder tebel Iustis | rag y chasaye kyn dho du
 I vam whegol a welas | del esons worth y dhygye
 pyteth mur askemeras | y holon nam na grakye
 dre vn scochforth y ponyas | cafos y mab mar calle
 I wortos hy a vynnas | quelas Ihesus a gare
 Pan welas y mab dygtis | gans an edhewon mar veyll
 hay vos gans spern curunys | ha peb dhodho ow cull geyll
 hag yn y gorf bos gorris | goleow pals leas myll
 heb cows ger y clamderis | y cothas war bol y hyll
 Ena pan sevys yn ban | hy a geways del yll
 nyn gew ow faynys beghan | vs lemyn war ow sensy
 ow holon yn tre myll darn | marth yw gene na squardhy
 pan welaff ow mab mar wan | ow town kemys velyny

TRANSLATION.

Chiefly taken from that of Dr. Whitley Stokes in the Philological Society's
Transactions for 1860.

The fair cloth was stript off, and the rich purple that he used,
 And his own coat it was put around him ;
 By his Mother it was made while he was with her as a babe,
 And as Jesus grew up so she made the coat.
 All would go to the Mount of Calvary.
 Outside the town it was, a mountain high indeed.
 The cross they put on the shoulder of Jesus to bear thither,
 That to Jesus Christ might come all the grief and villainy.
 Two bold thieves that were doomed were dighted with Jesus,
 That they might be hanged with him, one on either side of him.
 Jesus was led on, and much people after him,
 By order of an evil judge, to chase him though he were God.
 His sweet Mother saw how they were dighting him ;
 Great pity took her ; her heart all but broke.
 Through a cross road she ran, if she could get her Son.
 She wished to wait for him, to see Jesus whom she loved.
 When she saw her Son dighted so vilely by the Jews,
 And that he was crowned with thorns, and all to him doing guile ;
 And that in his body were put plenteous wounds, many thousands.
 Without speaking a word she fainted ; she fell on the back of her
 head.
 There, when she rose up, she said as she could
 Not little are my pains which now are holding me.
 It is a marvel to me that my heart does not tear into a thousand
 pieces,
 When I see my Son so weak, suffering so much villainy.

REMARKS ON CELTIC MONUMENTS.

BY THOMAS A. WISE, M.D.

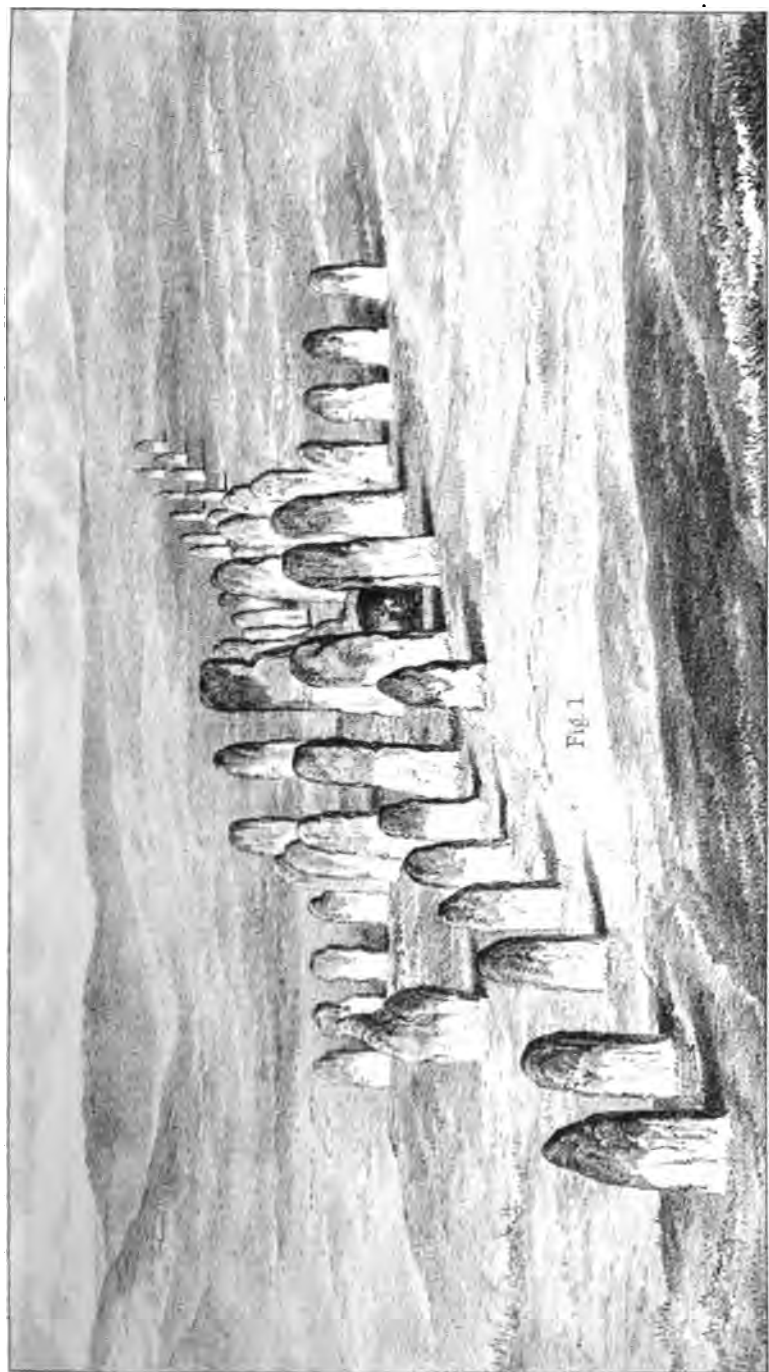
WHEN examining the circle of stones in the Island of Lewis, known by the Celtic name of Callernish, "the bleak or cold headland"¹, I found the popular account was not altogether correct, as it had been written while the circle of stones was buried beneath a bed of peat-moss, often five or six feet in depth. The benevolent Sir James Mathewson, in the famine year of 1847, employed the starving islanders in clearing away the covering, and the extent and character of the monuments were then, for the first time, revealed.

The Callernish circle of stones consists of a series of large grey boulders, situated on a high and lonely table-land overlooking Loch Roag. It is near the Atlantic Ocean, on the west side of the Island of Lewis, and 143 feet above the mean level of the sea. These hoary columns form two concentric circles of weather-worn, unwrought gneiss stones. The larger circle is 42 feet in diameter, and consists of forty-eight stones from 12 feet to 16 feet in height, with their flat surfaces turned inwards. The columns of the large circle are said to have been brought from a distance of twenty or thirty miles, where several such stones are still to be seen.

From the cardinal points of the large circle, four lanes or avenues of stones existed. The northern one is complete, the southern nearly so, and the eastern and western only four stones on each side exist. The first avenue is 173 feet in length from the larger circle, and the two end stones are larger than the others, with their flat surfaces turned towards the circle. Four single stones, in a curved direction, extend on the east, and four on the west of the large circle, to form two imperfect avenues. (See Plate, fig. 1.)

The isolated pointer stone (*f*), outside the large circle (Fig. 2), is in the south-east direction from the large central stone. The smaller circle (*b*) to the east of the central stone consists of small boulder stones placed close together, to

¹ Another name is "Turusachan Callernish", the place of pilgrimage, or the false men of Callernish.



J. J. Hobbs

CELTIC REMAINS AT CALLERNISH, ISLAND OF LEWIS.

form the outer margin of the cairn (c), 2 ft. in height and 12 ft. in diameter. This circle is situated at the distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the central stone of the large circle.¹

When this cairn was opened, flagstones were found covering an excavation underneath, a little to one side of the central stone. (Fig. 1.) This cavity was 3 ft. deep, terminating on its east side in a ditch extending to the outer edge of the large circle. The excavation had a square centre, with three chambers opposite the three sides, and the fourth was the ditch which communicated with the outer world. This hole had no flooring, and was built round with flat stones without mortar. At the four corners of the square central part were two oblong and two round boulders. Mr. Mackay, who superintended the examination, kindly furnished me with the following particulars. (Fig. 2.)

The two large flat stones which had covered the excavation appeared to have fallen in, and remained covered with peat-moss. "On removing them," writes Mr. Mackay, "I discovered a black looking deposit, like a mixture of tar and moss, which I took and burnt in the fire, and could compare the result to nothing but a beefsteak roasting on coals. It did not ignite, and evidently contained some animal matter, as it crackled and spluttered the very same as a piece of beef would do when thrown upon the fire." This was probably a relic of some saint, and its importance was proved by its being covered by a cairn, and surrounded by a circle of stones. The central stone of the larger circle was at its head, and the whole was surrounded by the larger circle, from whence the avenues commenced.²

¹ This stone was excavated, but only stones were found at the bottom, to maintain it in its upright position.

² As no records exist of the dates of this remarkable temple, various calculations have been made by scientific men as to the rate at which peat-moss is formed. The growth must vary considerably by the conditions under which it is formed. A fair average is believed to be about one inch in fifteen years. (a) As the circle of Callernish was embedded in five or six feet of peat-moss, which multiplied by $12 = 72 \times 15 = 1,080$, that is, 797 years ago; or not later than the year A.D. 1080. This supposes that the peat-moss commenced growing from the time the monument was abandoned, which was not the case. A considerable interval must have occurred between leaving the place, and the time when the peat-moss began to grow. The wall round the excavation was without lime or mortar; and Dr. Petrie, from the Maeshow of Orkney being so built, supposed it may have been erected from A.D. 995 to 1200 (Arch. Soc. Inst., vol. xx, and Arch. Soc., vol. ii, June, v. xxx, etc.). "We expect", writes Mr. Ferguson, "to prove that the Grange was built subsequent to the Christian era. Callernish must be more modern also." *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 52, ed. 1872. (a) *Journal*, R. Assoc. of Ireland, vol. iii, 4th Series, p. 541.

The religious ceremonies of the ancient Celtic races being little known to us, we turn with interest to similar monuments in other countries, and to the modification of similar temples in different parts of the British Islands, and among allied races in distant lands worshipping the same deities, and observing the same rites. The religious ceremonies of the Celtic races were performed in secret, and their temples were approached by avenues of trees, by standing stones or other screens, or by subterranean approaches through a tumulus.¹ An example of each of these avenues will help us to understand their uses in connection with the ancient temples. The aborigines of New South Wales afford us a curious example. Each tribe has a particular Sylvan temple, where mysterious ceremonies are performed in the deep recesses of their forests, and are thus explained. They believe in a god called Priam, the great father, who once sojourned amongst them. He had a wicked son named Mudjegong, who rebelled against his father, and tried to defeat all his good wishes, and to transform his brethren into wild animals. He succeeded in this, with the exception of two sons, from whom the present race is sprung. As they are afraid of Mudjegong, their temple is dedicated to him, and a long avenue of sacred trees leads to it. Each of these was marked by peculiar devices carved on their trunks, into which the brothers, his slaves, had been transformed.

Priam taught one of his good sons the mystery of religion, and directed that the young men, when they arrived at puberty, were to be instructed in the mysteries of their religion by the elders of the tribe. These tenets were carefully concealed, under pain of death, from women and children, and from the stranger. The chief could alone explain the ceremonies to the uninitiated.²

To ensure secrecy, when a young man was to be received into the tribe, the men, women, and children were sent to a distance, and the candidate was conducted by the elders up the long avenue to the circular temple, situated in a secluded valley, in the deep recess of the forest, where Priam is represented asleep, with his face to the earth, in the form of an

¹ Such avenues are found in the native temples of New South Wales, of Siam, of China, and those of New Grange, Clava (Inverness-shire), and the Maeshowe in the Orkney Islands.

² Dr. Henderson's *Observations on New South Wales*, p. 148.

Fig 2

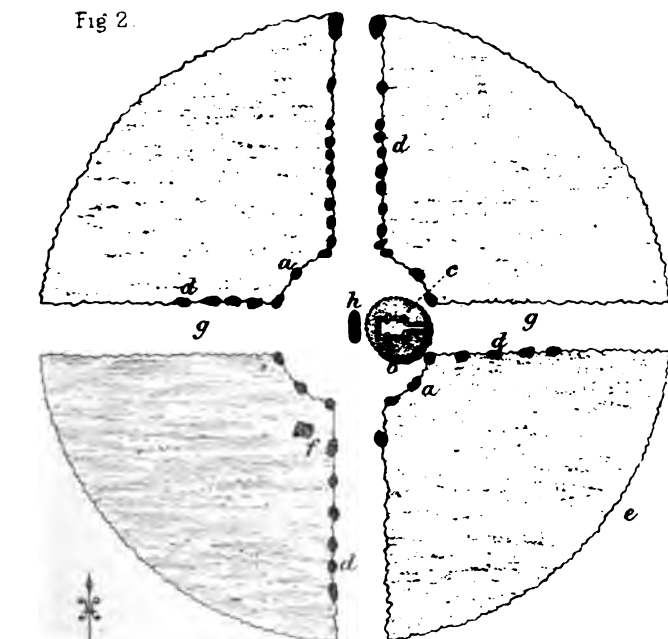
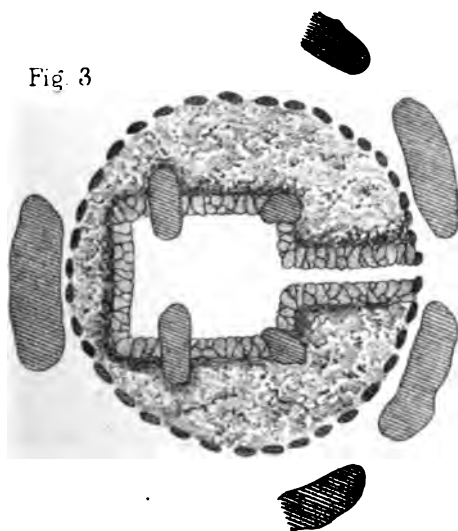


Fig 3



CELTIC REMAINS AT CALLERNISH, ISLAND OF LEWIS

immense oblong mound of earth. In this condition it is believed he will remain for a certain time, when he will awake. Within the enclosure a narrow pathway turns off to the left, and terminates in a circular wall of earth, into which the neophyte is taken. There he is instructed in the mythology of the tribe. This consists chiefly in explaining the different figures on each of the trees, with the ceremonies to be performed, and the precepts of morality to be observed. He then takes a solemn oath, with fearful imprecations, to be faithful and obedient, and not to disclose the secrets of their religion revealed to him, while the spears of the elders are brandished before him, to exhibit the consequence of his disobedience. The neophyte is then seated upon a piece of bark, and is sigmored, by having an upper front tooth rudely hammered out with a stone. He is then sent into the wood for a certain number of days, secluded from all the tribe, and is fed privately by one of the senior brothers. When the specified time expires he joins the tribe, puts on a girdle of opossum skin, and carries the spear and other arms of the men.

The Pagoda in Siam, called Xetuphon, is a curious example of such colonnades in a race more advanced in the arts. This temple is approached by avenues of immense length, lined by regiments of monsters in marble, enclosed with coloured crystals, and representing women springing from the crests of gigantic cocks, three-headed elephants, and winged crocodiles, tigers with serpents' tails, and the temple itself is constructed on pillars of sculptured teak wood. There reclines an image of Buddha, which measures fifty *mètres* from the shoulders to the soles of the feet. This figure lies upon its right side, on a gilded terrace ornamented with sculptures, which forms its bed. The head rises twenty-five *mètres* above the ground, supported by the right arm, and the left arm is stretched along the thigh. The eyes are of silver, the lips of pink enamel, and on the head is a crown of red gold. The travellers were like Lilliputians beside Gulliver, as they stood in the rich subdued many-coloured lights by this gigantic figure in solid masonry, entirely covered with gold. When they climbed upon it, in the solemn, gorgeous solitude, they tumbled out of sight into its nostrils. "Neither of us was so tall as one of the god's finger nails. We stood

confounded", says M. de Beauvoir, "in the presence of this Titanic structure, whose architect it must have taken the treasure of Croesus to pay." No worship has ever created such a display of wealth. His golden garb is of the purest metal, and worth thousands of millions; each plate of gold, and there are thousands, is nearly 2 square feet in size, and weighs 450 ounces of gold.¹

The tombs of the Imperial Ming dynasty, which ended in 1644, had an approach by an avenue half a mile long, bordered on each side by sculptured animals, the size of life. There are twenty animals, camels, elephants, horses, mules, and griffins, and twelve figures of warriors and priests. This avenue commences and terminates in gates.

The tomb of the emperor who died in 1425, consisted of a large mound about 600 ft. or 700 ft. in diameter. It is surrounded by a high enclosed wall of bricks, and is planted with trees, the pine being the chief. On the southern edge of this tumulus is a building with a vaulted roof, and upon the back of a tortoise is a tall slab, forming what may be called the grave-stone, with a large stone altar, on which is a central vase for incense; on each side are two candlesticks, and at each end are two vases for flowers.²

The dromes of Sphinxes leading to the temples of Egypt, and the avenues leading to the Hindu temples, to those of the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Persians, and the ancient Greeks and Syrians, have a close resemblance to each other, and had much in common with those of the Celtic monuments of the north of Scotland, both in symbols and doctrine. This variety in the form of the Celtic monuments, among the same people and in distant countries, differs according to the customs of the people and advancement of the arts. These resemblances were only allowed in non-essentials, while a strict adherence was retained to the original principles of their religion.

Such peculiarities are seen in those of the British Islands. The avenues leading to the circles were probably lined with erect boulders, with a large erect boulder at the centre of the circle, near which sacred ceremonies were performed. In other examples, circles of stone surround cromlechs, cairns, or excavations, as in the Maeshow, Newgrange, Callernish,

¹ See *Voyage Autour du Monde*, par le Comte de Beauvoir, pp. 349-350.

² William Simpson's *Meeting the Sun*, p. 233 et seq.

and Clava monuments. These sepulchral erections are found covering kistvaens, cromlechs, and circular erections with central domed roofs. In the valley of Clava, near Inverness, they consist of single or concentric circles of boulders. Three or four of such cairns, a low, and other Celtic monuments, exist over a plain two miles in extent. These cairns are of three varieties,—a simple cairn of earth and small boulder-stones; a cairn with a circle of large boulders on its inside and outside, that defined its size, and in the south-south-east direction of the circle was a cup-stone; and a third form of cairn had three concentric circles of boulders, with a central beehive-house, composed of a circular wall. One of these houses is 8 ft., another 11 ft., or $13\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in diameter, with a circle of stones in the inside, another on the outer side of the cairn, and the external circle consists of large upright stones placed at 7 ft. from each other, and the space between them and the inner wall is 18 ft., filled up with stones of different sizes. Three or four feet of the circular wall have been left. On a large thick square stone, cups were found; and in another there are two stones with cups, one at the entrance, and another at its inner surface. The approach to these central domes was by avenues of parallel rows of undressed stones, in a south-west or south-south-west direction. In one of these examples this avenue extended through two, and in the other the avenue passed through three circles of stones.

On the banks of the River Boyne, a few miles from the town of Drogheda, in the north of Ireland, are a series of mounds, burrows, raths, forts, cairns, pillar stones, circles of stones, being the remains of a Celtic city, and upon a neighbouring ridge are the great tumuli named Howth, New Grange, and Knouth. The two last have been opened, and New Grange has been carefully explored. It is 80 ft. in height, and covers two acres of ground, with trees and brushwood, and the remains of a spiral terrace, like that of Tyn-wall, in the Isle of Man. It was surrounded by a circle of boulder stones round the bottom of the tumulus, and terminated in an avenue of stones, which extended into the interior, with a flat stone roof. A second circle of boulders surrounds the whole of the mound, some 15 ft. or 20 ft. from the internal circle. Many of these stones have been re-

moved. To the south of the tumulus are large flat stones above the narrow entrance, covered with graceful, waving, incised ornaments. This narrow entrance extends 70 ft. inwards, and terminates in a central chamber, with three irregular recesses 10 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. square. Several of these flat stones do not support the roof, and are decorated with circular, zig-zag, and other symbols and ornaments. In two of the recesses are two shallow granite basins. There appeared to be a double line of boulders in the recesses, one supporting the roof and the other connecting the entrance boulders, and gave them a more sacred and solemn character. The use of this structure may have resembled the Sylvan temples of New South Wales, where the youths were initiated into the mysteries of their religion, and solemn ceremonies performed on funeral and other great occasions.¹

The sepulchral chamber at Maeshow, in the Island of Orkney, is a chambered cairn or barrow, situated a mile and a half from the stones of Stannes, or Ring of Brogar. It is of a conical shape, 92 ft. in diameter and 36 ft. in height, and is surrounded by a trench 40 ft. wide and from 4 ft. to 8 ft. deep. The central chamber of the barrow is 13 ft. high and 15.4 ft. by 14.10 ft. in diameter, with three small cells, 3 ft. higher than the central chamber, towards the three cardinal points, by an opening 2.5 ft. square. The west and south are 5.5 ft. by 5.8 ft., and the north 7.6 ft. by 4.6 ft. This sepulchral chamber has many points of resemblance to the New Grange and the Scottish mounts and Asiatic topes. The lower diameter of the square chamber lessens as it rises in height, and is changed into an octagon form, as occurs in Asiatic mosques, &c., and terminates in a vaulted roof, formed of long slabs of stone, the edges of the upper do not reach to the lower, and gradually close towards the apex, upon which a flat stone is placed. This construction must have been the work of a people unacquainted with the arch. It is interesting and suggestive to find on an arcadian plain a style of architecture exactly similar to the arcadian roof of the temples of old Delhi. A long low passage, 54 ft. in length, leads from the outside to the central chamber, which varies in size from 2 ft. 4 in. at

¹ In the ancient *Book of Lucan* it is mentioned that King Amhalgath built a cairn for the purpose of holding an annual meeting of the people, and as a place of interment for himself. Dr. Petrie, *Arch. of Ireland*, p. 107.

the mouth, and widening to 3.5 in. by 4.4 in. for 26 ft., when it is narrowed by two upright stone pillars to 2 ft. 5 in. All this structure is of sandstone.¹

The Celtic tribes in Europe belong to the same race as those of Asia, and had a marked resemblance to each other, as they believed in the same precepts of their philosophical religion, followed the same customs at burials, etc. They each respected the simple boulder stones, the circles, cromlechs, and tumuli.

In these far distant countries such monuments varied in size and in form according to the fancy of the individual, the nature of the country, and the state of their advancement in civilisation. In the East, the usages of the people, explained by their records, religious belief, and the manners and customs of modern times, afford us hints as to the uses of the ancient remains. In Europe, peculiarities exist, as in those of the Maeshow monument, which is surrounded by a wet ditch, and not by a circle of stones, as those of Clava and New Grange; in its having separate chambers and not compartments with shallow dishes, etc. But these varieties are rather peculiarities than differences.

The ceremony of burial varied with the religious doctrines of the particular sect. Those who believed in the resurrection of the body generally buried their dead, while the spiritualists burned the body after death, in order that the spirit might be purified by fire when separated from the material impurities of the flesh. This was the general belief in Asia, and among Celtic nations, and explains the peculiarities of their burials, and of the sepulchral chambers of Clava, in Inverness-shire, of Maeshow, in the Orkneys, and perhaps of New Grange, in Ireland.

In India, Persia, Egypt, and among the Celtic races both of the East and the West, there was a general belief in the immortality of the soul, unknown to the Greeks and Romans. There the petitions offered on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo expressed "the anxiety of their worshippers for temporal happiness, and their ignorance and indifference concerning a future life."²

The Romans supposed that the souls, or *manes*, on being separated on the death of the body, became good or bad

¹ Petrie, *Arch. Soc. of Ireland*, vols. 2 and 20. Thomas, *Arch. Soc.*, vol. 30.

² Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, ch. xv, p. 170.

genii, according as the departed had passed virtuous or wicked lives. These manes attended individuals through life, and influenced their good or bad fortune. When the remains of a corpse were disturbed or had not been buried, the manes were propitiated by bloody sacrifices, or by the erection of a cenotaph, in which the spirits were solemnly invited to rest, and cease from troubling the living.

The difference of opinion among the Asiatic nations regarding the spiritual world may be explained by their earlier civilisation, their more direct descent from the primitive races; and more exact information was derived from these Oriental races. The Eastern sages as well as the Celtic priests had arrived at the conception of a world after death, and entertained the belief that disembodied spirits possessed the qualities of individuality, volition, immateriality, and immortality. They further conceived that the spirit lingered near the corpse until it animated another person, or until it transmigrated to that of some other body, according to the character which the individual bore in his previous lifetime. As the spirit remained at liberty, during this period, to move about and revisit the world at will, it was often the practice to have in the side of the tomb an opening through which the spirit could pass out. Examples are given by Dr. Fergusson.¹

The Brahmins, or spiritual teachers, employed Polytheism for explaining their religious tenets to their weak and ignorant followers, who could not raise their conceptions to understand an abstract deity, and devised some perceptible objects to which the worshipper addressed his petitions. Even later authorities declare that the worship of images in India is an act of inferior merit.² The learned Hindu rejects Polytheism, and worships the spiritual deity; but to aid him in concentrating his thoughts, he places before him at prayer the round black salagram stone, an ammonite found in the sacred Gandhaka river of Nipal; when found perforated, it is believed to have been done by Vishnu in the form of a slug, who rests there. So efficacious do the modern Brahmins suppose the salagram to be, that when employed by the penitent at prayer, his petitions are heard; and placed

¹ *Rude Stone Monuments*, 1872, figs. 127, 128, 192, and 193.

² H. H. Wilson's works, vol. 2, p. 54. Colebrook's "Religious Sects", *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7.

near a dying person, it ensures his entrance into the heaven of Vishnu.

The Celts, in their emigrations to distant countries, carried with them the same idea, and stamped it on their monuments in different forms, which may enable us to explain some of their peculiar religious ceremonies. In such holes, cavities, or chambers, the deity is supposed to reside, and on special occasions, when particular ceremonies are performed, as in that of New Grange and in the Maeshow of Orkney, where the attributes of the deity were supposed to occupy these separate chambers.

The Callernish circles of stones resemble in many particulars those of New Grange, Clava, and Maeshow; the difference being chiefly in their size and arrangements. Each had a circle of stones or vallum surrounding them; each had a cairn with long, low, and narrow passages; with avenues extending into a chamber with lateral cells, which, from their central position, and being surrounded by cairns, tumuli, and sacred boulder stones, as in that of Callernish, appear to have been considered of special sanctity. We therefore believe the tradition, as stated by Martin,¹ to be near the truth, "that it (Callernish) was a place appointed for worship in the time of heathenism. The chief Druid or priest, in splendid clothing, stood near the central stone on sacred occasions". Such a chamber was considered a holy place, "The house of God", and became a place of pilgrimage for religious purposes. As such, the avenues were intended for the approach of the worshippers, and the places where they remained in prayer during the commemoration of feasts. On the approach of a pilgrim, we may suppose, according to the Eastern custom, the priest, standing by the side of the central stone, demands, "Who art thou, who asks assistance?" The pilgrim replies, "Honest supplicants!" And the offerings of flowers, fruit, and articles of food, etc., being made, silence is imposed, and the suitable prayers are offered up, with sacred hymns and chants.

From the evidence thus collected from distant countries and races, I am inclined to believe that the general stone structure of the Callernish monument remains much as it originally was, with the exception of palisades to complete the four approaches to the central temple. Like the Asiatic

¹ *Description of Western Islands*, p. 9, 1703.

tope,¹ the four avenues of Callernish were the approaches by which the people reached the sacred central erection. The intervals of these avenues, and probably the avenues themselves, were filled up with fences against intruders, and would then represent the following figure (2). The short and incomplete southern avenue may have been intended for the peasantry, the long northern avenue for the higher and military class, and the eastern and western approaches, consisting only of four boulders each, for prayers and supplications; the former being intended for the merchants and tradespeople and for the priests. They stood at the large central column during certain ceremonies, as at their celebrating the gorgeous rising and setting of the sun.²

How solemn must have been the ceremony when the pilgrims and priests stood on the east and west sides at the splendid sunrise and sunset, near the sanctuary of the great spiritual being, with the symbol of the deity looking down from the central obelisk upon the assembly!

These sacred monuments were varied in size and form by the circumstances of the people, and the supposed nature of the human soul. The Christian, on the one hand, believes in the immortality of the soul, and the impassable interval between the Creator and the created human body, while the pagan nations, on the other hand, considered the human soul an emanation, or efflux from a part of the deity, or of his attributes. The souls of saintly individuals are supposed to hear and to understand the character of the individuals, and the petitions which they have offered up. Such a belief has rendered places holy at which saints have performed religious ceremonies; at their birthplace or residence on earth; at the place of their death and burial, and where their relics rest. At these places suitable prayers and offerings were made to the departed saint, by which health was believed to be retained, infirmities cured, the safety and happiness of children secured, the traveller was protected and restored to his family, and his future prosperity ensured.

¹ The Sanchi railing had one entrance at each of the cardinal points. General Cunningham's *Bilcha Topes*, p. 188, plate 4.

² I will attempt to explain this by the ancient usage at Hindu funerals. They covered the corpse with cloth, and fire was carried before it. In this order it was conveyed out of the *southern* gate of the town if the deceased was a low caste *Sudra*; by the *western*, if a Brahman; by the *northern*, if a Kehatruja caste; by the *eastern*, if a *voisya*, an agriculturist, herdsman, or hunter; to the funeral pile. Colebrook's "Religious Castes of Hindus" in *As. Res.*, vol. 7, p. 241.

The remarkable Callernish monument appears to have been such a place of pilgrimage. The mysterious races of the East three thousand years ago explored the far West ; by the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, they found a resting-place upon the stupendous cliffs of the Island of Arran, and upon the arid elevations of Lewis ; and they erected their altars and their graves, leaving no name or written signs, but the rude stone tools, their mounds, boulder-pillars, circles of stones, and the mysterious chambers of the dead. The ocean obliged them to stop at these, the nearest spots to which they could penetrate where the evening sun was supposed to descend in all his gorgeous beauty into the mansions of the blessed. Such a place was believed to be the most proper place to enshrine the relics of saints, which were of inestimable benefit to those penitent pilgrims who had undertaken long journeys and dangerous sea voyages, to repeat prayers and present offerings to the holy shrine, to ensure the removal of a loathsome disease, or to guard against threatened misfortunes.

TINTAGEL CASTLE.

BY THE REV. PREBENDARY KINGMAN, M.A.

FROM the very earliest times Tintagel Castle has been associated with the renowned King Arthur. This circumstance would seem to prove that in some way that illustrious prince was connected with the place. In the absence of direct evidence, unbroken tradition is of very great value. For why, it may be asked, should a spot so entirely secluded and isolated, so completely removed from observation, be chosen as the occasional abode at least, if not the birthplace, of that illustrious Christian prince and warrior? At the present day, to reach the place is little less than a pilgrimage, and in those distant days Tintagel must have been at the extremity of a bleak and almost an uninhabited region. Even now, although a crumbling ruin, Tintagel Castle is majestic and impressive; standing as it does on a point, its position is not only picturesque but commanding, and carries the spectator back in imagination to the most remote period of our history.

A careful inspection of the existing ruin seems to show satisfactorily that the part on the peninsula, or 'island', as it is locally called, was originally connected with that on the main land, and that the present chasm has been the result of a succession of landslips (which are still from time to time occurring), caused by a geological fault and the disturbed strata observable at the spot. Any one on the spot cannot help observing how entirely the north wall of the great court on the land side corresponds with that on the peninsula, and also that the sloping ground beyond it exactly coincides with the ground on the other side of the chasm. I infer, therefore, that the northern wall of the castle was continuous, extending from the north-east angle of the great court to the peninsula. The original site of the castle then, it is assumed, represented a promontory terminating in Tintagel Head. It is very probable that this promontory always presented an irregular outline, and that at the point where the castle originally stood it had a peninsular appearance; but that the castle, now disunited by a vast chasm,

was a continuous and unbroken fortress, seems to be established beyond all question.

The fullest ancient record of the castle is that given by Hals, who states, upon the authority of Carew, that the drawbridge which connected the two parts of the castle "was extant within man's remembrance", when he wrote his Survey of Cornwall, published in 1602. Now we have the undoubted evidence of the "Caption of Seisin" of the castle, taken in the year 1337, that at that time—*i.e.*, one hundred and sixty-five years before Norden or Carew wrote their account, "it was ruinous". It is very probable that at the date indicated by Hals—*viz.*, about the year 1500—*i.e.*, three hundred and seventy-five years ago, the chasm, which has been constantly becoming greater from that time to the present, admitted of communication with the part of the castle on either side of it by means of a rude bridge of wood and iron, but I cannot, in the face of evidence that the castle was ruinous five hundred and thirty-seven years ago, admit the assumption of Hals, upon Carew's authority, that the state of things which he describes referred to its original position as an 'island'. Norden's drawing of the ruin in some measure supports (and unintentionally) this view. For even in his time (1602) it will be observed that what he calls the main building on the land side (10) (to the great circular wall), extended over a considerable portion beyond it, and which has since become precipice; and also that what he refers to (4), refers to a portion of the building which extended originally across the chasm, and which he describes as "buildings fallen into the sea". Having stated what it is believed was the original position of the castle, we will now enter the great court through the massive remains of an arched gateway, of which sufficient exists to make it a striking feature in the landscape. "This decayed fortress," as Carew observes, "more famous for its antiquity than regarded for its present estate, abutteth on the sea, yet the ruines argue it to have been once no unworthie dwelling for the Cornish princes." The only reliable account of it, when a great part of the castle was ruinous, goes no further back than 1337. Whatever earlier records may have been preserved amongst the ancient archives of the duchy, were probably lost when the duchy exchequer at Lostwithiel was destroyed by fire.

Borlase thought that the ancient Britons had a fortress here before the Roman invasion. Norden, who has given us a drawing of the castle as it was in 1585, speaks of it as "sometime a stately impregnable seate, now rent and ragged, by force of time and tempests". Leland, in 1538, bears similar testimony. He says, "This castelle hath bene a marvelous strong and notable fortress, and almost *situ loci* inexpugnable, especially for the dungeon, that is on a great high terrible cragge, environed with the se, but having a drawbridge from the residue of the castle unto it. There is yet a chapel standing within the dungeon. The residue of the buildings of the castlle be sore wether-beten and yn ruin, but it hath been a large thinge." Carew writes in 1602, "Half the buildings were raised on the Continent, and the other half on the island, continued together (within men's remembrance) (?) by a drawbridge, but now divorced by the downfaln steepe cliffes on the farther side, which, though it shut out the sea from the wonted recourse, hath yet more strengthened the late island, for in passing thither you must first descend with a dangerous declyning, and then make a worse assent by a path as euerie way narrow, so in many places, through his slickleness occasioning, and through his steepnesse threatening the ruin of your life with the failing of your foote. At the top two or three terrifying steps give you entrance to the hill, which supplieth pasture for sheepe and conyes. Upon the same I saw a decayed chappel." These ancient worthies give a description almost as applicable to the state of this castle now as it was in their time.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, the poetical historian of King Arthur, makes mention of Tintagel in 1150. He makes another person describe Tintagel in these words: "It is situated upon the sea, and on every side surrounded by it, and there is but one entrance into it, and that through a straight rock, which three men shall be able to defend against the whole power of the kingdom." This account satisfactorily proves that the fortress of Tintagel not only was at that time in existence, but spoken of, as any one writing at the present time might allude to any castle of repute. I conceive also that the allusion to its entrance being *THROUGH* a *straight rock*, refers to the great cavern which passes near and through the peninsula. This state-

ment renders it extremely probable that Tintagel had been long one of the castles of the Cornish princes. In the *Domesday*, roll 20, William I (1087), this place, so Hals states, was taxed under the name of Dun-cheine (although I have not been able to verify this fact), which he considered meant the fort, or fortress, or castle chained, referring, he further supposes, to the drawbridge, and to the original insular position (according to the supposition of the time) of what is now the peninsula—a theory I have endeavoured above to reject, for what appear to me sufficient reasons.

It has been thought that the castle comprised two baileys or courts. That there was one great court on the mainland is at this day sufficiently apparent, and I think it highly probable that there was a second court, within which were the principal buildings, as the existing state of the ruin on the peninsula shows. The gateway of the great court—a considerable portion of which is now standing—was, it is believed, surmounted by a tower. The great court was surrounded by a wall of considerable height, the greater part of which, with its original coping, remains. This wall (east and north) was surrounded on the right with a moat, “a fals braye dyged and walled”. It is to the construction of this wall, as seen from without, that I wish especially to direct attention. The very peculiar mode of building, in regular courses, I consider a sufficient proof of its origin being long prior to the Norman period. Attached to the east wall, near the entrance, were probably the stables, sufficient for the eight horses mentioned in the “Caption of Seisin” in 1337. On the left of the great arched entrance, and separated from the great court by a strip of high rocky ground, stood what I have stated my belief to be the most ancient part of the castle, and what I consider to have been the keep, reached by a rude staircase, over which there seems to have been a watch tower. This circular wall must have been from 7 ft. to 8 ft. thick. I have already stated my opinion that this circular wall originally extended, it may be, for 20 ft. or longer, inclosing a considerable space beyond the existing precipice. In what I suppose originally as about the centre of this circular wall there was a small watch tower—a portion of which still exists. At present, from this point is seen a dwarf wall, which was either

originally a partition wall or was built for protection after the fall of part of the great circular wall. In later days, and possibly whilst used as a prison, there seems to have been a terrace outside this dwarf wall. On the opposite side of the chasm, which is at least 400 ft., are the remains of several buildings, including the great oak hall, the timbers of which were taken down by order of John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall between 1330 and 1337—the hall at that time being ruinous and of no value. There appear to have been here “six ruinat rooms”, and the houses of the constable and priest. It is this part of the ruined castle which was used as a prison, where John of Northampton was confined. Mr. Carew states, “that being turned from a palace to a prison, this castle restrained one John Northampton’s liberty, who, for abusing the unruly mayoralty of London, was condemned hither as a perpetual penitentiary”. And Thomas Earl of Warwick was also a prisoner there in 1397. The north wall on this part of the castle is rounded at the north-west angle, an arched doorway leading to the chapel on the height above and to the iron gate below. This wall was supported by buttresses, two of which remain. These buttresses are built up against the wall, and not incorporated with it—a remarkable feature, which I believe denotes its extreme antiquity. The chapel, dedicated to St. Uletta, is 54 ft. long by 12 ft. wide. The entrance was at the west end, with a porch, the foundations of which have been discovered. There was probably an east window, and the remains of two small slit windows, with a grand splay, are still found in the south wall. There were no lights in the north wall. The chancel arch can be traced in the ruin, and some years since the stone altar and slab were discovered—the latter, however, had been long displaced. Amongst the rubbish were found several pieces of Norman mouldings, which lead me to infer, not that it was built, but probably restored, in the Norman period, and about the same time as Tintagel Church seems to have been restored (in 1100-1130). The walls of the chapel are of great thickness, and I should fix their date to be about that of the great north wall. In 1483 John Leicroft was presented by King Richard II to this free chapel of Dyndagell, alias Tyndagill. From this point the view of the coast towards Boscastle, Bude, and Hartland is truly magnificent,

“All down the thundering shores of Bude and Bos”.

On the north side, and close to the water, is a strong turreted wall, in which was placed an iron gate. This wall is built at the only accessible place to the castle from the sea, and has always been known as the Hern gate. It was through this gate the mortally wounded Arthur is said to have passed, when—

“Murmur'd Arthur, ‘Place me in the barge.’
So to the barge they came. There those three queens
Put forth their hands, and took the king and wept.”

After much careful consideration, I cannot help thinking, from the general character and appearance of this venerable ruin, that the castle exhibits features of the old British and Roman fortified enclosures rather than those of Norman architects. The masonry, the great circular wall, and some other portions of the castle, point to a much earlier period. And although it is difficult, from the absence of evidence, to determine the date of the foundation of this pre-historic fortress, it cannot fail to afford both interest and pleasure to the archæologist.

NOTES ON THE MEN-AN-TOL AND CHYWOON QUOIT, CORNWALL.

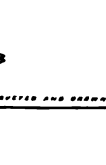
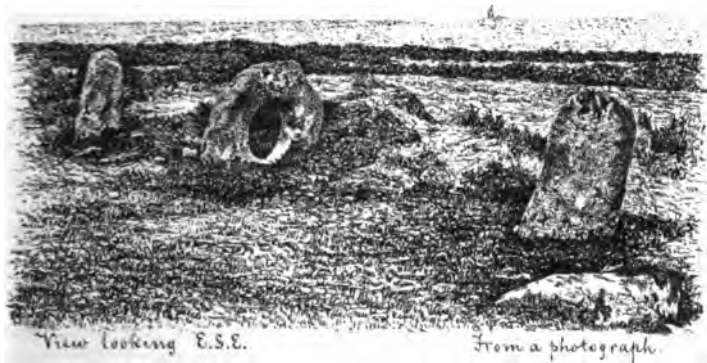
BY G. W. DYMOND, ESQ.

THE Mên-an-tol, an unique example of the dolmên, has been the subject of an unusual amount of speculation, and the theories which have been applied to it have been as various as they have been numerous. To mention only a few of them : it has been conjectured that the Mên-an-tol was erected for astronomical purposes, and that its main object was to mark the time of the summer solstice,—the erect stone on the north-east side being the gnomon, which, it was said, would at that time project its shadow exactly through the centre of the perforation in the middle stone. Then we have the theory of Mr. Lukis, that what we now see is all that remains of a two-chambered dolmên, with a communicating hole through the separating diaphragm. By some it has been supposed to be a stone ring, to which victims intended to be sacrificed by fire were bound. By others it has been thought to be a stone of compact—the parties to a contract sealing their agreement by clasping hands through the hole. Perhaps the most popular idea associates it with the cure of diseases—as, *e.g.*, rheumatism, sprains, etc.,—effected by the patient crawling through the hole. To the same process has been attributed the virtue of ensuring good deliveries to *enceinte* women.

Now, before we are in a position to form a sound judgment respecting the value of theories such as some of those just noticed, it is necessary that we should be in possession of an accurate presentment of all the facts of the case, which cannot be complete until an acquaintance with the object, formed on the spot, is supplemented by a correct plan of it upon paper. Such a plan is published herewith. It is constructed from a special and careful survey, which I made during the late visit of our Association, and includes particulars of the surrounding stones which, I believe, have never before been noticed and recorded. One of these, on the west side, remains erect : another, a little to the south of it, was evidently once so, but has fallen : two others, to the

THE MÊN-AN-TOL WITH ITS ASSOCIATED STONES, 4c.

BOSSULLOW DOWNS, NEAR MORVAM, CORNWALL.



SUPERED AND DRAWN BY E. W. DYMOND, C. E., 22nd AUG. 1876

northward, on the same side, are, respectively, quite and nearly buried. On the south-east side is a fifth stone, much sunk into the ground ; and, when I visited the spot six years ago, there were two more a few paces to the north or north-east of this last, which, at the late visit, entirely eluded my search. They probably lie nearly buried in the ground, hidden by the very thick gorse which covers that part of the down ; and may, when the gorse is burned or cut, be again visible. They were nearly equidistant from the tolmên—one of them being as nearly as possible due east from it, the other about twenty degrees south of east. Whether or no these outlying stones are the remains of a circle, we have not sufficient data to decide ; but the fact is, that a circle of about 96 ft. in diameter would run through the erect stone, and touch or pass close to the outer ends of all the prostrate stones. The centre of such circle would be about 25 ft. from the centre of the tolmên. The two pits shown in the plan are thought, by some local people who have seen them, to have been made in searching for tin. They are not more than 2 ft. to 3 ft. deep. The mound on the eastern side of the Mên-an-tol may be wholly or partially composed of the refuse taken out of the adjoining pit ; but it seems a little too large to have come entirely from such a source.

When we address ourselves to the solution of the problems presented by these silent relics of a dead Past, I think the safest canon of judgment is to prefer that theory of use which seems to be the most obvious and natural, to those which are more far-fetched and obscure. A simple reference to the compass-bearings on the plan will suffice at once to destroy the first theory adverted to above, even if it were possible to understand how a rude, short, thick stone could ever be used as a gnomon, or how the shadow which it might cast could be detected on the rough surface of grass and turf. The second theory, which is that of Mr. Lukis, will find little favour with those who have seen the Mên-an-tol ; and it is unfortunate that so experienced an archæologist should have committed himself to this view without an actual inspection of the object in question. The chief facts weighing against his theory are—1, the purely columnar character of the extreme stones of the triad, their centres being equidistant from the centre of the tolmên, and the

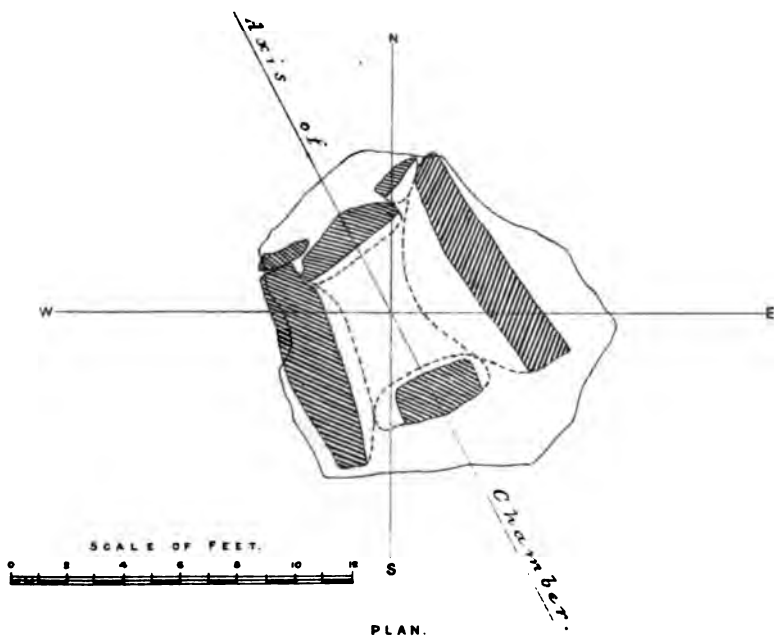
straight line joining them passing exactly through the centre of the hole ; 2, the absence of all traces of stones suitable for the sides or cover of a chamber ; 3, the stumpiness of all the stones, and the discrepancy in height between the holed stone and the one on the north-east ; 4, the semi-octagonal shape of the holed stone ; 5, the size of the hole, and the careful way in which it is rounded, as though for special and habitual use. The advocates of the stone-ring theory will have to show that human victims were ever sacrificially immolated in this country ; and if they were, what fitness there is for the purpose in the stone in question, and how it happens that no trace of the effects of heat is visible on any of the stones. The fourth theory is ingenious, and is certainly not extremely unlikely ; yet I think the hole is not only much too large for such a purpose, but too near the ground ; and it is difficult to understand why, in such a case, it was needful to dress it so truly, with such a studied difference between its two faces. My own impression is that the popular tradition associated with its name, the "Crick-stone", after all, points to the true use of the Mên-an-tol. It is said to have been resorted to in modern times for similar purposes ; and when the precise size, careful tooling, and, on one side, the bell-mouthed shape of the hole, which has its lower edge almost close to the ground, are considered, its fitness for such a use cannot be questioned. Is it possible that some of the ceremonies may have been phallic ?

Chywoon Quoit, the only perfect dolmên in Cornwall, and even, I believe, in Britain, was visited by the Association during its recent Congress. At the same time I measured it, and from the figures thus obtained have drawn the accompanying plan, which is illustrated by a view from a photograph. As it may be interesting to compare the "orientation" of this dolmên with that of other Cornish examples, I give the bearings of their longitudinal axes. Chywoon Quoit, 28° west of north ; Mulfra Quoit, about 53° west of south ; Zennor Quoit, about 83° west of south ; Trevethy stone, about 55° west of north. The bearings of Lanyon and Pendarves Quoits are not here given, as they are only reconstructions.

CHYWOON QUOIT,
NEAR MORVAN, CORNWALL.



View looking N.N.E, from a photograph.



Situation, the top of an elevated moorland. The supporting stones are founded in or on the natural ground & carry a capstone, measuring about $12\ 6 \times 11\ 6$, and about $2\ 6$ thick, the under side of which is $7\ 0$ ' above the floor of the chamber. Around the outside of the Dolmen are heaped the remains of a stone cairn, now $2\ ft.$ to $3\ ft.$ high, and about $32\ ft.$ in diameter, a few of the revêtement stones on the rim of which are still in situ.

The size of the chamber is, at the bottom, $5\ 0 \times 5\ 9$, and at the top $4\ 6 \times 2\ 8$; the side stones inclining very much inward toward the top. The longitudinal axis of the chamber points $N. 28^\circ W.$

MEASURED & DRAWN BY F. W. DYMOND, C.E. 21ST AUG 1876

THE
ANCIENT BOROUGHES OF CORNWALL, WITH
NOTES ON THEIR ARMS AND DEVICES.

BY R. N. WORTH, ESQ., F.G.S.

YEARS turn politics into history, and make partisanship archæology. Had the British Archæological Association been in existence, and held a congress in Cornwall, half a century since, my present subject must have been tabooed. Angry passions would have been roused by the merest hint concerning it, and the meeting whereat it was introduced would have been far more lively than pleasant. But the old system has been dead so long, and 1832, with all its controversies, is now so far back, that the peculiarities which made Cornwall famous in the electoral history of England are in the recollection of very few. As one of the most curious phases in the history of the county, I beg to offer a few notes concerning them.

Prior to the date of the first Reform Bill, Cornwall swarmed with parliamentary constituencies. I will not say that every fishing village and every hamlet sent representatives to the House of Commons; but assuredly the dingiest and meanest of them did, while two of the largest towns, Falmouth and Penzance, with the ancient mining centre of Redruth, had no voice in the legislature whatever. Before the disfranchisement in 1824 of the village borough of Grampound, for the most shameless bribery and corruption, Cornwall contained twenty-one parliamentary boroughs, and with the two knights of the shire returned forty-four members of Parliament,—one less only than the number returned by the whole kingdom of Scotland. In two instances, what was practically one town, was by an ingenious process of subdivision made to return four members. The total population of the twenty-one borough constituencies, half a century ago, did not reach 40,000, and they had between them less than 2,000 voters. In only half a dozen instances were there more than fifty voters to a borough, and in two cases there were less than ten.

This very remarkable endowment of political power arose entirely from the connection of the county with the crown through the duchy, as Borlase in his *History* clearly shows. Originally Cornwall was not more favoured than other counties, and only seven towns therein contributed to the Parliaments of Edward I. It is interesting to note that five of these still retain their privileges, while of all those added subsequently only two survive. The ancient constitution was, therefore, substantially sound. From the time of the early Edwards no change was made in the parliamentary representation of the county, worthy of note, until the reign of Edward VI. Then borough-making began, and was continued during the next two reigns, the duchy of Cornwall, during all three, being vested in the Crown. Prior to the 6th of Edward VI, the parliamentary boroughs were Bodmin, Helston, Launceston, Liskeard, Lostwithiel, and Truro. Edward added Camelford, Grampound, Michell (or St. Michael), Newport, Saltash, Tintagel, and West Looe; Mary, Penryn and St. Ives; Elizabeth, Callington, East Looe, Fowey, St. Germans, St. Mawes, and Tregony.

Not four of these fourteen constituencies were in any way entitled to this distinction on the score of wealth, population, influence, or peculiar antiquity. For the most part they were petty villages or hamlets, possessing no corporate character, and recommended only by their utter insignificance and presumed subserviency. In the majority of cases they were indeed old boroughs in the legal sense, as having been endowed with privileges by their early lords; but as Borlase observes, while they had thus "acquired a kind of nominal dignity", they "were in every other light inconsiderable". Besides, there were several that had not even this very shadowy claim to notice.

Why these boroughs were created is no very difficult problem to solve. The Tudors did their best to bring low the great nobles, and as one means to that end, neglected no opportunity of strengthening their power in the Commons. Cornwall, from its dependence on the duchy, offered peculiar facilities for effecting this design. It is not a little curious to note how, in process of time, precisely the opposite effect was produced. As the power of the duchy and of the Crown prerogative waned, these petty boroughs fell for the most part under the control of the very aristocracy

whom they were created to curb, while the exceptions were faithful only to the deepest pocket. The peerage patronage of the Cornish boroughs was stated by Oldfield at the end of the last century to be vested as follows, and there is no doubt as to his substantial accuracy:—Helston, the Duke of Leeds; Launceston and Newport, the Duke of Northumberland; St. Mawes, the Marquis of Buckingham; Lostwithiel, and Bossiney or Tintagel (1), the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe; Truro, Viscount Falmouth; Callington, Lord Clinton; Liskeard and St. Germans, Lord Eliot; Penryn, Lord de Dunstanville. The commoners who either nominated directly, or indirectly influenced the returns, were:—Bossiney or Tintagel (1), Hon. James Wortley Stuart; Bodmin, Sir John Morshead; Camelford, Sir Jonathan Phillips; East and West Looe and Saltash, Mr. Buller; Fowey (1), Mr. Rashleigh; Grampound and Michell, Sir Christopher Hawkins; St. Ives, Mr. Praed; Tregony, Mr. Barwell.

Among the eminent men who sat in Parliament for these constituencies we find—James Macpherson (*"Ossian"*) and Lord Brougham, Camelford; John Hampden, Grampound; Sir Walter Raleigh and Richard Carew, the historian, Michell; Sir John Eliot, Newport and St. Germans; Noye, the Attorney-General, Godolphin, the lord treasurer, and Davies Gilbert, P.R.S., Helston; Sir Bevil Grenvil and John Anstis (Garter), Launceston; Sir Edward Coke, Gibbon, the historian, and Huskisson, Liskeard; William Hampden, father of John Hampden, East Looe; Sir William Petty and Sir Charles Wager, West Looe; Joseph Addison, Lostwithiel; Sir Francis Drake, Tintagel; Waller, the poet, and Lord Clarendon, Saltash.

The representation of the boroughs was, however, mainly enjoyed by the more distinguished county families under whose patronage they were. Where the right to the franchise was connected with property, the chief landlords had naturally the preponderant influence; but where the election lay in the hands of the corporation, the patron was by no means so secure, and the more popularly constituted constituencies were the occasion of many hot contests and much shrewd diplomacy. Among the names of most frequent occurrence in the parliamentary records of the county are those of Arundell, St. Aubyn, Basset, Boscawen,

Buller, Carew, Carminow, Daniell, Eliot, Enys, Edgumbe, Godolphin, Grenvil, Hawkins, Kendall, Killigrew, Manaton, Morshead, Noye, Penrose, Rashleigh, Robartes, Roscarrock, Trefusis, Trelawny, Tremayne, Trevanion, Vivian, Vyvyan, and Wrey.

The fights between the respective would-be patrons, where the territorial rights were inconclusive, or corporations divided, were sometimes of the most desperate character. Nothing was left undone that could tend to secure a superiority. Where the franchise depended on occupation, and the houses and lands in the borough belonged wholly or in great part to one proprietor, the voters were of course merely his creatures; but where there were corporations, though these were universally self-elected, they required to be humoured. It was customary for the patron to defray the chief corporate expenses, and if he was not a member of the corporate body himself, he had generally his representative—a friend or steward—amongst the corporators, so that he might be kept informed of whatever was in progress. The post commonly affected was that of recorder. The larger constituencies, when the popular elements of scot and lot voting or potwalloping were present, required very delicate handling. Upon one occasion the electors of Grampound, offended with the steward of their patron (because, like a wise man, he preferred to pay after an election, when he was sure of value received), went in a body and offered the command of the borough to another patron, who was subsequently ousted in turn by the tact and substantial arguments of Sir Christopher Hawkins.

An amusing illustration of the lengths to which patronage contests went is given by the Rev. J. J. Wilkinson in a paper on the borough of Camelford, published in the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*. Lord Yarmouth was contesting the command of the borough with Lord Darlington, who owned the greater part of the town; and in order that his voters might be properly accommodated, built a large house in compartments for them. Lord Darlington, as the freeholder, claimed the minerals, and accordingly, when the house was nearly completed, exploded a mine and blew it up. He had to pay for the damage, but he kept his superiority. This was only in 1823.

The Reform Bill of 1832 swept away thirteen of the

twenty boroughs then existing, and considerably extended the boundaries of those that were left—Bodmin, Helston, Liskeard, Launceston, St. Ives, Penryn, Truro—besides reducing St. Ives, Helston, Liskeard, and Launceston to one member each. Thus, instead of forty-four, the county members were cut down to fourteen, the representation of the county proper having been doubled. Since then the only material change that has taken place has been the abstraction of one member from Bodmin. When parliamentary privileges departed, municipal were little heeded, and of the towns disfranchised in 1832, Saltash, East Looe, Lostwithiel, and Camelford, alone retain their corporate character.

I append a list of all the boroughs in the county, parliamentary or other, of which I have been able to obtain particulars, with details under each head of dates of creation and cessation, character of franchise, arms, devices, etc. It will be seen that, in addition to the parliamentary boroughs of the period immediately preceding the Reform Bill, there were at least five others—Falmouth, Marazion, Penzance, Millbrook, and Padstow, of which the three former still exist.

Bodmin.—The original charter of this town appears to have been from the famous Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and king of the Romans, who granted a guild merchant. Roger de Bodmyn, 1359, is the first mayor whose name has been preserved. The borough has sent representatives to Parliament since 23rd Edward I [1294]. The constituency before 1832 consisted of the mayor and burgesses. Of the burgesses twelve were called capital burgesses and councillors, and the other twenty-four were common-councilmen, so that there were thirty-six in all. In 1832 the borough was enlarged by its extension to the entire parish of Bodmin, and the inclusion of the parishes of Lanhydrock, Helland, and Lanivet. In 1868 one of the two members was taken away. The device on the seal is a king seated under a canopy.

Bossiney.—Bossiney *alias* Trevena, *alias* Tintagel, *alias* Dundagil, also dated its privileges from Richard, King of the Romans. It was made a parliamentary borough by Edward VI. There was no corporation, but the constituency consisted of a titular mayor and titular freemen, the right of election presumably being in those who had free

land in the borough and who lived in the parish. In 1781 only one of these titular corporators was left in existence—a certain Arthur Wade. But he was equal to the occasion, and single-handed elected the two members. The elections were held on a mound still remaining, by the village of Bossiney. It was considered a part of the duty of the representatives of Bossiney periodically to get drunk with their constituents. The device on the borough seal was a castle on the waves, evidently an allusion to the Castle of Tintagel. When the borough was disfranchised, the shadow of corporate life also died.

Callington.—This parliamentary borough, the last created in the county, sending members from the 27th Elizabeth until 1832, never had a corporation, arms, or seal, the returning officer being the manorial portreeve. The right of voting was in certain burgage tenures, paying scot and lot.

Camelford.—Here we have another of the creations of Richard, King of the Romans, though parliamentary privileges were first conferred by Edward VI. There were many disputes in this town concerning the right to the franchise, which was claimed on the one hand by the inhabitant householders paying scot and lot, and on the other by the freemen. In 1796 it was decided that the franchise was in such of the burgesses as were resident householders, and paid scot and lot. The device of the borough seal is founded on a blunder—a canting allusion to the fancied meaning of the name of the town—and represents a camel passing a ford. Whereas the word Camel has no reference to the animal of that name, and simply means the “crooked river”. The municipal corporation has survived the fatal ’32.

Falmouth.—This is the youngest of the corporate towns of the county, having been incorporated 1661, at the instance of the Killigrews, lords of the manor. The device on the seal consists of the arms of the Killigrews—a double-headed eagle displayed, charged with a rock and pole on the body and a castle on each wing. The rock represents the Black Rock in the mouth of Falmouth harbour, and the castles the guardian fortresses of Pendennis and St. Mawes. In 1832 Falmouth became a member of the borough of Penryn, and the united boroughs have since been known as the borough of Penryn and Falmouth.

Fowey.—The ancient and famous seaport of Fowey was

represented continuously from the reign of Elizabeth until 1832. It was first incorporated by James II, and lost its municipal privileges under *quo warranto* a few years before it fell under Schedule A. The right of election was in the tenants of the Duke of Cornwall who were capable of being elected portreeves, and the inhabitants paying scot and lot. Those only could vote for or be elected portreeves who were freeholders of the manor of the borough. The device of the borough was a three-masted man-of-war sailing.

St. Germans.—This borough, though returning members from the reign of Elizabeth until 1832, never had either corporation, arms, or seal. The returning officer was the manor portreeve, and the electors those householders who had resided in the borough a year.

Grampound.—John of Eltham was the first who is known to have granted privileges to this town. It returned members to Parliament from the reign of Edward VI to 1824, when it was disfranchised, on account of corrupt practices. Not that it was much worse than its neighbours, but that it had been found out. The right of election was in the inhabitants paying scot and lot. The corporation had long existed by prescription simply; and has now been many years extinct. The device on the seal is a two-arched bridge, with a shield of the duchy arms thereon. This bridge refers to the assumed origin of the name in the French Grandpont, which in its turn is said to have been a translation of the ancient British name Ponsmur, an *alias* which appears upon the seal.

Helston.—This is unquestionably an ancient borough, for it had charters from King John, and it sent representatives to Parliament so early as 23rd Edward I. Under the old *régime* the right of election was in the corporation only, and when in 1774 a new charter was granted, in consequence of the reduction of the corporators under the old, six of the corporation under the old charter returned two members to Parliament, and had their rights upheld against the corporators under the new. But at length, in 1790, there only remained one survivor of the old corporation—Richard Pennel, and he returned the two members by himself. Then it was decided, contrary to the former decision, that the right was in the new corporation. The device on the seal is St. Michael killing the dragon; on the

battlements of some edifice. The saint has on his arm a shield charged with three lions—the arms of England. Since 1832 the borough has only returned one member.

St. Ives.—This borough owes its origin, as a parliamentary constituency, to Philip and Mary. It was first incorporated municipally by Charles I in 1639. The right of election lay in the inhabitants paying scot and lot. Before 1832 two members were returned, and one was then taken away. The canting arms are an ivy branch overspreading the whole field *vert*. But the parish is named from the patron saint, St. Iva.

Launceston.—This borough, in conjunction with that of Newport, formed but one town, returning four members. It was made a free borough by Richard, King of the Romans, and has been represented in Parliament since 23rd Edward I. It was incorporated as a municipality in 1555. The right of election was in the mayor, aldermen, and free-men being inhabitants at the time they were made free, and not receiving pay of the parish. The arms evidently bore reference to the castle, being a triple circular tower, within a border charged with eight towers domed. The crest is a lion's head between two ostrich plumes, all rising out of a ducal coronet. Launceston, with Newport and a wide suburban area, now returns one member only.

Liskeard.—This town was made a free borough in 1240 by Richard King of the Romans, and is one of the oldest parliamentary constituencies in the county, its representation commencing in 1294. Prior to the Bill of 1832, which deprived it of one of its members, at the same time extending its boundaries, the franchise was vested in the corporation and the sworn free burgesses. The device on the seal is a fleur-de-lis, two martlets on the arms thereof; above, two annulets; and below, on each side, a feather. This is mentioned in the Visitation of 1574. The fleur-de-lis has an evident reference, though a blundering one, to the first syllable of the name of the town.

Lostwithiel.—This is another of the boroughs made free by Richard King of the Romans, and sent members to Parliament almost continuously from 1304 until 1832, if not from 1294. It was not incorporated municipally until 1623. The right of election lay in the corporation. The device on the borough seal is a castle standing on waves,

therein two fishes hauriant. On each side of the castle is a thistle. The castle probably refers to the ancient duchy castle of Restormel, the water to the river and harbour of Fowey, over which the corporation had jurisdiction. This municipality still exists.

The Looes.—East and West Looe, though for all practical purposes one town only severed by the little estuary of the Looe, constituted two boroughs, returning four members. West Looe *alias* Louborough, *alias* Portpighan, *alias* Portuan, had the privilege of sending representatives from Edward VI, East Looe from Elizabeth. Both received municipal charters from the latter monarch. In each the right of election was in the mayor, burgesses, and freemen; and when disfranchised in 1832, the joint populations of the twin boroughs, with their four members, was 1,458, and the voters a little over 100. The corporation of East Looe still continues. The device upon its seal is a one-masted ship, charged with three escutcheons of the arms of the Bodrigans, *argent* three bendlets *gules*. The once famous Bodrigans were early lords of the town, and as the seal is much more ancient than the reign of Elizabeth, it is evident that an older corporation than that which she chartered existed. The device on the West Looe seal is an archer armed, holding a bow in one hand and an arrow in the other. The corporation of West Looe was suffered to expire, it is said under an idea that the last survivors would be entitled to the corporate estate. When, however, the charter was forfeited, the duchy resumed the properties, and they have since been regranted to trustees for the benefit of the inhabitants. So ended the West Looe corporate tontine.

Marazion.—Beyond doubt this is one of the most ancient towns in Cornwall, though the charter of its present corporation dates no further back than 1595. Hals, the Cornish historian, states that, prior to the dissolution of the monastery on St. Michael's Mount, Marazion returned members to Parliament, and thereafter ceased, on the score of poverty. And probably there is some foundation for this, since we find that members were elected under the existing charter, and that Thomas Westlake and Richard Myll were returned in 1658, though it does not appear that they ever took their seats. The device on the corporate seals is a rude castle with central and flanking towers.

St. Mawes.—This was one of the most miserable boroughs in Cornwall. A mere fishing hamlet, with neither corporation, church, chapel, school, nor market, it sent representatives to Parliament from the reign of Elizabeth until 1832, while the thriving borough of Falmouth, on the other side of the harbour, had no voice whatever in the councils of the nation. The seal of the borough bears a bend lozengy *or*, between a tower in sinister chief and a ship with three masts and sails furled in dexter base. The field is stated to be *azure*, the tower *arg.*, and the ship *or*.

St. Michael.—St. Michael *alias* Mitchell, *alias* Modishole, represented from the 6th Edward VI to 1832, never had either corporation, arms, or seal. The right of election was once in the burghers, then in two elizors appointed by the lord of the manor, and twenty-two freemen chosen by the elizors; then in the inhabitants at large not receiving alms; then in a high lord and five deputy lords, a portreeve appointed by the high lord from the latter, and the inhabitants paying scot and lot. The borough eventually fell into the hands of two proprietors, and, these differing, there was a contest at the last election before 1832. There were then only five voters; and the second candidate won by three votes against two recorded for the last on the poll, the first polling five.

Millbrook.—Of the ancient corporation of Millbrook no vestige remains except the seal, the holder of which styles himself the borough reeve. Millbrook was once a flourishing little seaport, but has long been a mere village. According to Hals, it once sent representatives to Parliament, but was excused on the score of poverty. I am not aware that there is the slightest proof of this. The device on the seal is very quaint—a mill standing on a brook. The stream runs through a wooded country, and dogs are scattered among the trees.

Newport.—This borough is now included with Launceston, of which town it is properly a part. Before 1832 it returned two members. It had no corporation, arms, or seal. The returning officers were two vianders appointed at the manor court leet, and the voters the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Padstow.—This little port once had a corporation, of which, according to Carew in his "Survey", the inhabitants

purchased the right, *temp.* Elizabeth; but it has long ceased to exist, and hardly a trace of it remains. The device on the seal was a three-masted ship of war upon the waves, sails furled, and anchor at prow; and has been reproduced in the seal of the Padstow Local Board.

Penzance.—This, the most westerly town in England, was incorporated by James I in 1614. It never returned members to Parliament. The device of the town seal—the head of the Baptist in a charger—is clearly intended to allude to the name of the borough, which has been interpreted to mean the holy headland, or the saint's head, but which in all probability means simply the head of the bay. It has been suggested that the arms refer to the connection of the Knights Hospitallers with the parish of Madron, in which Penzance is situated, but there is no real foundation for this beyond the mere coincidence.

Penryn.—Walter Bronescombe, Bishop of Exeter and lord of the manor, first enfranchised this town in 1275. Edward VI gave it the right to elect representatives, and it was incorporated by James I in 1619. The right of election was in the corporation, and the inhabitants paying scot and lot. Since 1832 it has been associated with Falmouth. The device on the seal—a man's head wreathed, with ribbons floating—is apparently founded on Carew's explanation of the name Penryn as meaning a "curled head", whereas the more probable signification is "head of the river channel".

Saltash.—Reginald de Valletort made Saltash a free borough early in the thirteenth century, and this was confirmed by several monarchs. Edward VI gave it the privilege of returning two members, which it enjoyed until it fell within Schedule A. The right of election was variously determined to be in the corporation, and in thirty-six burgage tenures. At one time, of its two members, one represented the corporate and the other the burgage votes, two committees of the House of Commons, to whom appeal had been made, having given contradictory decisions. The corporation still exists, and enjoys extensive rights over the Tamar, with the levy of dues in Plymouth Sound. Moreover, it is said by accident, it still holds Quarter Sessions before its corporate-appointed Recorder. There were two seals, one bearing a three-masted ship in full sail, and the

other the arms of the duchy, a lion rampant within a bordure bezantée, water beneath the escutcheon, and on either side an ostrich feather labelled. The first seal was lost on the occasion of a dispute among the members of the corporation.

Truro.—This is a very ancient borough, which, according to the visitation of 1574, was incorporated by Raynold, Earl of Cornwall, base son to Henry I; formerly by Richard Lucy. Henry II is said to have given its first royal charter. It commenced its parliamentary representation in 1294, and, prior to 1832, the right of election was in the mayor and corporation—twenty-five in number. The Reform Bill extended the constituency and the area of the borough, but left it both its members. The arms of Truro, according to the visitation of 1620, are, on a base barry wavy of four, charged with two fish, a three-masted ship in full sail. And this is the device on the seal, the fishes swimming to the right in pale.

Tregony.—Here we have an exceedingly ancient borough, the modern representative of the Roman station Cenia, whence, with the prefix Tre, the name. It elected representatives in 1294, and once subsequently in the same reign, thence intermitting, until restored by Elizabeth. Until municipally incorporated by James I, the town was under the jurisdiction of a portreeve, who still continued joint returning officer. The election here was in the potwallopers who had been resident for six weeks—the widest and loosest franchise recognised in any Cornish borough. Tregony fell under Schedule A, and its municipality has also been long extinct. It was one of the three Cornish boroughs recognised at the Visitation of 1620 as having arms, a pomegranate seeded, clipped, and leaved.

NOTES ON THE SCILLY ISLES, TOGETHER WITH SOME CORNISH ANTIQUITIES.

BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, V.P., ETC.

BUT for the dreaded passage of the "Lionesse", these islands would be better known to tourists and congressional antiquarians. Remarks by one, who, seeing, "ought to know", may not be unacceptable to the Association. The Scillies, then, consist of a grouping of islands and rocks lying about forty-three miles west of the Land's End. Known to the Greeks as "Cassiterides", they were also written "Sillinæ Insulæ" by Ausonius, and may be derived from Silya, Cornish for "Conger", or "Sulleh", Celtic for "Rocks consecrated to the Sun". And the latter, from local circumstances and names, appears the most probable derivation. But very few of the islands are inhabited. St. Mary, St. Agnes, St. Martin, and Tresco being the chiefest, the remainder of the one hundred and forty are but scantily clothed with herbage or pinnaced fantastic rocks bare and battered by Atlantic gales. Scant justice to the remembrance of a pleasant visit would be done, were not mention made of the uniform and universal courtesy and kindness of the island dwellers. The first received impression is perhaps astonishment, and then a subdued melancholy. We have dropped into a new region. So foreign is it indeed to daily life to observe the agave and dracæna, the sweet-scented verbena and camelia, the myrtle, euonyma, and scarlet geranium, flourishing in unprotected luxuriance, and all, but the first mentioned, attaining tree growth. Indeed, the low, white-washed houses of St. Mary, their walls frequently covered by flowering mesembrianthemum, the spiked aloe, and tall, graceful dragon tree, remind us of the Canaries and Teneriffe.

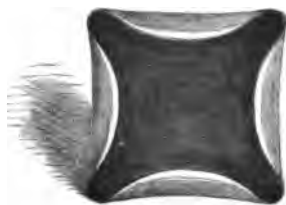
We have but to cross the restless, steel coloured waters of St. Mary's Sound, to find, in the abbey gardens of Tresco, if not in native luxuriance, at least in health and beauty, the Chinese paper-plant, the palm, the banana, and a multitude of plants, and trees, and flowers, associated with more southern climates. The reason lies in an equable temperature, ranging from forty-five degrees in winter to sixty-five degrees in summer. An intelligent child told me, "She once had seen snow, and that it was white"! But the islands are swept by tremendous winds, the force of which

we city dwellers cannot comprehend. But the battered and diminishing coast lines tell the tale ; as do ship timbers, heaved up in many a lonely bay ; and, alas ! the stories of disastrous wrecks, and *lines* of old, and more recent burials under the shadow of the ancient church, within the old God's acre, piously fenced with aloes and geraniums by the lord proprietor of the islands.

The question is of old debate, whether or no these islands were once united to the mainland. Tradition says, "Yes", and observation apparently confirms it. The islands are chiefly granitic, but amorphous ; hence the perpetual waste of the sea-line. Standing on the hill above Port Hellick, and looking east, a scene of indescribable destruction is below you, the rocks lie tumbled in confusion. Behind you (west) the rocks, but two sentinels at the horns of the bay have well nigh altogether disappeared, leaving a beach of dazzling whiteness,—the *débris* of the perished barrier. Here on this beach was the scene of the wreck of Sir Cloudesley Shovel and several vessels of his fleet in 1704. The place of his primal burial is still marked, and on it I found lying the singular and ancient horseshoe now on the table. Looking to the friable composition of the granite, the constant wasting of the rock, the fact that men now living have seen the destruction of lofty headlands, that the Kentish north-east coast has within one hundred and fifty years, lost a track seaward, known by existing plans and documents to have been covered by fields and farms, and believing truth lies hidden in local tradition, there is much to incline belief towards the remote union of these islands with the mainland. Perhaps we may find another argument in the oneness of language and custom. Vicinity should scarcely be pleaded, if, as even now the islands are frequently without communication with Cornwall for weeks together,—a lonelier isolation must have belonged to other days. If on the mainland linger the ancient observance of the winter and summer solstice, the same holds good for the islands. On May 1st the maypole is erected with music and dancing in New Town, St. Mary's. June 24th is celebrated by fires on the headlands, and processions of lighted torches. These processions are observed also in the Lizard district and Penzance, together with the extraordinary custom on the winter solstice of planting lighted candles upon Buryan Church tower, at an altitude of 415 ft.



CHILL OR CORNISH LAMP.



EARTHENWARE LAMP,

Exhumed at the S.E. Angle of the Temple Wall, JERUSALEM.

above the sea, and therefore commanding land and ocean views of vast extent. It is here also a local custom to place lighted candles in baskets filled with sand, for the children to dance around. There is a unity also in pre-historic monuments and tradition. Standing on the promontory of St. Mary's, with St. Martin's Isle to the left, and stretching eastward for nine sea miles the unnumbered rocks of the "Eastern" group, there is a huge cairn just toppling the beach below. Nearly in a line, covered by overgrowths, a barrow 5 ft. high, 7 ft. broad, 25 ft. in length, built and roofed with immense slabs of granite, locally called "roofers". Hidden by the furze is a kistvaen, and one large broad, upright, solitary stone. To the south-east, on the pinnacle of the hill above Port Hellick, are two stones, connected by tradition with Druidism—the Sun Rock and Druid's Chair. Tradition says, "Here sat the Arch Druid, facing east, when the morning beams fell first on the rock above him". Our valued friend H. S. Cuming suggests that Hellick may possibly imply "the stone of the sun". The Druid's Chair may be a rock-basin, worn and wasted by winds and weather; the Sun Rock, a gigantic, water-worn, ice-boulder of grey granite,—oval in form, and about 20 ft. in height; but in close proximity, inviting excavation, is what appears a buried cromlech, on the very apex of the down. At any rate, Port Hellick and its immediate vicinity are just the spots for association with the mysteries of the Helio-Artrike god, and where the probationer might well utter the words, "Though I love the sea beach I dread the open sea; a billow may come undulating over the stone". The "stone" is connected with the praise of Heilyn, and is no doubt allied to the "flat stone of Heliodrius", mentioned in the Triads. On Samson, as on St. Mary's, are two menhirs, one broken. But thoughts on these stones may perhaps be embodied in another paper.

We found, in a field above Sillakee, one small and ancient cross prostrate, blown down. By persevering efforts we again set it up, endeavouring to secure and protect it for future enquirers. There is a last antiquity, and perhaps not least interesting, in "the Chill" or fish oil lamp, peculiar to Cornwall and a remote age, which now I lay before you. These lamps are rarely, very rarely seen, never in use, and passing from the memories of all but the very aged. But

how primitive in form and size. We have two characteristic shapes, one of iron, a square of $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., the sides somewhat collapsed and the angles rounded, to form resting places for wicks of twisted linen or cotton. From the back ascends a flat iron shaft, 8 in. by 1 in., pierced in a circular head for suspension on a nail. In the centre of the shaft is a small projection, on which is hung a second lamp of iron, similar in shape to the lower one, but somewhat smaller. The cavity, 1 in. in depth, received the oil and wicks, the lower vessel received the overflow. The second lamp is of tin, and once gave light to the "better room" of a Scillian cottage, the first lamp being fixed between the oven and roasting fire. Though the second lamp is barrel shaped, and adapted for but one wick, the principle is the same. It is most remarkable the open lamp was made also *in clay*, but I found it impossible to procure a specimen. Remarkable, as I am a believer in Phœnician influences, and these lamps confirm my belief. Observe accurately the shape and dimensions. I lay before you the drawing of a lamp in possession of the Palestine Exploration Fund, exactly corresponding with the Cornish chill. This Phœnician lamp was excavated by Captain Warren from the *solid* ground at the south-east angle of the temple wall, Jerusalem, overlooking the valley of Jehoshaphat, at a depth of nearly 90 ft. It is of burned clay, so were the old Cornish chills. The coincidence is extraordinary, but the inference is fortified, that Phœnician custom and usage blended with the ancient, and have been transmitted to the modern life of Cornwall.

The beautifully modelled brass, two-wicked oil-lamp before the meeting was also procured in St. Mary's. Bearing, so strongly, Italian characteristics, it may safely be considered the salvage of some ancient wreck, the date of its manufacture being assigned to the seventeenth century.¹

The grand scene from the signal tower of the vexed Atlantic breaking and tossed in spouts of foam on the far and fatal *Schiller* reef, or rushing in sounding surges on the rocks below, is succeeded by the quiet and solemn beauty of moonrise over Samson, diminishing the red flames of the seaward lights, and deepening the warm brown shadows, changing the white and solitary beach to a bank of pearl, edging a purpled and silvered sea.

¹ An Italian lamp of the same age and material as the above, and closely resembling it in fashion, is described in our *Journal*, xxv, p. 74.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 104.)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 18, 1876.

THIS morning the archæologists left Bodmin for Truro and Penzance. Twice in the year the assizes make Bodmin a bustling place, and groups of barristers gather in the yards of its hotels, and under the shadow of its Court House; but it must be long since it has welcomed such visitors as the members of the Association. The usual knots which assemble in the streets of Bodmin or of Penzance are not heard to be discussing rood-lofts and stained glass, stone circles or bronze weapons. Now, as we pass along, it would seem that what Sir Walter Scott, in a letter to George Ellis, writes of as an impossible consummation, has become a reality. We have "a whole townfull of anti-quaries". The drive of four miles from Bodmin to the station commands very striking views over the wooded valley towards St. Neots, which have already been noticed. Nearer the railway are the grounds of Glyn and Lanhydrock, the domains of Lord Vivian and Lord Robartes. All this beautiful country was seen to great advantage under the light of a changing sky, still retaining traces of Thursday's thunderstorm.

A special train conveyed the party to Truro, where they were received at the Royal Institution of Cornwall by the President, Mr. Jonathan Rashleigh of Menabilly. Luncheon was prepared in one of the rooms. On a table was arranged a selection from the Institution's valuable Museum, which they thought would be most interesting to the visitors, and the objects excited great interest. A bronze bull, supposed to be Phœnician, found near the foundation of an old building at St. Just Vicarage, and two golden gorgets and a bronze celt at Harlyn, North Cornwall, were the chief attractions. There were also a block of Jew's house tin found in Trewarthenick Moor; an ingot of Saxon tin; a slab of tin found in the barton of Carnanton, Mawgan-in-Pydar, two feet and a half under the surface, and contiguous to what is usually called a "Jew's house"; a block of tin, 158lbs., found in Falmouth Harbour; an ancient sepulchral urn containing calcined human bones, found in a field at Merrows, Gerrans, between three and

four feet below the surface ; a cinerary urn found in an inverted position in the hollow of a rock under a tumulus at Glandorgal, Lower St. Columb, containing black dust and calcined bones ; and other urns found at Sennen and at Place, Fowey ; an oak shovel tipped with iron, from the Goss Moor ; spades from stream-works below Deep Hatches, Jamaica Inn, and Temple Budge ; fragments of a Roman urn containing human bones and ashes, dug out of a barrow on a cliff near New-quay ; a large collection of flint flakes from Devon and Cornwall, stone celts and hammers ; a chert celt found in North Devon ; ancient gold weight found embedded in sand at Luxullion ; an ancient metal bowl found in Carnan stream-works ; silver ring found at the old church in the sand at Perranzabuloe ; brazen spear-heads found at Pelynt ; brass ring found in a stream-work near Penzance ; crucifix found at the bottom of Carnan stream-work, thirty feet under the bed of the river, in 1812 ; stone bowl found in the remains of Chun Castle, Morvah ; bronze celt and wooden mng found in Wheal Virgin stream-work, in the valley between St. Austell and Pentewan ; photographs and drawings of kistvens, inscribed stones (one said to be Roman-British) ; and a map showing the Roman roads through the south of England, drawn by Mr. N. Whitley.

When all had assembled, the President, in the name of the Institution, gave a hearty welcome both to the town and to the Museum, where were many objects of archæological interest connected with the county. It was a great privilege to be visited by such a distinguished body of antiquarians who could throw light on questions connected with the relics of remote antiquity, which must always possess a certain amount of mystery. Among the objects on the table would be found a large block of tin in the form of an astragalus (or knuckle-bone), being 2 ft. 11 ins. from the extremities, 11 ins. wide, 3 ins. in the centre, and weighing 158lbs. The chief interest attaching to the block was from its peculiar form. Diodorus of Sicily, the contemporary of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, said the people of Belerium (the most western port of Cornwall) cast the tin into the form of astragali, which they carried to an island in front of Britain, called Ictis, which was left dry at low tides, and from whence the tin was taken over to Gaul, over which it travelled, in about thirty days, to the mouth of the Rhine. This Ictis was generally supposed to be St. Michael's Mount, and the finding of this peculiarly formed block of tin confirmed the appropriation. The peculiar form made it well adapted for transmission either on horseback, as ballast of a boat, or by hands of men. The golden gorgets, or lunettes, were of peculiar local interest, as they were two of the only four specimens found in the county. All had been found towards its northern shores ; those nearest Ireland, where several examples had been met with. None had been found in Eng-

land, except in Cornwall. The question about them was, whether the work was Cornu-British, or Irish work, or Phœnician. The late Sir Edward Smirke believed them to be works of British or Irish art. In conclusion the President called attention to Captain Oliver's work on Pendennis, published by Mr. Lake, Truro.

Dr. Barham called attention to a photograph of the inscribed stone at St. Clement's, which combined the Roman character with the original Celtic in a remarkable way ; also to the earliest monuments of the tin-trade of Cornwall, probably, with the Phœnicians. As to the bronze bull said to be Phœnician, he remarked that it had been suggested by an eminent antiquary that it was no older than the age of Abraham, who had strong Egyptian proclivities ; but by other authorities, that the evidence of its Phœnician origin was the stronger. The gold lunettes were not oriental or Phœnician, as the general excellence of the work at first suggested. Found with them was a bronze celt, which had not its analogues in finds of similar ornaments in Ireland.

Mr. N. Whitley gave an interesting address on flint flakes, questioning the idea that they were the work of men.

Dr. Jago, during the stay at Truro, also favoured some of the members of the Congress with an inspection of his beautiful collection of Spanish tapestry of the time of King Charles I, brought over by General Jones, and heirlooms in Dr. Jago's family. There were several yards of silk needlework laid on black velvet, showing beneath Roman arches a number of birds and animals, the characteristics of which were well preserved ; pieces of tapestry of a similar character, the details being remarkable for their drawing and the extremely accurate manner in which the botanical characteristics are given ; and a quantity of lace of various patterns ; and a number of old garments, apparently belonging to the last century.

After visiting the rest of the Museum, including an admirable collection of Cornish birds, the party proceeded down the river Fal in a steamer which had been specially chartered for them, past Falmouth town, to the Castle at the end of the promontory. Only half an hour could be allowed on land, and the members drove round the fortifications in carriages ; and after a few minutes glance at the buildings, under the guidance of Dr. Barham, returned to their boat. The Castle only dates from 1538, when it was built under the superintendence of Mr. Treffry of Fowey. The original building, built between 1538-44, is a fair specimen of a Tudor fortification, and possesses an historic interest from the fact that it was the last fortress in England, save one, that held out for King Charles. A few members spent the time in examining the earthworks, and tracing from the high ground the positions of the armies at the time of the siege. The winding Fal, with its reaches and its inlets, yields in beauty to none of the western

estuaries. It is not unlike the Dart below Totnes, but has even more picturesque "corners" to delight the artist.

St. Mary's Church, Truro, was visited after the return of the boat to that town. This is a fine specimen of the three-aisled, sixteenth century Cornish church, with a poor modern western tower and spire, and is to be the cathedral church of the Cornish bishopric. Dr. Barham and Mr. Loftus Brock explained the leading features of the edifice, directing attention to the incongruous Jacobean roof, which is about to be removed in the contemplated restoration. Both speakers expressed the hope that the making a cathedral city of Truro would not lead to the demolition of the church. The external walls of the body of the church are panelled almost entirely over their whole surface in a very elaborate and picturesque manner; and a date, early in the sixteenth century, recording the erection of the building, occurs in stained glass in one of the windows of the south aisle.

After a public dinner at the Royal Hotel, the members of the Association proceeded by the last train to Penzance, their headquarters for the final portion of the Congress.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 19, 1876.

On Saturday a visit to the Lands End—a district rich in some of the monuments of prehistoric times—was made. A party of about one hundred and fifty started from Mount's Bay House, in full view of the glorious Bay, whose wide waters were flecked with foam under the influence of a brisk easterly breeze, which, with a cloudy sky, made the weather all that could be desired. The way lay through Newlyn, past the Rev. W. Lach-Szyrma's picturesque church, between delightful avenues, out into more open country.

At Trembath one of those ancient crosses which in early centuries were placed on the paths leading to the church, was seen by the roadside. This now stands near the church-path of Madron. Just inside the hedge, at Tregonebris, was seen a monolith (locally called "a Piper"), and which, according to the legend, is one of the pipers who, whilst running away, were turned to stone, with the maidens, for dancing on a Sunday at Boscawen-un.

The circle of stones at Boscawen-un was reached by a walk across a moor sprinkled with boulders almost hidden by furze and heather. Within the circle Mr. W. Copeland Borlase, F.S.A., delivered a lecture in which he said it was a typical circle for that part of Cornwall. It consisted of nineteen large upright stones, each from 3 feet to 5 feet high, placed at irregular distances on the circumference of a circle 80 feet in diameter. In the case of most of these circles a larger stone was placed outside. Here it was within the circle, but not in its

centre. It was 7 feet 2 inches above the ground, and leaned towards east-north-east. About a dozen years since, when the district was visited by another archæological body, the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society had a trench dug across the circle, but nothing was found. In reply to Mr. J. Jope Rogers, Mr. Borlase said they had dug down to the pillar, and found that it was carefully placed in its leaning position.

Several members favoured the theory that the leaning pillar was erected for an astronomical purpose, or was connected with sun-worship or phallic worship; and by compasses it was found to point north-east.

From the circle, of the date of origin of which no explanation could be given, the members walked to the "Money Stone" barrow a short distance off. This was opened by the Penzance Society at the same time, when urns were found in its sides, having on them the usual Celtic chevron-pattern. The stone from which the barrow took its name was found to be a large roughly rounded block of granite with a hole in its centre, 3 inches or 4 inches deep. This was formerly visible on the top of the barrow, and had led to the tradition that money was hidden therein in the time of the plague, only to be recovered by some person who should pass through water to get it. The Penzance Society excavated beneath the stone, and found under it a quantity of burnt earth and fragments of human bones, and a few rivets of bronze. The circle, said Mr. Borlase, was mentioned in a Welsh triad, in association with one near Salisbury and another in the Isle of Anglesey. There were traditions of a battle having taken place on the site, and he inclined to the opinion that the circle was erected as a memorial of such an event, and that human bodies were burnt, and the ashes buried near the barrow.

Mr. Jenner suggested that the name "Money" might be a corruption of "Men" (a stone); and this Mr. Borlase corroborated, adding that the legend that these circles were the monuments of maidens turned to stone for dancing on Sunday was a similar perversion of "Maen", the later form of the same word.

The carriages being reached by a short walk across the moor, the journey was continued, and at Crows-an-wra was seen a cross similar to the one at Trembath; and at Mayon the "Table-Mayon" or table-stone, on which, according to tradition, seven Saxon kings once dined. The same story predicts that when a similar event happens again, the world shall come to an end!

Sennen was soon reached after this, and the party left the carriages and crowded into the little church, where Mr. Symons of Mayon House, the churchwarden, mentioned that the remains of an old chapel still existed at Sennen Cove. In 1807 four hundred Roman coins of copper and metal were discovered. The church is the most westerly in Eng-

land, low and weatherbeaten ; kept in its body as much as possible under the fierce beat of the storm, yet with a fine and lofty tower. It is dedicated to St. John ; but in his opinion the original dedication was to St. Senanus, an Irish saint, about whom Moore wrote the poem beginning

“ Oh ! haste and leave this sacred isle,
Unholy bark ! ere morning smile ;
For on thy deck, though dark it be,
A female form I see ;
And I have sworn this sainted sod
Shall never by woman's feet be trod.”

Attention was directed to a singular fresco on the south aisle, discovered in the recent restoration. The design is identical with the corporate seal of Marazion ; and Mr. Symons suggested that it formed a background to some memorial of the St. Aubyn family, who hold considerable property in the parish.

Mr. Bloxam said the fresco, or distemper-painting, was of the fifteenth century, which corresponded with the age of the main body of the church. This appeared to have been built in the fourteenth, and remodelled in the succeeding century. In the north transept was a statue very much mutilated, but which he thought represented the Virgin Mary with the infant Christ in her arms.

It was observed that the church did not stand true east and west, but in a line with the rising and the setting of the sun—not on St. John's Day, 24th June,—but on the 29th of August, the day of the saint's decollation, on which day, in the year 1441, according to an inscription on the base of the font, the church was dedicated. Attention was drawn to a long stone filling a slit in the south wall of the chancel, through which, according to a tradition cited by Bishop Jenner, a tithe of milk was paid. In the north wall of the churchyard was seen a peculiar stone which might have been a socket of an ancient cross ; and in the hedge of a field opposite the church, a very good specimen of a holed stone, which has never been recorded. Mr. Symons suggested that the joining of hands in the hole made a contract binding between the ancient inhabitants.

In a few minutes Lands End was reached, and the scene in all its impressive grandeur was before the Association, who were not slow to appreciate the beauty of the downs clothed in heather, gorse, and thrift, trending down to cliffs presenting a stern, broken front to the restless sea, foam-fringed ; and of the bright sea beautifully coloured near the shore, and dotted with ships and steamers beyond. Just off the land the Armed Knight, the Longships, and the Brissons ; and faintly on the horizon lay the Scilly Isles. When all were seated on the boulders on the edge of the cliff, in full view of this inspiring scene, the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma read a notice of Lands End in history.

At the conclusion of Mr. Lach-Szyrma's paper, Mr. W. C. Borlase pointed out on the cliff beyond, looking north, the remains of a very good specimen of a cliff castle. Two walls were quite perfect, the jambs of the door stood, but the lintel had recently fallen down. It was fortified towards the land side, and the ditch which separated it from the mainland still exists. A large quantity of chipped flints were found there, but none showed that they had been worked into arrow heads. There was a barrow with a kistven exposed close by.

It was a magnificent luncheon to which the Congress sat down, under the able and genial presidency of Mr. W. H. Rodd, the Mayor of Penzance. Afterwards there were the usual expressions of loyalty. The visitors enthusiastically endorsed the statement that most thoroughly did modern Cornwall maintain the reputation given it by old Strabo for its kindness to strangers, and the compliment was gracefully returned by a warm acknowledgment of the value likely to accrue from the visit of so many famed archaeologists.

The party was, however, soon called from the hospitable tent to resume the excursion. Some visited the renowned cliffs at Pradinnick and Treryn Castle, others went to the Logan Rock. Several ladies were on the stone at one time, and rocked; whilst, under the guidance of Mr. Lach-Szyrma, the architecturally-minded went to St. Levan Church (noticeable as being the only Early English Church in the district), where the rude granite work and the quaint fifteenth century wood-carving of the incidents of the Passion and of several grotesque heads excited much interest.

The re-united party visited Buryan Church. St. Burian or Buriana was a holy woman of Ireland, according to Leland. Her oratory became the germ of a collegiate church, founded, says a venerable tradition, by Athelstane after his victorious progress to the extremity of Cornwall. The existing building is Perpendicular, though it contains one or two curious Norman fragments; but it is chiefly interesting for the remains of its rood screen, boldly carved, with a good deal of peculiar design and ornament. The Norman work in the south wall of the chancel, opened up during the recent restoration; the beam and base of the ancient rood-screen, richly carved, and coloured, and gilded; the remains of the old beacon; the tall and handsome tower in a line between Cape Cornwall and the Lizard; and the Boleit tombstone (which had been carefully blackleaded by the old lady of the church for the occasion!) were the principal objects of interest.

Mr. Bloxam expressed his belief that the tower and the arcades of the nave were, like the Boleit monument and the font, fourteenth century work, the chancel and aisles being of the Decorated period.

Mr. Brock said if he had seen the Norman work in the chancel anywhere else but in Cornwall, since it was so roughly executed, he should

have said it was Saxon. There was evidence that the church at one time was very much larger. Seeing that these interesting arches were on the north side of the chancel, it indicated that there was once a north aisle, and probably an extension further eastward. In his view the two most interesting objects were the two crosses, both mounted on steps—one in the churchyard, the other in the village green. They both illustrated the Crucifixion, and were undoubtedly Saxon work, and it was a mistake to suppose that these crosses, with their singular interlaced knotted work, were peculiar to Cornwall; for, regard being had to the difference of material, crosses bearing a family resemblance were not only found over the whole length and breadth of England, but in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

Two visitors complained that the rood-screen, perfect a few years since, had been mutilated and removed from its former position; that the opening of the tower-arch had shown to the church that which it was never intended should be shown; but prior to the time of the present rector.

The Rev. T. B. Coulson, rector, explained that the remains of the screen were carefully preserved in a box, where he had found them, and that every attempt had been made to retain all the old features of the church.

The large majority of visitors complimented the rector on the care and taste displayed in the restoration, and thanked him for his kindness in showing the church.

From Buryan a visit was paid to Rosmoddres Circle—"the Merry Maidens"—similar to the one at Boscawen-un.

Mr. Borlase explained that around it were several barrows and monoliths, which might point the way to the circle. At the foot of some of the monoliths human remains were found. There was a tradition that a great battle was fought here, and that the bones of the slain would not be revealed till the day of judgment. When, therefore, it became known that he was finding bones, he could get no one to dig for him, for fear of hastening on the last day. The name Red Down was some evidence of the battle tradition.

The Rev. S. Mayhew mentioned that in Kent were the Redfields with a similar tradition.

The highly interesting group of ancient remains at and around Boleit, the huge menhirion, or monoliths known as the "Pipers", 13½ ft. and 15 ft. high respectively, hard by, with, at some little distance, the curious Fogou or artificial cave at Trewoose, built up by the Britons underground with blocks of stone, were carefully examined under the guidance of Mr. Borlase. The story with regard to the circle and menhirion is that the former were young women who were turned into stone for dancing on Sunday, and that the latter were the men who

pipéd to them, and who shared their fate. There is no doubt that the menhirion have a double character, that they are sometimes sepulchral and sometimes memorials of important events. Now, it is curious that while Boleit has been interpreted "house of slaughter", Mr. Borlase has found, confirmatory of Dr. Ferguson's view of the purpose of the circles, that there are still extant traditions of a battle at Boleit, where, indeed, it is said that Athelstane won his final victory over the Britons, in commemoration of which he is said to have founded and endowed the until recently collegiate church of St. Buryan.

Mr. Loftus Brock pointed out, however, the frequency with which similar circles are found to be placed, like this, on slightly sloping ground, commanding a prospect of considerable extent, at least in one direction, and suggested that this peculiarity of position indicated a common origin. He believed that the presence of interments at or near such circles was to be attributed to the sacred character of the sites, which caused them to be chosen for the purpose, from a feeling common to mankind.

The excursionists did not arrive again at Penzance until very late. In the evening a meeting was held in St. John's Hall, where the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society had arranged a small temporary museum. Among the objects were a Roman vessel of copper, in which a number of copper coins were found; an unique tin bowl, found at Treloy, St. Columb Minor; bronze spear-head, found at St. Erth; British sepulchral urns, dug up at Trevelloe, Paul, etc.; Sir Humphrey Davy's safety lamp; an ancient slab of tin, with curious inscription, found at Trezeiffe; and excellent models, mostly by the Misses Millett, of the British hill fortresses of Castle-an-Dinas and Chun, the Chun Quoit, the Lanyon Cromlech, the Men Skryfa, etc.

Mr. R. N. Worth read a paper on "The Ancient Boroughs of Cornwall, with notes on their arms and devices". This paper has been already printed at pp. 179 to 190.

The Rev. S. Mayhew read a paper on "Baal and Baal worship". In Penzance it was a custom on 23rd June to light a bonfire, and when it was consumed the illumination was continued by blazing torches carried in procession until the "eye" was formed through which passed the long line of these Midsummer revellers. This custom was but a degenerate observance of ancient Baalitic worship, wrought out in other places and days more remote to a more complete resemblance of the festival by spreading beneath the open sky, a table laden with provisions, to which the torch bearers were invited. The antiquity of the worship and service of Baal was proved by the inspired record, as well as its rapid growth among the Israelites, until the image of Baal occupied or usurped the throne in the holy sanctuary, and houses dedicated to the sun. The worship was celebrated chiefly on high

places, where an emblematic fire perpetually burned, or the rays of the morning sun fell first on the elevated temple.

In the course of the discussion, the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma pointed out that some confusion might arise if the fact that "bal" was a word for mine was overlooked. He had found the winter solstice celebrated in Newlyn by children dancing round candles stuck in a basket of sand, and it was the custom on Christmas Eve, when the weather allowed, to light fifty or sixty candles on the summit of Paul Tower.

In reply to Mr. Borlase, who asked for some specific distinctions of Phœnician manufacture, Mr. Mayhew said there were very clear distinctions, which could be explained by comparison, and Dr. Phéné stated that articles of the kind found in England, and attributed to the Phœnicians, were found in localities where the Phœnician intercourse was clear and beyond doubt—in the track, for example, of their tin trade across France.

Mr. Henry Jenner next read a paper on "The Ancient Cornish Language". This was a paper of great value, and those who heard it looked forward to its appearance in the *Journal* of the Association with much interest. It has been printed above at pp. 137 to 157.

The Rev. Mr. Lach-Szyrma mentioned that the Association had that day passed over the sepulchre of a recently deceased Cornish language. There was scarcely another case of a death of a language in modern times to be cited, and he mentioned that there were still people who could count up to about twenty in Cornish. The old man whom he had found to know most of the old tongue had just died.

The authors were thanked for their papers and the mayor for presiding; and, before separating, Mr. and Mrs. Borlase invited the members of the Association to visit on the following afternoon Castle Horneck, where a small temporary museum had been arranged.

Sunday was a day of much needed rest. After the storm of the morning many of the members accepted Mr. Borlase's invitation to visit his museum at Castle Horneck, about a mile from Penzance, where they examined at leisure the remains which Mr. Borlase has disinterred from time to time on the hills and downs of the Land's End district, and which he has described in his *Nænia Cornubia*. Among them are fragments of an urn, found in a kistven within a barrow on the hill of Morvah. On the top of the earth in the kist lay a third brass Roman coin, and several other late Roman coins were afterwards discovered in the kistven. The pottery is thick and rude, though well baked, and is ornamented with a chevron pattern placed between double lines of indentations. Mr. Borlase considered it to be Romano-British, but Mr. M. H. Bloxam and Mr. Burgess are both inclined to regard it as Anglo-Saxon.

Among other objects of interest in the museum at Castle Horneck

is an Etruscan vase, from a collection broken up after the siege of Paris, and said to have been the property of Prince Napoleon. On it, according to the best authorities, are the earliest figures of animals which have as yet been found on Etruscan pottery. A very fine Dutch marriage chest of the end of the sixteenth century, and some remarkable lace attracted much notice. Among the lace was a cap, called that of Margaret of Anjou, and given by her, according to a family tradition, to a Borlase who guided her safely through a wood during one of her wanderings. It is a rough, open point, and may well be of that date. The numerous manuscripts of Dr. Borlase, the historian of Cornwall, the MS. Cornish History of Tonkin, and some other very rare books and engravings were also shown. There are two fine Borlase portraits—Captain Samuel Borlase, by Opie, and George Borlase, by Romney—a striking picture.

MONDAY, AUGUST 21, 1876.

Another charming excursion rewarded the British Archæological Association. The course was still westward, St. Just being the most distant point reached. The first visit was paid to the celebrated prehistoric remains at Chun or Chywoone. This excursion was probably the most interesting that had yet been enjoyed. It embraced certain remains which, if not peculiar to Cornwall, are at least of the utmost rarity elsewhere, and it took the party through a wild and very characteristic part of the Land's End district. Chywoone Castle and the caves of Chapel Euny are such examples as would repay a zealous antiquary for miles of rough walking, and for much battling with rough weather. On this occasion they were happily reached with no more labour than a pleasant walk from the carriages over an open common, bright with furze and heather, and with no more discomfort than the floating inland of a wreath or two of sea mist, which gave an additional air of mystery to the bare, cairn-crested hills. Chywoone Castle is the most easterly of seven hill forts, which extend to the Land's End, and between which signals might easily be exchanged. But it is unlike any of the others, and indeed there is nothing in Cornwall with which it can strictly be compared. There are two lines of circular wall, enclosing an interior space of 125 ft. from east to west, and 110 ft. from north to south. These walls were built of excellent masonry, without mortar. The inner wall must have been from 15 ft. to 20 ft. high, the outer about 10 ft. or 12 ft. The space between these walls formed a sort of outer dry ditch. They were connected in three places by transverse walls, which seem to have supplied a means of passing from the inner to the outer circle. The entrance is strong and peculiar, the gateway in the

outer wall being at some distance from that of the inner, involving a cross passage between them. There is a well in the enclosure, and many hut circles adjoin the wall. At some little distance below the hill are the foundations of a considerable village. Chywoone Castle is greatly ruined, and in spite of all care, the stones are still occasionally carried off for building purposes. The plan should be compared with that of Restormel. It seems more than likely that we have here the type from which many peculiarities in the later mediæval castles of Cornwall were developed. About two hundred yards to the entrance is Chywoone quoit or cromlech, one of the closed or "kistven" like structures, all of which were originally more or less covered with stones and earth. The table stone measures $12\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $11\frac{1}{2}$ ft. All the stones are in position. Round the cromlech are the remains of a great heap of stones, which, when piled together, must have reached at least to the outer rim of the quoit. Here an excellent paper, contributed by the Rev. W. C. Lukis, on "The Cornish Megaliths", very appropriately was read by the Treasurer. It will be printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

From Chywoone the party proceeded to St. Just, where, under the guidance of the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, they inspected the church and inscribed stone, and the remains of the *plan-an-gwarry* or amphitheatre, where the miracle plays used to be performed in the ancient tongue.

After luncheon the explorers drove to Carn Glaze, and walked over rough roads of the genuine old-fashioned Cornish type to the five *fogous* or cave dwellings at Chapel Euny. These have been thoroughly explored by Mr. W. C. Borlase, and the company were favoured with the result of his investigations.

At Chapel Euny there are several hut dwellings on the surface, with levelled platforms in the neighbouring fields, besides the subterranean dwellings, which include a large underground beehive hut. This underground structure or fogou is of very great interest. A passage chamber, 40 ft. long and 6 ft. to 7 ft. high, roofed with large granite slabs, averaging from 2 ft. to 7 ft. in breadth, has at one end a low narrow passage, 9 ft. long and 3 ft. high, communicating abruptly with the surface. At the other extremity a third chamber passes to the surface by a gentle ascent, while a fourth chamber, 4 ft. square, branching off from the junction of the first and third, leads to the beehive hut.

This beehive hut is almost precisely similar to one which has long been known at Bosporthennis, but in a more perfect condition. The hut at Bosporthennis varies from 13 ft. to 13 ft. 10 in. in diameter, while its height when perfect was about 9 ft. By a doorway 3 ft. 10 in. by 3 ft. 8 in. it is connected with a second oblong chamber. These beehive huts take their name from their form and mode of con-

struction. They are circular, and built of successive layers or courses of stone, each overlapping the one beneath.

Mr. Borlase's excavations at Chapel Envy clearly revealed the manner in which this subterranean dwelling was formed. A trench about half the required depth had been sunk in the natural soil. Within this the building had been completed to its full height, and earth then heaped over the whole. Mr. Borlase found that the long chamber had been, purposely it appeared, filled with earth, and among the objects found therein were—a fragment of Samian ware and iron crook and spear head, a spindle whorl, whetstones, mullers, red and black pottery, some glazed, all wheel made, and apparently parts of culinary vessels, and a considerable quantity of rich fused tin.

From these it was evident that the place was occupied in Romano-British times, while the tin indicated that the occupiers were smelters, and possibly that the cave itself was used for smelting. There are the remains of ancient and extensive stream works in the valley below, and local tradition pointed out the place as one where the "old men" had smelted their tin.

Sancreed Church was visited on the return journey. Near the entrance gate was on ends an early stemless cross of the usual type, and in the graveyard was another cross, apparently of the same Saxon character, having an exquisitely proportioned stem and head, and the representation of our Saviour on the cross on one of the principal sides. The church itself suffered greatly during "churchwarden restoration" times. The interior is blocked with high pews and an unsightly west gallery; the floor is laid with uneven granite slabs, and the fifteenth century window tracery has been removed to make way for square panes of glass. It was suggested that a modern restoration was greatly needed.

It was not until after the time calculated upon the programme that the party returned to Penzance for an evening meeting in St. John's Hall.

Here papers were read, by Mr. Planché on the "Earls of Cornwall" (printed in the *Journal* at pp. 46-59); by Mr. S. I. Tucker (Rouge Croix), on the "Duchy and Dukes of Cornwall" (printed at pp. 60-67); by Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., on "Roman Galleys"; and by Dr. Phené on the "Cornish Dragon", in which he contended that it was the principal emblem of the Celts, who were numerous settled in the peninsula at a very early period. The lecture was illustrated by a large number of diagrams, in which the dragon, as a device, was traced back for nearly a thousand years, and even then was depicted as the familiar national rallying emblem. The lateness of the hour precluded any discussion upon these papers.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1876.

The concluding day of the Congress was devoted to St. Michael's Mount, and to the examination of ancient stone structures a few miles inland. St. Michael's Mount was reached just before eleven o'clock, after an enjoyable drive round Penzance Bay, in which the picturesque group of buildings on the isolated rock about to be visited were the principal features of the seascape. The visitors gathered on the causeway towards the Mount; and while they waited for the tide to ebb sufficiently to permit them to walk over dryshod, the Rev. W. Lach-Szyrma occupied the interval by reading Leland's account of Marazion and the Mount,—a description which in its main features was applicable at the present day. The members then crossed the causeway, and ascended the steep and irregular steps to the summit of the rock, assembling in the enclosure behind the entrance-steps. By far the greater number of the party visited the Mount for the first time; but however frequently it may be seen, it never fails to excite fresh wonder and admiration. There is probably nothing grander of its order in England, and except Windsor Castle there is no more noticeable mass of antique building which still serves as a habitable mansion. No mere description, and hardly any drawing, can convey a full impression of what St. Michael's Mount really is. The magic of Turner and the clear pencil of Stanfield have given us the scene more than once; but they can only stamp one of its phases, and not an hour passes without changes of light and of atmosphere which reveal an entirely new picture. The vast, shattered masses of the rock itself, the openings of turf which lie between them, the watch-turrets and later batteries that guard and break into the face of the rock at intervals, the sea-plants niched into the recesses, and then the grey, lichen-tinted towers breaking up from the face of the rough natural granite, like a continuation of it,—all combine, with the associations of the place, the far stretch of sea, and the strange inland view beyond Marazion and away towards the Lizard, to form a scene which becomes at last almost bewildering in its interest and beauty. The Church of the Benedictines, now the chapel of the house, forms, with its tower, the central mass of the building which crowns the height. Great part of the monastic buildings had become so completely ruined at the latter part of the last century that the Sir John St. Aubyn of that day replaced them with two or three rooms which retain their Georgian fittings. A great addition to the place is now in course of construction, and a kind of tramway for the conveyance of material stretches in a long line from the sea to the crest of the Mount. The designs for the new work have been furnished, appropriately enough, by Mr. P. St. Aubyn, a son of the house. They have been published in the *Builder*; and whilst the

additional buildings will afford a series of fine apartments, which were much wanted, the construction will be far more massive than anything which monk or soldier raised here in former times, and the grouping will in no way interfere with the character of the ancient outline.

At the entrance the visitors were met and welcomed by the proprietor of the Mount, Sir John St. Aubyn, M.P. Mr. W. C. Borlase read an interesting paper upon its history, first directing attention to the slight vestiges of St. Catherine's Chapel on a group of rocks close to the causeway. The island itself contained an area of eighteen acres; and the total height, from the sands to the beacon on the chapel tower, was 238 feet. It had been identified with the Ictis mentioned by Diodorus, who spoke of the inhabitants carrying their tin in carts over an isthmus, dry only at low water, to the island, to sell it to the merchants. The name "Karak-luz-en-kuz" (the grey rock in the wood), by which it was known in Cornish language, could never have been descriptive of its appearance in historic times, although the sea appeared to have swept away the softer rock which once connected the Mount with the land. In the sixteenth century there were at the base some fishermen's cottages, but in 1700 but one remained. In 1726 Sir John St. Aubyn, the third baronet, constructed a pier, and the present village at the base of the cliff was the result. The members had just come up from the Giant's Well, the first resting-place, through an archway in a dismantled wall, and were now in the enclosure formerly covered by the guardhouse, wherein the soldiers (who were carefully isolated in mediæval times from the monks) dwelt, and above them was the ancient Castle. It was originally a priory of Benedictine monks, endowed by Edward the Confessor in 1044; and after being taken by stratagem by Henry de Pomeroy in the reign of Richard I, was restored to a religious use, and became the abode of a mixed order of monks and nuns known as the Gilbertines. It was a second time surprised and taken, by John Earl of Oxford, after the battle of Barnet, and was subsequently surrendered by him to the sheriff. For a time Perkin Warbeck dwelt upon it; but fled, leaving his wife, Lady Catherine Gordon, behind. At the dissolution of the monasteries Henry VIII conferred the Mount upon Humphrey Arundell of Lanherne. It stood a short siege in 1642-46; and in 1667 it passed into the possession of the St. Aubyn family.

The Rev. W. Lach-Szyrma followed with a paper upon the five captures which the Mount had suffered (to which Mr. Borlase had alluded in passing), showing that twice the defenceless monks were surprised by insurrectionary leaders, Henry de la Pomeroy and John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who in each case were compelled to abandon their position; and referring to the last siege and capture by the Parliamentarians in 1642-46.

Sir John St. Aubyn then conducted his visitors over the Castle, which is occasionally occupied by his family as a residence. In the domestic chapel Mr. Brock said he must demolish the theory of the extreme antiquity propounded as to the existing Castle, for nothing appeared more ancient than the reign of Henry V; although behind the great masses of masonry and plastering around the chapel interior it was very possible evidences might be found of Edward the Confessor's time, as the cruciform shape here adopted was not the usual plan of a Perpendicular church. Underneath where he stood was a winding staircase leading down to a singular vault which could not be a tomb, but what might have been the abode of an anchorite. In it the bones of a man nearly 7 feet in height were found, supposed to be those of Sir John Arundell, who was said to have been a very fine man. Sir John said the bones had been recently disturbed, but would be replaced. Mr. Bloxam assigned the date of the chapel at from twenty to thirty years earlier than Mr. Brock had given. If this supposition was correct, the alabaster plaques or tablets on the walls would be contemporaneous with the erection of the chapel. Sir John St. Aubyn said the glass in the windows was put in about two years since. He intended to remove the plaster from the walls and open out the old roof. Some of the members went down the flight of steps into the anchorite's cell, a small apartment with a bricked-up window. A few ascended the tower, and some of the more courageous ladies sat in St. Michael's Chair, an ancient beacon upon the roof.

By this time the day had advanced, and the horn was sounded as a signal for leaving the Mount; the carriages were regained, and a drive up a steep hill, from which were gained very fine views of St. Michael's towers and the beautiful Mount's Bay, brought the party to a hill-side farm known as Chysauster. Here luncheon was ready in a tent; and after due justice had been done to it, the remains of the very curious hut-village were examined. These had been excavated by Mr. W. C. Borlase. The arrangement does not resemble that of the huts and hut-foundations at Dartmoor and in the east of Cornwall. There is here a number of irregularly shaped apartments surrounding a large open court. One of these so exactly represents a smelting-house with a furnace, that there can be little doubt that we have at Chysauster the remains of a very large and important settlement in which the working and smelting of tin formed one, at least, of the occupations of the inhabitants. The date cannot be very early; that is, Chysauster is probably a British village of Roman or post-Roman times. The whole side of the hill is covered with these remains and with intersecting lines of enclosure.

Another series of huts, which Mr. Borlase had purposely left untouched, so that the visitors might see for themselves the arrange-

ment and appearance, was visited, and compared with that opened out.

The rain began to fall heavily at the time of leaving Chysauster, so that the drive through the wild and beautiful hills of Zennor and Morvah, to the Men-an-Tol and Men Scryfa, was not so enjoyable as it might have been. Only some of the most daring of the party ventured to leave the shelter of the carriages on arriving at Men-an-Tol. This "holed stone" consists of two monoliths of the ordinary type, placed on either side of a flat slab of granite, set upright in the ground, perforated with a circular aperture of some 18 in. in diameter. Various theories, astronomical, phallic, etc., were put forward as to its use and origin. The party then visited the Men Scryfa or written stone, the inscription on which, *RIALOBHAN CVNOVAL FIL* had been painted blue by some obliging person. Remarks were made and various readings discussed by the Rev. W. Jago and Mr. H. Jenner, who agreed in assigning the date of the stone to the late seventh or early eighth century.¹ On the return to Penzance the party passed by Lanyon Quoit or cromlech, the best known of those in the district. Mr. Borlase stated that, prior to 1815, this cromlech consisted of a large cap stone of granite, supported on three slender pillars of some material and of great height. It was again set up in 1824, but its supports were then sunk so deeply that it is now only 5 ft. high. It is said to be locally known as the "Devil's Quoit". Close to this was a barrow, which had been found to contain a ring of stones set on their edges, and at Lower Lanyon a second cromlech in a ruinous condition had been discovered on opening a barrow. Madron Church was hastily examined on the way home. It is a Perpendicular structure containing a Norman font. In a pew were the remains of a handsome rood screen, and some figures carved in alabaster and gilt, which were deciphered as representing a portion of the heavenly hierarchy.

The closing meeting of the Congress was held at St. John's Hall in the evening, the President, the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, in the chair. On this last evening the Rev. Mr. Lach-Szyrma read a paper on the "Descent of the Spaniards on Newlyn", and Mr. Cragoe defended the historic existence of King Arthùr. He was inclined to maintain the reality of the Round Table, and of some form of the romance. A lively discussion ensued, in which Mr. W. C. Borlase alluded to Skene's theory of King Arthur as a northern or Scottish hero, as exemplified in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, and Mr. Jenner followed up this point by a reference to Mr. Skene's recent work, *Celtic Scotland*, in which somewhat of a common origin is given to the Dumnogeni of the Scottish border and the Damnonii of Cornwall, observing that this and the mention of the Isle of Avalon—i.e., of Apples, which Mr. Jenner main-

¹ See the paper by Mr. C. W. Dymond, pp. 176-178.

tained to be, not Glastonbury, but the Fortunate Isles or Hesperides, etc., might point to a very early Celtic or even Aryan mythical origin for the legends. Votes of thanks and compliments were then exchanged, and the British Archæological Association brought to a close one of the pleasantest and most successful meetings which have been enjoyed for many years.

It was intended to make an extra day's excursion to St. Germans, the ancient bishop's see, to inspect the old church there, and the pictures at Port Eliot, which the members of the Association had been invited to view by the Earl of St. Germans; and although a few availed themselves of this privilege, the party began to disperse in all directions after the labours of the last ten days. Some dedicated the extra day to a walk to Newlyn and Mousehole, and to visiting St. John's Hall, the Geological and Natural History Museum and Library in the handsome public building of Penzance, where the curator and librarian took much pains to describe the many objects of interest therein contained. Others of the party preferred to visit the grand natural scenery of the Lizard, while others went to Exeter to view the cathedral, under restoration. Some were not satisfied with their first visit to Plymouth, but must return to the breezes of the Hoe, the dockyards, and machinery, and to secure photographic pictures of the many objects visited during the week at the studio of Mr. Yeo, 14, Devonshire Terrace, Plymouth. Some of the honorary officers and members of the council, including Messrs. Morgan, Brock, and Phené, were invited by the President to make Mount Edgcumbe a half-way house on their road homewards; and the hospitality and kindness shown them by Lord Mount Edgcumbe rendered altogether charming this agreeable resting place after the Congress. The family and other portraits which adorn the walls of the mansion, as well as the rich library and MSS., were inspected with much interest. The panoramic view from the elevated ground on the estate, where the old church of Maker stands, was the best natural map possible of the picturesque coast, harbours, breakwater, and roadsteads, and here, at the spot where it had begun, was a happy termination of the Congress of Bodmin and Penzance.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 7 MARCH, 1877.

H. S. CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following gentlemen were duly elected associates :

Rev. Charles Bontell, M.A., 18 Portsdown Road, Maida Vale, W.
 Basil Henry Cooper, B.A., 68 Fonthill Road, London, N.
 J. F. Nicholls, Chief Librarian, Free Libraries, Bristol
 Richard Sims, British Museum.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents :

To the Society, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 4th Series, No. 29.

" " for "The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. iv, 4th Series, No. 28.

It was announced by Mr. E. P. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, that Sir James Hannen, the President of the Court of Probate, etc., had, at the joint request of the Association and other societies, extended the time for free examination of wills from 1700 to 1760.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition two further examples of the *dague à roëlle*, found together in Old Swan Lane, Upper Thames Street, August 1867. The larger weapon is $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. Both pomel and guard are of wood, $2\frac{1}{8}$ ins. diameter, with a sulcus round the edge; the upper surface of the former being ornamented with a sort of stellate device in silver piqué-work, the under side of the guard being covered with a disc of thin latten. The wooden grip is fusiformed, spirally fluted, and enriched with bands of silver piqué. The blade, which is full $8\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in length, has a thick back with a double bevel, so that the fine point is quadrangular. The present length of the second specimen is a little over $10\frac{1}{8}$ ins., but it has suffered damage both at the pomel and point. The fusiformed grip consists of two thick pieces of bone secured to the flat tang by four iron rivets, the middle being surrounded by a bone collar with fourteen upright ribs resembling the cogs of a wheel. The blade has a thick rounded back.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming stated that both these weapons were of the

fifteenth century, and that their hilts are far more ornate in character than is usually the case with the *dagues à roëlle*, and he therefore inferred that they must have belonged to men of opulence or rank. Swan Stairs was an ancient and famous landing-place, and many a royal and noble personage must have passed along the Old Lane, and by some mischance the daggers under review may have dropped from the hands or the girdles of their owners. Mr. Cuming has a wheel-shaped pomel of oak, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diameter, decorated with silver piqué in a similar style to Mrs. Baily's specimen, which was recovered from the Thames near the site of old London Bridge, May 15, 1847.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a photograph of the obelisk corresponding to the Cleopatra Needle, and a photograph of the obelisk of On or Heliopolis.

Mr. Brock exhibited five specimens of early pottery, two pilgrims' costrels, a Moorish bottle, an Arabian or Alexandrian water-bottle, and a double-handled Etruscan *lekkythos* of black Nolan ware.

Mr. Cuming described the objects at length, and compared them with other examples which had been already before the Association.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, exhibited a cast-iron implement somewhat resembling the spud of a hoeing machine, found buried in the earth, and resting on the chalk, near Brighton, by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps. Although this object had no claims to antiquity, it was interesting as showing how deeply embedded in the soil objects of comparatively modern manufacture may be sometimes found.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., exhibited a very choice collection of Venice glass :

a. A flagon, 8 ins. high, of transparent glass, in imitation of *brown onyx*. This rare and beautiful specimen of art was illustrated by a number of fragmentary portions of similar vessels from London excavations.

b. A milk or cream-ewer of *pressed* glass, in Gothic patterns, of a deep, pure, and bright blue. This again was illustrated by a cream-ewer of black glass, pressed in Gothic patterns. Also from London excavations.

c. An exquisite and very rare jewelled dragon drinking-glass on a foot, 10 inches high. From the stem rises the body of the dragon in circular form, in which coloured, reticulated, and very intricate patterns have been employed. The mane and head are of brilliant bluish green, the tongue protruding, and the head jewelled. Upon the upper curve rests a flower-shaped cup of transparent white glass.

d. A Calvary of Venice glass, 11 ins. high by 7 ins., and of the early part of the sixteenth century. The extreme rarity and beauty of this object demand a more elaborate detail than is possible in a brief notice.

In illustration of his paper on the antiquities of Scilly:—a. A barrel-

shaped chil, or ancient Cornish fish-oil lamp of tin. *b.* The open chil, for four wicks, of iron, the counterpart of Phœnician lamps in clay; found in undisturbed soil, 90 ft. below the surface of Jerusalem, by Captain Warren. *c.* A two-wicked lamp, in brass, of the seventeenth century, and apparently of Italian art; but, with the foregoing, found in the Scilly Islands.

The Chairman testified to the great beauty of the objects exhibited, and in the remarks which followed Mr. Brock and Mr. Wright took part.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following

NOTES ON BRITFORD CHURCH.

BY JAMES T. IRVINE, ESQ.

"The drawing illustrative of the Saxon arch lately uncovered at Britford Church (given in the last part of our *Journal*) recalled to my mind some sketches, made years ago, of parts of a richly carved stone of similar design, brought to light when the parish church of Bradford in Wilts was restored under the direction of the late Mr. J. E. Gill of Bath.

"The largest fragment of this stone, when discovered, was serving as a flat lintel over the south doorway in a wall of late Norman date. Indeed, the back of the stone still retains part of the sinking of the arched recess on the internal side of the wall,—a feature very often found in late Norman doors. When the wall was rebuilt the stone was not replaced, but has since remained in the churchyard, two other smaller fragments remaining in the Vicarage garden. Several surmises were then made as to what its original purpose had been. That which approached most nearly to probability was its having been a table-tomb like those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As, however, no mark of a cross existed, while its surface, though showing traces of decay, yet was not such as could have resulted naturally from such a horizontal exposure, the idea seemed to be founded on weak evidence. I had never been able to satisfy myself as to what it had been until Mrs. Golding's exquisite drawing at once gave the key, showing it to have been one of the jamb-stones of a similar arch, but of probably somewhat earlier date. Forwarded herewith are the sketches, and a tracing completing the lost parts of the stone. The decoration is not the same as at Britford, but is in part an endeavour to imitate the mosaic then in use in Italy. The colour, no doubt, was obtained by filling in the sunk parts with coloured plaster or other hard coloured materials.

"As is generally the case with late Saxon work, the arch-opening widens whilst its height diminishes, so as to be far from the narrow and lofty proportions of those dating about 900. The height here,

from floor to springing, was most likely 7 ft. 9 ins.; and if we average by an example of very nearly the same date (Boarhunt in Hampshire, chancel-arch), its width would be about 6 ft. 6 ins. The thickness of the slab was 1 ft. 1 inch, and behind it would be the usual projecting pilaster. The width of wall was, of course, that of slab, not quite 2 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

"It is curious, for it seems to indicate that the Saxon parish church of Bradford possessed a richness wanting in its close but earlier neighbour the Saxon chapel. This, I suspect, arose from the fact that Bradford having been given to the nuns of Shaston in 1001, especially as a place of refuge, they afterwards rebuilt (at least their part of) the parish church, probably retaining one especial portion devoted alone to their own service, into which the arch led, of whose jamb-stones this had been one. If we accept the traditional account of the destruction of Bradford, or rather 'Bodbury', by Swend Forked Beard, a suspicion is suggested that not only may the donations of his son Canute have been helpful to the ladies of Shaston in this erection, but that also the very classic feeling of the design (and sham mosaic) might have been obtained through the same source; and that the account in the *Knyllinga Saga* of his visit to Rome may give the clue and date, which would, therefore, be after 1027. The ornament on the lower half is more like what we should expect to see in Wales or Scotland than English work, while the Britford work looks as if it had dated in the reign of the Confessor.

"I dare say other examples will be noticed, and be valuable as pointing into what phase the native Saxon architecture would probably have passed had no Norman influence intervened. In fact it was the settlement of the production of architecture as developed in the conceptions of men born north and south of the Sound, in which the masculine character of the one sweeps away the more elegant and softer results of that formed by the men of the other. When the Association, some years since, visited Bibury Church in Gloucestershire, a piece of stone was seen fixed on end outside the south porch door,—probably once connected, in some way, with a similar arch to these."

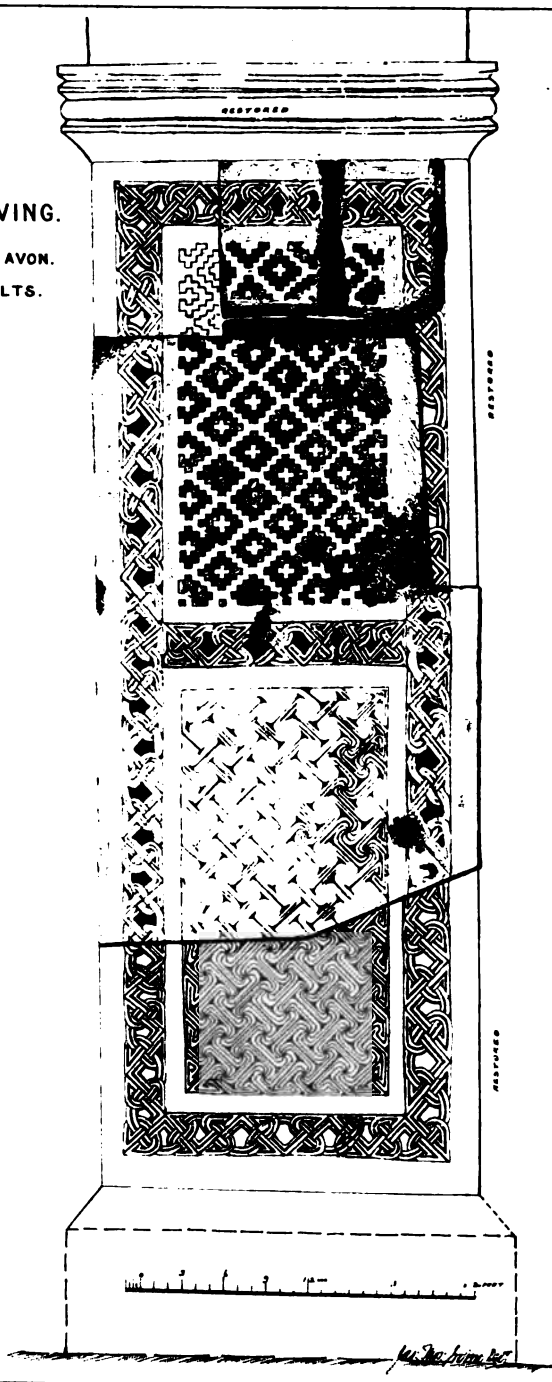
A communication was also read from Mr. C. H. Talbot of Lacock Abbey, Chippenham, containing the following descriptions:

"There are in all *three* arches, two opposite each other, at the east ends of the north and south walls of the nave, and the third in the south wall near the west end, much altered, and converted into the south doorway. I consider the south arch, of the two which have attracted attention, to be the earliest. It is the one of which an illustration is given at page 79 of Parker's edition of *Rickman*. The actual arch is of thin bricks or tiles, radiating like voussoirs, and

SAXON CARVING.

BRADFORD ON AVON.

WILTS.



round this arch runs a band of stone, projecting, or which *did* project like a hood moulding. This projecting band was carried down to the ground, thus including a portion of the jamb, which included space was ornamented with three projecting bricks at intervals, but which bricks projected *less* than the impost, base, and bordering course. The soffit of this arch is ornamented by three squares of freestone. To explain the next feature I will refer to the drawing of the north arch, which you have. The plate does not express what perhaps the letter-press may, that all the *broad* red tiles in the drawing are at the backs of sunk panels. Now, the two long stones, carved with foliage which I believe represents a vine, are features of the design, distinct from the work between them, as is evident from an inspection of the south arch. Then, they occur as perfectly plain slabs, and are, I suspect, an imitation of Roman pilasters; so I call them pilaster slabs. These, in the south arch, are fixed by being let into mortices, sunk in the base and impost, suggestive of workmen used to carpentry, I think. These pilaster slabs of freestone projecting, leave, of course, a sunk space between them, which is backed with freestone. Now, the north arch is a development of the south arch. The pilaster slabs are not let into mortices in this case. The slabs have Roman looking mouldings at the base. Three stones are introduced between the pilaster slabs, the two upper ones flush with the slabs, thus leaving three sunk panels, which are backed with red tiles. In the west jamb the pilaster slabs are not carved, and only one of the central stones is. This shows that the carving was executed after the work was built, and was never finished. The lowest central stone is a puzzle. It is like a base of nothing at all. As it projects over the chamfer worked on the plinth, it looks as if it could not have been there when the chamfer was worked; and I suggest that possibly these stones may have been taken from an arch of the type of the third arch, and inserted to replace others, but I am far from confident of that explanation. The ornamentation of the soffit of this arch is remarkable. There are three divisions of cruciform pattern, of which the central one is the type. Then we have in this centre a sunk panel, backed by a red tile; round it four squares of freestone; bordering them some tiles, disposed in the form of a cross, and the corners again filled in with freestone. The drawing shows one of these cruciform compartments just above this springing, only, in these positions, the lowest squares are replaced by corbel shaped stones. I cannot explain these corbels, which are not insertions. Could they have been connected with the centering used in building this very shallow arch? The top of the corbel slants like a voussoir. Between these cruciform systems there occurs a central red tile, as shown in the drawing (sunk I think, but am not sure), with freestone on each side. There being no radiating bricks in this case,

the bordering band or hood comes round this thin arch. It has nothing like the band shown in the section of the arch. It is just stuck in. This projecting band of stone is carried down the jamb, but in this case there is no included space. The third arch is very much mutilated, having been converted into a doorway at an early date, and is, I should say, an arch of the same class, but again later. It is entirely of stone, the arch itself being very shallow. There seems to have been a central projecting pilaster, worked on the same stones as the rest of the jamb, with a slight hollow at its angles, carried down, and finished at the bottom by being curved, until it became horizontal. (Compare the central base stones in the drawing, which have the curved hollows.) In the soffit of this arch is a groove, where the arch corresponding to the pilaster was let in. There is only one edge and a very little face of the pilaster from which to infer a restoration; so it is rather conjectural. This arch is a trifle higher than the others. Each of the two brick and stone arches have been the same on their north and south sides. My theory is that this has been an aisled church, in Saxon times, with perhaps four arches in all. In the two south arches, but not the north arch, there are marks of iron bars having been inserted, so that I conclude that, whilst the south aisle yet stood, it was shut off by a grating or grille.

"The windows in the nave of Britford (Decorated) were at a high level, evidently owing to the existence of these early arches, and I think that a similar reason may have determined the high level of the Norman windows in the naves of Bradford and Bitton. By a report in the *Bath Herald* (July 22, 1876), it appeared that Mr. Freeman recognised primitive masonry in the latter church, apparently in a north arch, in the position of a transept arch, and in an arch outside the chancel arch, and older than it. He is reported to have said that he considered these were the remains of a basilica. Over the chancel arch there is what appears to be the feet of a stone rood. If so, to admit of this rood the nave must have been of great height, greater than at present. In Mr. Ellacombe's garden are other parts of a stone rood. The rood, therefore, in those days might not necessarily cross a chancel arch, so as in any way to hide the work on it."

Mr. Irvine's paper was illustrated by a finely drawn tracing of the interlaced ornamentation of the arch described, and by several drawings of fragments of the Saxon cross at Bradford.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, said the Association may be congratulated upon being the first to call attention to the remarkable arch of Britford Church, and the publication of the plate had already directed considerable public notice to it. Not more, however, than it merits, since its publication adds a new chapter to our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon art. When he described the arch at Britford, he pointed

out its value as the only known example of the use of the peculiar fretwork patterns so frequently met with in fragments, and that it afforded us the key to their application. He expressed an opinion that other examples would speedily follow. The Association was indebted to Mr. Irvine for bringing forward again the example at Bradford-on-Avon, and his drawing, on being compared with the Britford example, rendered the conclusion all but certain that the application of both was identical. We owe this to our knowledge acquired at Britford, for when Mr. Irvine's sketch, now exhibited, was engraved (*Journal*, vol. xxi, p. 165), it was shown in a horizontal instead of an erect position, and was supposed to be part of the lining of a tomb. We have always given an important place to efforts for the elucidation of Saxon art, and so early as the seventh volume our deplored associate, Mr. Ashpitel, in a remarkable paper (p. 273), pointed out that the Saxon word for ornamentation was *gefrætwan*, and this was before the discovery of the numerous examples now known to us of fretwork patterns in low relief, sculptured on one side of a thin slab of stone. These are met with mostly in fragments on the restoration of churches of ancient date, and we have had several before us recently from Keynsham Abbey and elsewhere. There is a good example preserved as a loose fragment in the Saxon church of Stowe-nine-Churches. Mr. Lukis met with others at Wath, and another, figured on *both sides*, was found in the Saxon church in Dover Castle. With our still limited knowledge of Saxon work it may be premature for us to attempt to fix a certain date for these examples. We had better be content at present with their assignment to the Saxon race. The style of the work shows so much of Roman influence, and is so similar to the lining of rough walls with thin slabs of marble prevalent in later Roman times, as almost to cause us to assign a date rather in the seventh than in the eleventh centuries. This may even be supported from the evidence of the Saxon chroniclers, of much work being performed in early Saxon times by foreign workmen, and after the Roman manner. The cross is an interesting example of Saxon work, and its ornamentation may be compared, not only with those of Wales and Ireland, as suggested by Mr. Irvine, but with the Cornish and North country examples. It closely resembles also those in Staffordshire, recently described by Mr. Lynam, and the head is almost identical with that found during the recent restoration of Shepley Church, near Huddersfield, as pointed out to the Association by Mr. Fairlees Barber during the Sheffield Congress. Another, also very similar, was found in Wath Church. The large area of country over which these examples are spread is worthy of very careful observation.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., then read a paper entitled "Notes on the Scilly Islands, together with some Cornish Antiquities." This

paper, which has been printed above at p. 191, was illustrated with the exhibition of two interesting lamps of Cornish origin. In the discussion which ensued Messrs. Cuming, Morgan, Wright, and Brock took part.

Mr. Grover detailed the description of the Scilly Islands by the Carthaginian Himilco, and considered that the pigs of tin and other antiquities show Phœnician origin. The fires kept up on Midsummer Day are also customary in Brittany, and perhaps may be considered a remnant of the worship of Moloch.

The Rev. C. Boutell, M.A., then read a paper upon a photograph lately exhibited (see p. 124) by Mr. Grover, of the ceiling of the choir of St. Alban's Abbey. This was found by the clerk of the works, who discovered it on clearing away the paint and distemper with which it had been covered. There was also found a brass of Ralph Rowlatt, merchant, of the staple of St. Albans, about 1530, and a rubbing of this was exhibited and described. Mr. Boutell's paper, entitled "The Early Heraldry of the Abbey Church of St. Alban, now St. Alban's Cathedral", was accompanied by the exhibition of a series of coloured heraldic drawings, and several architectural and ornamental subjects. The paper will be printed hereafter.

Messrs. Grover, Mayhew, Cuming, Morgan, Birch, and Brock, took part in the discussion which followed.

WEDNESDAY, 21 MARCH, 1877.

REV. S. M. MATHEW, M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following gentlemen were duly elected associates :

F. R. R. Izaacke de Buriatte, 5 Burton Street, Burton Crescent.

F. S. Coleman, Trevanger, Hamlet Road, Upper Norwood.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents :

To the Author, for "Archæological Memoirs relating to the East of Dartmoor." By G. Wareing Ormerod, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.

To the Society, for "Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie", tome xv, 1874-76 ; and for "Bulletin Historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie." Saint-Omer, 1876. 99e Livraison.

„ „ "Ulm Oberschwaben Korrespondenzblatt." No. 2.

To the Author, for "On the Signification of the Names of the Roman Stations *per Lineam Valli*, and on the probable Position of those hitherto unidentified." By the Rev. R. E. Hooppell, M.A., LL.D., etc.

Mr. H. Prigg, of Bury St. Edmunds, sent the following note of Roman discoveries :

"I beg to announce the discovery, at Icklingham, of the substructure of a Roman house. A man ploughing recently the west corner of a field known as the 'Horselands', struck his share a little deeper than usual, and turned out a red tile or two. These aroused the curiosity of the tenant, Mr. Martin, who caused an excavation to be made upon the spot, and brought to light portions of the hypocaust and furnace of a somewhat extensive building. The field occupies part of the site of a Roman station, probably that of Iciani of the fifth Antonine itinerary; and although similar foundations have been struck by the plough in various parts of it, no excavation has hitherto been made, so far as I can learn; and in this case nothing more was done than was required to ascertain the nature of the remains.

"I gathered upon the spot, from a labourer who assisted at the excavation, the following particulars. First, at about 20 inches below the surface, an east and west wall of grouting, 18 ins. high and 2 ft. thick, was come upon; and on the northern side of this was the hypocaust, with its *pilæ* of squared tiles, standing to a height of some 18 ins., upon a floor of smooth, hard concrete, at somewhat irregular distances apart. Among them were several large tiles of different descriptions, more or less broken, much old mortar, and a piece or two of what I recognise as stone roofing material. To the south of the wall, charcoal and wood-ashes abounded; but the ground was not disturbed further than to prove the thickness of the wall, neither were the other walls of the hypocaust sought for. Beyond a third brass coin of Gratian, much corroded, which was found in the soil just above the *pilæ*, and an imperfect iron object resembling a clamp, nothing was met with in the ruins, which were re-buried at the close of the day.

"I have long taken an interest in the antiquities of Icklingham, and as the spot containing the remains of this building is contiguous to the high road, and presents considerable features of interest, I will endeavour to make arrangements for an early resumption of the excavations."

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced the discovery of important Roman remains at Colchester, principally kilns, upon which he had been deputed by the Council to report to the Association; also of Roman sculptures at Gloucester, of large size. Detailed accounts of these discoveries would be placed before the Association at an early opportunity.

Mrs. Bailly forwarded for inspection a rare type of Miserecorde discovered in excavating on the site of St. Thomas' Hospital, London Bridge, October 1866. The quillons, measuring $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins. from one ex-

tremity to the other, consist of a flat-sided bar with discoid ends, and with indications that a somewhat petalous-shaped guard rose up a short distance in front and back of the grip. The blade, $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length, would in a transverse section yield a rhombic figure; and it is boldly reeded on either face until near the end, which is a plain, quadrangular spike.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said he believed that the Miserecorde or Misericorde is first heard of about the commencement of the fourteenth century, and continued to be employed in martial strife as late as the time of James I. Most writers on the subject agree that the weapon received its title from its service in giving the *coup de grace* to the foe vanquished either in joust or battle; its strong triangular or quadrangular pointed blade rendering it well adapted to plunge through the interstices of armour, and thus reach the vital parts: hence the Germans call this variety of poniard *Panzerbrecher*, i.e., cuirass-breaker. In Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, Plate CXIII, are representations of ten Miserecordes, with blades varying in length from 17 to 7 inches. The earliest of these is of the time of Henry VI, 1422-61; the latest, of James I, 1603-25, at which period, according to Demmin, the weapon was "used in England for planting in the ground and tethering the horses to". Mr. Cuming further stated that he had already had the privilege of describing in the pages of the *Journal* (xx, pp. 330, 345; xxiii, p. 289) several highly curious examples of Miserecordes of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, and would take the present opportunity of exhibiting the blade of one of the fifteenth century, which was found at Billingsgate, Lower Thames Street, October 1876. It is triangular, full 10 ins. in length, and 1 inch wide next the flat tang. Although the reeded blade of Mrs. Baily's Miserecorde bears a strong resemblance to one in the Meyrick collection, referred to the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, the fashion of its quillons and guard forbid its assignment to a much later period than *circa* 1500.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited two plaques of Worcester china from the Royal Factory, painted with exquisite groups of flowers, by Taylor and Grainger; also a small collection of Celtic pins and needles in bronze, illustrative of the on-coming lecture on needles, etc.; and a large *poculum*, or wine-cup, of splashed ware, imitative of Schmeltz, found in Smithfield; and a saltcellar, also of the same ware, from Dowgate. Both are fine and uncommon specimens.

The following paper was then read:

ON NEEDLES AND NEEDLE-CASES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

There are certain implements of such prime necessity, and of such universal employment, that any speculation as to their place and time

of origin seems perfectly vain and futile. In the foremost rank of such articles stands that little but most valuable and important instrument, the sewing-needle, which, according to some, had its birth within the bounds of Eden, our first parents being the first seamsters; this notion being founded on that passage in Genesis (iii, 7) which records that "they sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves aprons". Others contend that it was the invention of the goddess of war, and that the Greeks called her on that account Bellona, from *belone*, a needle. But that which springs up as it were spontaneously in every clime and among every race under Heaven, surely had a common origin in sheer necessity, which has been aptly termed the mother of invention; and this fact seems evident from a mere glance at the various contrivances resorted to for the production of needles by the ruder tribes of the earth. The thorns of several plants have been used in different parts of the world both for pins and needles, and some have held the idea that the rose, which at first is fabled to have been *sine spinâ*, became armed with pricks for the express purpose of furnishing our first mother with the implements of stitchery:

'Before man's fall the rose was born,
St. Ambrose says, without the thorn;
But for man's fault then was the thorn
Without the fragrant rosebud born.'

The most primitive needle, and one which may fairly be denominated Nature's needle, is that employed by the Mexicans, which consists of the spinous end of the aloe leaf, with the long fine lignous fibres attached to it, thus furnishing at once both implement and thread to the unsophisticated natives. I exhibit an example of one of these curious ready-threaded needles, which was brought to England between thirty and forty years since, and was formerly in the possession of the late Arthur Aikin.

The most simple manufactured needles with which we are acquainted, are those used by the natives of Prince William's Sound, and other tribes of North-Western America, which are formed of slender fish bones, and which for fineness may vie with the delicate bead needles of our own country.

Needles are highly prized objects among the Esquimaux, and the cases for their preservation are of singular construction. The example I produce is from Behring's Straits, and carved out of morse ivory. It consists of two parallel tubes uniting into one at the upper extremity, the lower ends being provided with plugs, which are drawn into their sockets by means of leathern thongs, which pass completely through the tubes, and at the end of which is a hook, in the form of a hand and arm, by which to suspend the case to the lady's girdle, in the manner of the chatelaines of Europe.

The Indians of Yucatan make their needles of pieces of deer's horn, and one wrought of this material was discovered by Mr. Stevens in an ancient grave at Ticul.

Needles of metal were in use in Mexico at an early period. In the collection of Mexican antiquities exhibited in Pall Mall in 1855, there was one of red or copper bronze $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in length, which bore a strong resemblance to examples met with in the tombs of Egypt.

In Southern Africa the Hottentots and Bushmen form very efficient needles, or rather bodkins, of the sharp slender horns of the rheebock (*antelope capreolus*), with which they sew their skin garments. The powerful and more advanced tribe of Bechuanas fabricate formidable looking needles or piercers termed *thuko*, which are exclusively used by, and only suspended from the necks of, the men. I exhibit two examples of these iron *thukos*, the one $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., the other $7\frac{1}{8}$ in. in length. Unlike the needles of ruder tribes, these have no eyes, the sinew or fibres employed as thread being wound round the upper end, which is slender in the middle, so that the sewing material will not slip off the head. These style-like needles are contained in cases constructed of slender reeds, covered with leather, having a transverse tube at the top, through which passes a cord or thong for suspension.

Such are the sewing needles of a few of the uncivilised races of the globe, and what a contrast do they present to those employed in Egypt more than twenty, perhaps thirty, centuries ago, where have been found admirably wrought needles of bronze, varying from less than 2 in. to upwards of 4 in. in length, and with which the fine "brodered work" of garments and hangings was wrought. Several examples of Egyptian needles of bronze may be seen in the British Museum.

Needles were probably in use in China equally as early as they were in Egypt. The Celestials term the ordinary sort *chin*, and one of greater length *hew*. I have an example of the *chin*, which was brought to Europe about a century back. It is of steel, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, the head flattened on either side, and pierced with a round eye. Its difference from English needles is more easily detected by sight than described in words.

I also produce a very old Chinese needle case, which was formerly in the Leverian Museum. It is very neatly made, and consists of a cylinder 4 in. in length, covered with *chow-sha* or crape of a reddish pink hue. The flat ends are of turned bone, and the strings of light blue silk cords.

We must now survey the various forms of needles which have successively appeared in our own land, where they have been employed for countless ages. The Kymreig word for needle is *nydwydd*, which literally implies *pointed wood*, but the earliest Britannic sewing implements we meet with are fashioned of bone, and some of these are

certainly referable to the neolithic period. I exhibit one of these archaic needles, which was exhumed, with other bone objects, from a great depth in Thames Street, August 1846. It is full $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, with round eye and tolerably acute point. It is exceedingly smooth, and has acquired a high degree of polish, from its many centuries of burial in the earth. I have here also a bone needle of much neater make, which was found in Long Alley, Moorfields, August 1866. Its present length is $3\frac{1}{4}$ in., but both point and head are broken off. Enough, however, of the latter remains to prove that it had a long eye. A bone needle, a good deal resembling the last, but probably of later date, was discovered in 1838 or 1839 in a railway cutting at York, and is engraved in our *Journal* (vi, 157). It is $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length, rather flat, and gradually widens from the point to the straight top, in which there is a long eye. Such large needles as the three here described might serve to sew the skins of beasts together to form garments, but they would never do for such fine stitchery as we see among the Esquimaux.

The needles of the bronze period manifest a grand advance in art and civilisation. In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy are a number of well made bronze needles, varying from $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins. to $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length, some being ovate at top, and with oval eyes, others are less marked in this respect, and closely resemble the modern darning-needle in form. *Miadh* and *snaithe* were the designations given to the needle by the Hiberno-Kelts. The natives of this country called the implement *gwael*. The soil of London has yielded up a peculiar class of needles, which, from their material, have been presumed to be of Celtic origin. They are of golden coloured bronze, measuring from $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. to near 7 ins. in length, with triangular points, cylindric shafts, somewhat ovate tops, and with more or less ovate eyes. I exhibit an example, which well illustrates these leading features, although it be but $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. in length. It was recovered from the Thames in January 1847, and is in a high state of preservation. The Forman collection at Pipbrook House, Dorking, contains two needles of bright bronze, which, like my own little specimen, were obtained from the Thames. One of these, $6\frac{3}{10}$ ins. in length, has a quadrangular point, the head being grooved on either side, and with an eye $\frac{5}{8}$ in. long, the other, $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length, has also a quadrangular point, but the upper end is somewhat lozenge-formed, with a round eye. A large needle of similar fashion to the last named, but rather damaged at the extremities, was recovered from the Thames in 1866, and is now in my own cabinet. In its broken state it measures but $6\frac{1}{8}$ ins. in length. These London specimens are in some degree remindful of the packer's needles of modern times.

The Romans, during their stay in Britain, formed the *acus* of iron.

Many examples of Roman needles have been found in London, some scarcely $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., others upwards of 7 ins. in length, and in form almost identical with those of recent date. Others, again, have triangular points, like the brazen ones of presumed Keltic fabric, and have been conjectured to have been used in sail-making. Of this type of *acus* I have several examples, all recovered from the immediate vicinity of the Thames. They range in length from $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. to full $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. All are more or less deeply grooved on either side the head, and their eyes incline to an ovoidal form. One of the largest of these needles is of stout make, and was found at Butler's Wharf, Shad Thames, January 1871.

The Romans preserved their smaller needles in cases termed *belonotheka* and *aciarium*, made of bronze, ivory, and bone. They are generally cylindrical, or nearly so, solid at the base, and with screw tops. The surfaces of some are quite plain, others are embellished with rings, &c., as will be seen by the examples I produce. The first is the body of a case of neatly turned ivory, measuring over 2 ins. in length, with its entire surface annulated, and having traces of the screw at the upper end. This *aciarium* was exhumed on the site of the new Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand, in February 1870. The second case is of bone, $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in length, and was found in Fleet Ditch in 1846. It is annulated towards the extremities, the medial space being incised with the ring and dot pattern so familiar to us on late Keltic and Romano-British articles. A base was screwed into the broader end of the tube, and the upper end preserves the worm for the screw cover. The third case is one of the neatest and prettiest things of its kind that I remember to have seen. It was found in Lombard Street, in February 1866, and is of turned bone, $3\frac{3}{8}$ ins. in length. It has an ornamental bulbous base, and a widish collar round the upper part, and above this is the worm for the screw cover or *operculum*.

Advancing in time we next come to the Teutonic *nedl* or *nædel*, the Anglo-Saxon skill with which made this country so famous on the Continent that any fine piece of stitchery passed under the designation of *Opus Anglicanum*. The discoveries made in the Teutonic barrows show that some of their needles were of bronze or rather brass. In the *Nænia Britannica* (Pl. xviii, fig. 7) is given a well formed needle of brass, found in a grave opened in 1771, at Kingston, Barham Downs, which has the long eye of the modern implement. And I lay before you another example, also of brass, which was recovered from the Thames in 1855. It is $5\frac{3}{8}$ ins. in length, and seems to have been cut out of a thin plate of metal; the upper half left flat, and the lower rounded to a point. The flat portion is graved with a few transverse lines; the head is slightly wider than the shaft, and obtusely pointed at top; and the eye, $\frac{5}{16}$ ins. long, inclines to the oval. This fine and

rare *nædel* was obtained with a mass of relics which fully establish its Saxon origin.

The Normans called the needle-case *aguiler*, and *tabouret* is another of its old names; and in the fifteenth century it was sometimes designated *nedythowe*, or needle-house. It was a very important article, for needles were choice things in olden times, not only iron but silver being employed in their fabric. Hence it is said in the *Romaunt of the Rose* (98):—

“A *Silvir Nedil* forth I drowe
Out of *Aguiler* quaint i-nowe,
And gan this Nedill threde anone.”

And now we have reached the middle ages we are reminded of a quaint old custom observed at Queen's College, Oxford, on the Feast of the Circumcision, in which the needle and thread were the chief ingredients. On January 1 the Bursar of the said College was wont to give every member a needle and thread in remembrance of the founder, whose name was Eggesfield, and which name was falsely deduced from two French words, *aguille* and *fil* (needle and thread), so that these two objects seemed to constitute a rebus. Henry V, when Prince of Wales, was a student at Queen's College, and of course duly received his needle and thread from the Bursar, and which seems to have suggested to him to employ such things on one occasion as ornaments to his dress, and to indicate his attachment to his studies. The incident is thus related by Speed the chronicler, who says the Prince “came into his father's presence in a strange disguise, being in a garment of blue satin wrought full of eylet-holes, and at every eyelet the needle left hanging by the silk it was wrought with.”¹

Until about the middle of the sixteenth century England is reported to have been supplied with needles from abroad; but in 1545 they are said to have been made in London by a native of India. Stow tells us that needles were sold in Cheapside in the reign of Queen Mary, and were then made by a Spanish Negro by a secret art which he refused to divulge, so that it died with him. It was recovered again in 1566 by Elias Growse or Krause, a German. Others state that the rediscoverer of the art was Christopher Greening, in 1560, who with his three children, Elizabeth, John, and Thomas, settled at Long Crenodon in Buckinghamshire, where the manufacture of needles has been carried on to the present day.

Whether needles were imported or home made, certain it is they were expensive articles as late as the reign of Elizabeth, and hence it is that the loss of one constitutes the ground-plot of that famous old comedy entitled *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, written by John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and first performed at Christ's College, Cambridge,

¹ For more on this matter, see Hone's *Year Book*, p. 686.

in 1566. In this curious piece Gammer Gurton is represented as having mislaid her precious needle, but which is at last found sticking in the breeches of her man Hodge, which she had been repairing. Hodge's description of the all-important implement (ii, 1) is perfection in its way :

“A lytle thing with an hole in the end, as bright as any syller,
Small, longe, sharpe at the poynt, and straight as any pyller.”

From the reign of Elizabeth may be fairly dated the rise of the needle-manufacture in this country, which assumed sufficient importance by the middle of the seventeenth century to induce Oliver Cromwell, on Nov. 10, 1656, to grant a charter of incorporation to the needlers, by the style of “The Master, Wardens, and Society of the Art or Mystery of Needlemakers of the City of London.” The arms of this Company are very appropriate, being *vert*, three needles in fesse *argent*, each ducally crowned *or*. The original crest was a tree proper, which was subsequently changed to a Moor's head (Stow's Spanish Negro ?) couped at the shoulders, in profile, proper, wreathed about the temples *argent* and *gules*, vested round the shoulder *argent*, in his ear a pearl. Supporters : dexter, Adam ; sinister, Eve ; both proper ; each wreathed round the waist with leaves *vert* ; in the woman's dexter hand a needle *argent*. The motto refers to these two figures, “They sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons.” It may here be recorded that the Needlemakers' arms are the sign of a publichouse in Dalgleish Street, Commercial Road East.

The needlemakers seem to have congregated together in several spots in London. Stow speaks of “Needelars' Lane” by St. Sythe's Church, Bucklersbury. Bush Lane was once noted for its needles, as was also London Bridge. The fire of 1633, which destroyed forty-three of the houses on the Bridge, commenced at the shop of Mr. John Briggs, needlemaker ; and Pennant informs us that “most of the houses were tenanted by pin or needlemakers, and economical ladies were wont to drive from the St. James's end of the town to make cheap purchases.” At a later period Whitechapel became renowned for its needles, one Mackenzie having the art of finishing them off in a very superior manner ; and “Whitechapel Needles, twenty-five for a Penny !” became one of the familiar cries of London. In the ballad of *Tom Gool* it is said :

“All prizes, norra blank !
Norra blank, All prizes !
A waiter, knife, or scissis sheer,
A splat o' pins,—put in, my dear !
Whitechapel nills, All sizes !”

“Whitechapel Sharps” gained a world-wide renown ; and for the last two centuries the inhabitants of the secluded village of Redditch in

Worcestershire have made for themselves a name in the needle-market which will endure for many an age.

The needle-case was formerly an almost constant pocket-companion. The beau used to have his needle and case with him so that he could mend any accidental rent in his dress ; and many of these old cases are very elegant productions, some being of gold or silver, set with gems or embellished with enamel. But as needles became cheaper, the cases became less costly and ornate in fabric ; ivory, bone, wood, papier-maché, horn, glass, steel, and copper, being severally employed for their material. I have a couple of needle-cases that are worthy of notice though they be wrought of inexpensive substances, viz., copper and wood. The first named is 3 ins. long and $\frac{1}{12}$ diameter, and decorated from end to end with striated rings in *repoussé*. It is of the seventeenth century, and was found in the Steelyard, Upper Thames Street, 1866. The second case is of cherry-wood, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, and $\frac{1}{4}$ diameter ; its sides elaborately embossed with chevrons and basket-work, and the ends with engine-turned pattern. The whole produced by the die-stamping process described in this *Journal*, xxvi, p. 380.

We have now traced the history of the needle from its fabled birth in Paradise, through the rude tribes of America and Africa, to the civilised peoples of Egypt and China, and thence to our own land, where it first appeared of wood and bone, next of bronze ; and then followed, in the Roman age, by iron ; succeeded again by brass, silver, and steel. Some may tell us that we have consumed more time and space with this "paper of needles" than the subject deserves, and given an unmerited importance to a tiny implement of which a thousand may be hid at once in the folded hand. To such cavillers the words of John Taylor the Water Poet may be repeated, who, in *The Needle's Excellency* (1640), says :

"A needle, though it be but small and slender,
Yet it is both a maker and a mender :
A grave reformer of old rents decay'd,
Stops holes and seames and desperate cuts display'd ;
And thus without the needle we may see
We should without our bibs and biggins bee ;
No shirts or smockes our nakedness to hide,
No garments gay to make us magnifide."

This paper was illustrated by the author with a large number of drawings and specimens of ancient, mediæval, and modern makes ; and the Rev. S. M. Mayhew and Mr. C. Brent contributed a variety of similar ethnographical objects from their respective collections. These comprised pins, needles, bodkins, knitting-needles, spatulæ, stilettoes, prickers, and other implements of Keltic, Roman, Saxon, and European

manufacture. Mr. R. H. Hill exhibited also an ivory needle-case with a fine Limoges enamel portrait of Carneades, in profile, about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch by $\frac{3}{8}$ inch, set in a gold border upon the top.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. R. N. Philipps, Mr. Teniswood, and Mr. Mayhew took part.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on "The Discovery of a Crypt at Aldgate", which will be printed in a future place. The paper was embellished with two plans of the newly found remains, and the exhibition of an early water-jug with human-headed spout, and other pottery found on the site.

Mr. Robinson, the owner of the site, made some further remarks in detail of the state of the remains.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4, 1877.

H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

Charles J. Lacy, Jun., Bembridge House, Haverstock Hill, N.W., was duly elected an associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents :

To the Author, James Fergusson, D.C.L., for "The Brooches and the Rude Stone Monuments of the Orkney Islands."

To the Sussex Archaeological Society, for "Sussex Archæological Collections", vol. 27. 1877.

To the Powys-land Club, for "Collections", vol. x, Part 20. April 1877.

To J. Parish, for "Parish's Portfolio of Antiquaries", No. I. Colchester.

A large series of carefully prepared drawings of plans and other architectural details of Boarhunt Church, Hampshire, were exhibited by J. T. Irvine, Esq., and a paper (which will appear hereafter) minutely describing the building, which is of late Saxon date, was read in his absence.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., reported the discovery of two pottery-kilns of Roman date at Colchester, on the estate of P. A. Papillon, Esq., of Lexden Manor; and read a letter from R. Joslin, Esq., describing a third, which has just been met with in the researches now in progress. This will appear in another place in the *Journal*. A large collection of fragments of the pottery met with were exhibited and carefully examined. The fragments of black ware were remarkable as being exactly like Upchurch ware.

Mr. Cuming and Mr. Brent considered that they were of Upchurch make, and used as models for imitation, until it was stated that a vast number of similar specimens had been found.

Mr. Papillon, who was present, reported the discovery of a fourth kiln, which had only been met with on the previous day, and described a second brass coin of Vespasian and a bronze fibula which had been found among the *débris* of the field. It had never been supposed that pottery-clay existed in this sandy locality; but the researches had revealed a bed of it which had evidently been worked in Roman times, since broken Samian ware was met with in one position.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition another dagger from the find made at Brook's Wharf, Upper Thames Street, Oct. 1866. The entire length of the weapon is $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The pomel is an iron disc, $1\frac{3}{8}$ ins. diameter, with a quatrefoil rivet of brass at top. The guard, which little exceeds the blade in width, is also of iron, and is semicircular in front, and bent down at back so as to just cover the rim or locket of the scabbard. The distance between the pomel and guard is rather less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins., so that the grip seems to have been designed for a small hand. The sharp-pointed blade is nearly 10 ins. in length, and full 1 inch wide next the guard, thick in the middle, and gradually thinning off to the edges, and which, with the hilt, appears to have been blackened in the manner of the bills and other weapons of the middle ages.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, in giving the reign of Edward III as the date of this fine dagger, pointed out the resemblance in the form of its blade to that of the anelace from the same locality, described in this *Journal*, xxxii, p. 251.

Mr. S. I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*, exhibited a curious silver stamp or seal of the seventeenth century, having its circular die charged with the figure of a deer standing beneath a tree. It belonged to the Bradshaw family, and has been preserved, with many family relics, in Ireland for several generations.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., exhibited a tall, massive, circular goblet of green and white glass, a fine specimen of German seventeenth century work, and covered with artistic engraving.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew then a paper on "Newdigate, a Border Parish of South Surrey", which was illustrated with several coloured drawings. It will be printed hereafter.

The Chairman made some remarks on the antiquity of the legend of St. Christopher, a subject of frequent adoption in the frescoes of early churches, and promised to supply a paper on them.

Mr. H. S. Cuming, F.S.A. Scot., V.P., read a paper entitled "Joseph of Arimathea", which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. Grover observed that Prasutagus was mentioned in Tacitus (*Annals*, bk. xiv, sec. 31) as King of the Icenians, or inhabitants of the eastern counties, and as the husband of Boadicea. It was the unfortunate disposition of his property in his will which led to the disastrous proceedings which the injured Queen was compelled to take. Now

Arviragus is described by Holinshed, John Hardyng, and others, as King of the West and the country of the Dobuni, whose capital was Corinium in Gloucestershire; and he believed he had seen it stated somewhere that Arviragus was a cousin or brother of Prasutagus, but he certainly was not the same person. The paper by Mr. Cumming on Joseph of Arimathea was a most interesting one. He had himself taken much interest in the legend of that saint, and had given some particulars about him in the paper he gave on Chedworth Villa in the *Journal*. At that Villa it was curious to find not only the Christian emblem, but several crosses of the St. George and St. Andrew type, such as John Hardyng stated had been given to Arviragus by Joseph. It was also singular to find, in the neighbourhood of that Villa, tiles stamped ARVERI, and a very curious stone with a marking of the name, apparently, PRASIATA. When all these things came to be pieced together they seemed to point towards an early introduction of Christianity amongst the chiefs of Britain, although there was nothing beyond legend to ascribe its advent to Joseph of Arimathea. The only Latin writer, he believed, who mentioned Arviragus was Juvenal. The British origin of the Claudia mentioned by St. Paul was suggested by Martial's epigram.

WEDNESDAY, 11TH APRIL, 1877.

[A special evening meeting was held this day in the hall of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, Conduit Street, Regent Street, kindly lent for the occasion by the President and Council.]

LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L., ETC., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

Among the associates and visitors present were the Right Hon. the Earl of Effingham, V.P., Dr. Samuel Birch, LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.A., Keeper of the Oriental Antiquities, British Museum; W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature and of the Royal Asiatic Society; F. Ouvry, Esq., President of the Society of Antiquaries; J. Roebuck, Esq., M.P., Professor Donaldson, Rev. Prebendary Scarth, M.A., V.P., M. J. Gennadius, Chargé d'Affaires de Grèce; Alexander Murray, Esq., Mr. J. Jeremiah, Mr. J. R. Planché, *Somerset Herald*; Messrs. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Mr. James Ferguson, F.R.S., Mr. Charles Barry, President of the Royal Institute of British Architects; G. R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A.; Messrs. Adams, Ade, Habershon, Blashill, C. Brent, F.S.A., J. Brent, F.S.A., B. H. Cooper, R. Ready, J. W. Previtè, Garnett, S. I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix Pursuivant*; R. N. Philipps, D.C.L.,

George Godwin, F.R.S., E. M. Thompson, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts at the British Museum; Mr. Samuel Birch, and a brilliant assemblage of ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Gladstone was expected, but in the course of the evening Mr. Brook, the Secretary, read the following letter from Mrs. Gladstone, which had been received during the proceedings :—

“DEAR SIR,—My husband had made every arrangement to be with you to-night, but unfortunately he is obliged to go to bed, not feeling well. He bids me express his very great regret—in fact, I have seldom seen him so much disappointed—that his temporary illness prevents his being with you to-night, and pray excuse him.—Believe me, yours truly,

“CATHERINE GLADSTONE.”

Lord Houghton, who was received with applause, said he was not surprised at the large and distinguished company assembled, when they considered the subject which would be brought before them, and the person who would bring it forward. The subject referred to ancient classic history, which in a certain sense was hardly one which the Archæological Association entertained. The archæological societies of this country—namely, the Royal Society of Antiquaries, the Archæological Association, and the Archæological Institute—naturally, in their requisitions on the past, went back upon matters more immediately connected with the history of our own country, and the countries of Europe, with which we had been historically associated. Archæological observations were thus, except in one important particular, generally directed to what were called mediæval antiquities and subjects in our history connected with the great phases of European life and thought. But there were exceptions, and one prominently came forward in this society, namely, the occupation of this country by the great Roman nation, and the important traces which it had left, such as those of Uriconium, which those societies had so largely investigated, and other important traces left upon our architecture, and, in a certain sense, upon the general history of the country. But, although this was their general habit, it need not separate them from those great sources of art, and life, and thought, which formed now, and would, he hoped, long form the basis of the education of the generous youth of this country, namely, the antiquities of Greece and Rome. (Cheers.) There was a society, to which he had the honour to belong, which was especially addicted to those objects, the Dilettanti Society, and he was glad to state that that society was preparing a very sumptuous work on the excavations at Teos and Priene, which would soon be published. He would say little more, except that, remembering the glory of those ancient countries, and almost continually recurring to them, not only in an antiquarian view, but in those curious

practical interests which, even in the present press of politics, they attached to those countries, as there were many who had lived to see the regeneration of Italy, so there were still men who delighted to have seen the beginning of the rejuvenescence of Greece—(cheers)—and these hopes of his youth, active then, but perhaps now somewhat dim, were still living in the minds of Englishmen, that Greece might again become a great political reality and power in Europe. (Cheers.) He would not detain them longer on this subject, except as regarded the person who had honoured them with his presence. Dr. Schliemann had broken for them that evening the clouds of mediæval antiquity, and had come amongst them with almost the immediate presence of the ancient Grecian past. (Cheers.) They knew already, from what they had heard casually in Dr. Schliemann's letters and in his speech the other day at the Royal Society of Antiquaries, and the other communications he had had with the public, the outlines of his work. They knew, too, by their own reading of his admirable book on "Ancient Troy", how he, a simple individual German gentleman, had revealed to us, in one short period of excavation, more than had been ascertained before by the excavations of centuries. They would well understand that in bringing before them the question of Mycenæ, Dr. Schliemann was under a certain reserve. It was obvious that it was the business of Dr. Schliemann to give them the result of his investigation in that important locality in a perfectly historical and distinct form. It would be premature for Dr. Schliemann, either there or in any other public lecture, to give those details which they expected to find in his book, and which they should recognise with so much pleasure. (Hear, hear.) But Dr. Schliemann had other points in view in which he could bring the question before them, and it was a great thing to find in an excavator not merely a man who could dig in the ground and find wonderful things there, but a man who could recognise the facts to be discovered, and the instances which he exposed to the world, and could combine those things with certain large points of view, connecting the history of different portions of the subject to which he had devoted his life, thus not only giving us a certain number of separate examples, but enabling us to a great degree to combine them in a historic whole. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. Schliemann then read a paper on—

TROY AND ITS ANALOGY TO MYCENÆ.

"My Lord Houghton, my Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—The Trojan war has in all antiquity been regarded as an undoubted historical event, and as such it has also been accepted by the great authority of Thucydides and Aristotle, because the narrative of it, as we find it in

the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, is fully confirmed by the tradition, which has even retained the memory of so many particulars omitted by the divine poet. The tradition further pointed to the site of the Greek city Ilium, in the Plain of Troy, as occupying the precise place 'ubi Troia fuit', and the identity of the two cities was unanimously acknowledged by all antiquity. The Greek Ilium was of large size. The huge wall, with which Lysimachus surrounded it, was, as Plutarch (*Life of Alexander the Great*) says, forty stadia, or four English miles and two-thirds in circumference, and it was universally thought that the ancient city was precisely as large. The Ilians were very proud of their descent from Priam's great people. They showed in their city remnants of more ancient buildings, which they attributed to the Trojan Prytaneion and to the Palace of Hector; and, as Strabo says, they explained the absence of any vestige of the great Trojan walls by saying that the stones of the latter had served to build the walls of the city of Sigeion.

"In antiquity there were neither critics nor archæologists, and the idea never occurred to any one to make an excavation. Had the Ilians but sunk shafts in their city, they would have found that the accumulation of *débris* was everywhere but small, except on the steep mount which, projecting into the Plain, formed the north-western corner of their city, and served them as Acropolis. This mount, whose modern name (*Hissarlik*) has become so famous the last four or five years, consists of a solitary calcareous rock, on which the accumulation of successive houses is enormous, and does not fall short of 50 to 53 feet in depth. Nay, this mount has increased in width on the east side, 260 to 270 feet, on the north side about 130 feet, on the west and south sides about 200 feet, by the *débris* thrown down from its steep slopes; and if the Ilians had but had the lucky idea of making excavations on this rock, they could have brought to light the great walls and many buildings of ancient Troy.

"The only voices which were heard in all antiquity against the pretensions of the Ilians were those of Hestiasæ, a blue-stocking of Alexandria-Troas; and Demetrius, a Stoic of Scepsis on Mount Ida. The former merely disputed the identity of Troy with the Greek Ilium, without, however, saying where the real Troy might be found. The latter, as Strabo says, envying the Ilians the honour of occupying the site of Troy, pretended that the latter was identical with the site of the little village called 'Ἰλιέων Κώμη, three miles to the south of the Greek city; and that after the capture and destruction of Priam's city, Æneas and his descendants had reigned over the Trojans in his (Demetrius') native city, Scepsis. Strabo, who never visited the Plain of Troy, adopted Demetrius' theory; but it does not appear that he was joined by anybody else.

"If after Strabo, and during all of the middle ages, Troy was not forgotten, at least nobody went to the trouble to visit its site; and when, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D., the love for Homer awoke again, the few scholars who passed the Hellespont used to consider the vast ruins of Alexandria-Troas, on the coast opposite the island of Tenedos, as the real ruins of Troy. The first of modern tourists who visited the Plain of Troy, and paid more serious attention to the subject, was, in the year 1787, the Frenchman Lechevalier, who was so much struck by the appearance of the heights of Bunarbachi and the forty cold springs which bubble forth from the rock just below this village, that he at once thought he recognised the identity of the former with the site of Troy; and of the latter with the sources of the Scamander, at which, according to the *Iliad* (xxii, 326-330), Hector was killed. Homer distinctly says that there were only two sources, the one of boiling hot, the other of icy cold water; but Lechevalier's enthusiasm was so great, that in the forty cold springs, all of which have the uniform temperature of $63\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ Fahrenheit, he saw only two sources, one icy cold, the other boiling. On the heights of Bunarbachi he could see no vestiges of houses, because there are none; everywhere is found the purest virgin soil, or the natural, pointed or abrupt, and always uneven rock, which has evidently never been touched by the hand of man. Only at the extremity of those heights is the site of a very small ancient city of the Hellenic time, which I have identified with Gergis; but Lechevalier at once proclaimed that this site was identical with the Pergamos, and that the lower city of Troy extended all over the lower heights for a distance of two miles, down to the two sources.

"He thereupon announced his grand discovery of Troy in a voluminous work with maps and plans, in which he has not even forgotten to fix the site of Priam's garden. This work ought to have been entitled *Visions of an Enthusiast*, but Lechevalier entitled it *The Discovery of the Homeric Ilium*; and archæological criticism being at that time only in its first dawn, the work created all over the civilised world an intense sensation, far greater than the sensation produced in later times by the discovery and the excavation of Nineveh by Layard: nay, the book wrought such a spell on the minds of all scholars that for the following eighty or eighty-five years Lechevalier's visionary discoveries were accepted like a dogma; and except the excellent English scholars, Grote and MacLaren, and the German scholars, Eckenbrecher, Otto Keller, W. Christ, and Julius Braun, even all the numerous visitors of the Troad unanimously recognised, like the great discoverer himself, in the forty springs of cold water only one of icy cold and one of boiling hot water, and the site of Troy and its Pergamos on the heights of Bunarbachi; and after having inspected the

site for an hour or two, they returned home and wrote voluminous books to defend a theory whose nullity they would have at once recognised if they had only for a few hours submitted the site to the criticism of the pickaxe.

"An inscription, thought to be in ancient Trojan characters, which was discovered on one of the slabs of an enclosure on the so-called Dédé Hill, close to Bunarbachi, contributed a great deal to strengthen the general belief in the dogma that the heights of Bunarbachi were the site of Troy. In fact, the importance attached to that inscription was so great that we see it reproduced even on the great map of Troy published by Forchhammer, one of the greatest champions of the Lechevalier theory. But this Trojan inscription was as great a humbug as all the other doctrines of the Bunarbachi Troy theory. When I first saw it I instantly thought I recognised old acquaintances; and having carefully copied it, I turned it round, and had not the slightest difficulty in reading it, for the presumed ancient Trojan characters were nothing else than ancient Cuphic letters, and the inscription read 'Year 455', and this chronology is of course to be reckoned from the Hegira of the Prophet Mohammed. I published this TROJAN inscription in 1869, in my book, *Ithaque, le Péloponnèse et Troie*, and my translation of it has been sanctioned by the high authority of M. Ernest Renan and other members of the French Academy.

"Among the adherents to the theory of Lechevalier was, only as late as September 1871, a Berlin Professor, the same scholar who, by a misinterpretation of Pausanias, fixed the site of the five Royal sepulchres of Mycenæ in the lower city, and who now quarrels with me in the German press, because, having interpreted Pausanias in a different way, I sought and found the five tombs in the Acropolis. A further ardent adherent of Lechevalier's visions and his Bunarbachi theory is a certain Professor of Heidelberg, who can never pardon my having discovered Troy in another place, and who, consequently, has never ceased to libel me since June 1873.

"I for the first time visited the Plain of Troy in 1868, and though I did it without preconceived ideas, yet I first went to Bunarbachi. I found the site altogether in opposition to all indications of the *Iliad*, and particularly the distance from the Hellespont, which exceeds nine miles, whilst according to the *Iliad* it is but very short, and cannot exceed three miles. Nevertheless I at once engaged a number of workmen and explored the whole extent of the heights; but, as I have said, found everywhere the purest virgin soil, except on the site of the little city of Gergis at the extremity of those heights, where Consul G. von Hahn, the Austrian Consul of Syra, had before me made a small excavation, and where, like him, I found the average accumulation of the debris only 1 foot to 1½ feet deep, and solely mixed with fragments

of Grecian pottery, to which archæology cannot possibly allow a remoter antiquity than the second, third, or fourth century B.C.; and therefore the city itself cannot possibly claim a greater age, because fragments of pottery are far more indestructible than any city or fortress-wall. We can destroy the hugest citadel-walls, but we can never clear the site they surrounded from the potsherds; and in these latter we must necessarily always find two *termini* for the chronology of the walls, which can neither be older than the oldest potsherds, nor more modern than the most modern of them. Besides, the little, insignificant city-walls which Consul von Hahn and myself brought to light are altogether erroneously called 'Cyclopean'. They consist of oblique retaining walls of polygons, or walls of regular courses of well cut square blocks, which cannot claim that denomination. There can be no reasonable doubt that walls of huge blocks were, without any historical foundation, called after the mythic giants' race, 'Cyclopean'; but as the word has come into general use, we cannot avoid employing it. But it must be distinctly understood that not every wall built of stones without any binding material can be called 'Cyclopean'; and that under that denomination are only comprised—(1), the walls of large unwrought blocks joined by smaller ones; (2), the walls composed of large polygonal stones well fitted together, but certainly not the retaining walls; and (3), the very ancient walls, such as we see in the Lionsgate in Mycenæ, where immense, rudely wrought, quadrangular blocks are roughly put together in horizontal layers; but the joints not being quite straight, there remain small interstices between the stones. House or fortress-walls of well wrought, quadrangular slabs, which are closely joined without mortar, can never be called 'Cyclopean'; and thus even the large subterranean treasures at Mycenæ and Orchomenos can in no way deserve this denomination.

"Having well explored the heights of Bunarbachî, and convinced myself of the impossibility that they should ever have marked the site of a prehistoric city, I also explored the site of 'Ἰλίων Κώμη, whither Strabo, following the theory of Demetrius of Scepsis, puts Troy. By the indications of the former, the site of this village is easily found, but the accumulation of *débris* there is next to nothing; and a long extending wall-like height, in which Demetrius may have suspected the existence of an ancient city wall, does not contain anything else than pure gravel sand. As no other place in the Troad has ever had the honour of being considered the site of Troy, and as my explorations showed that there was no other site which could in any way be brought into harmony with the indications of the Iliad, I went to the site of the Greek Ilium, and recognised there, with astonishment, that about one half of Mount Hissarlik consists of artificial soil, produced in the course of ages by the accumulation of successive household

remains. Having obtained the necessary firman, Mrs. Schliemann and I went there to work in 1871 on a vast scale.

"As we are wont to paint in our imagination an image of every unknown object which is of capital interest to us, so I had also long since made in my mind the picture of Troy, and I hardly need say that my veneration for Homer had made me paint it on a gigantic scale. I thought that it extended far beyond the city walls of Lysimachus; but my illusions were destroyed by the result of twenty shafts which I had dug on the site of the lower city, because all of them, even the six shafts which I had sunk close to Hissarlik, produced only fragments of wheel-made Grecian pottery and Hellenic house-walls, none of which could claim a higher antiquity than the sixth or seventh century B.C. On the site of Hissarlik, on the contrary, I found Hellenic masonry, and fragments of wheel-made Grecian pottery, only to an average depth of $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. Immediately below these I collected seventy hand-made vases and a great many whorls of black or brown terra-cotta, which were so perfectly unlike the Hellenic as well as all the prehistoric pottery which I found in digging deeper, that I cannot but attribute them to a people which sojourned here only for a short time. There were found no other remains which I could attribute to the people who made these vases, immediately below which I found a stratum of ashes and rubbish about 6 ft. thick, evidently derived from wooden houses, because stones were seldom met with. It was intermixed with masses of hand-made prehistoric vases, and very numerous whorls, with incised ornamentation. Below this stratum of ruins I found a whole prehistoric city, whose 8 ft. or 10 ft. high fragments of house walls, composed of small stones, joined with earth, I could have cleared out like Pompeii. In this city I found much more and much better hand-made pottery than in the preceding one, and thousands of terra-cotta whorls, most of them with a beautiful incised ornamentation. Remnants of a circuit wall belonging to this city I have noticed only on the west side. Below this city, and at an average depth of from 23 ft. to 33 ft., I found the calcined remains of an apparently much wealthier city, which had evidently been suddenly destroyed by a tremendous conflagration, of which every stone, every fragment of pottery, and particularly the huge masses of red or yellow ashes bore testimony. This city was encircled by large circuit walls of larger and smaller stones, in which I brought to light an immense tower and a double gate, directed to the south-west. Just on the north-east side of this gate are the ruins of a vast mansion of smaller stones, joined together with earth, which must have belonged to the chief or king, for it is the largest building in the town, besides, the other houses consist of unburned bricks. There must have existed on the circuit walls and on the tower, as well as on the gate, immense wooden fortifications, besides, all the houses of the city must have had

upper stories of wood, for otherwise the masses of wood-ashes cannot be explained. This city had evidently been suddenly stormed and destroyed by the enemy. This appears to be proved by the skeletons of men with arms, and by the innumerable, beautiful, hand-made terra-cotta vases, splendidly incised whorls, but particularly by two small treasures and a large one, of which the two former were stolen from me by two of my labourers, upon whom they were afterwards seized by the Turkish Government, and they are now in the museum at Constantinople, whilst I have been lucky enough to save for myself the large treasure of gold and silver ornaments, goblets, vases, etc. This third treasure was found together with a large number of very primitive battleaxes, lances, daggers, and a shield of bronze in the ashes on the circuit wall, close to the mansion of the town's chief or king. All the objects had doubtless been contained in a quadrangular wooden box, of which they had retained the shape, and probably he who had endeavoured to save the box was overtaken by the fire or the enemy, and obliged to drop it. I have said that the sudden capture and destruction of the city by the enemy was also proved by the innumerable terra-cotta vases. I mean by the good conservation of these vases, and by the fact that, wherever a vase was broken, I found all its fragments together, which can only be explained by the suddenness of the tragic event. Tiryns and Mycenæ were also captured by enemies, but the capture there was neither sudden, nor were these cities destroyed by it, because an entire vase is there a very rare occurrence, and one could search there for weeks without finding two fragments which fit together.

"Some similarity certainly exists between the various types of the Hissarlik terra-cotta vases of the three prehistoric cities we have mentioned, for nearly all of them are either tripods or have a convex bottom, so that they cannot be put down without being leant against other objects. Besides, nearly all of them have on either side a tubular hole, and in the same direction a hole in the rim and in the lid, for being shut and suspended with a string. But certainly there are also new types in each city, and it deserves particular attention that the vases are more artistically and far better made in the lower city than in the succeeding one, and in this is again a difference to the prejudice of the uppermost prehistoric city in which the vases are coarsest. In all the three cities is an entire absence of colours, the vases have been wrought by hand polishing to a lustrous surface, and all the ornamentation consists of incised patterns. Identical in all the three cities are, further, the goblets, in form of a long and narrow funnel with two enormous handles, but without a foot, so that they cannot be put down except on the mouth. Besides, in all these three prehistoric cities were found very numerous idols of the Ilian Minerva *Γλαυκῶπις*, the patron deity of Troy, with an owlface either of marble or modelled on the sacred

vases, which are of two kinds. One sort consists of the vases, on the paunch of which are represented two female breasts, a large navel, and on either side a wing, and of a large lid in form of a cup, on which is modelled the owl-face of the goddess, her helmet, and sometimes, but not always, her hair, the other class consists of the vases, on which we find modelled the owl-head, with all the characteristics of the woman, the helmet being represented by a small convex lid, with a sort of crest, nor are the two wings of the bird wanting on the sides. That the artist wished to represent the wings of the goddess, and that these were never intended as handles, is proved by the never failing small separate handles. I was sorry to hear a few days ago at the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries that my venerated friend, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, only admits that Hera βοῶπις was represented by a cow or a cow's head, but absolutely denies that Pallas Athene's Homeric epithet γλαυκῶπις referred to her owl character—say to her owl face. But as he readily admits that the more than two thousand small cows or horned females of terra-cotta, as well as all the cow heads of gold, and the large one of silver, plated with gold and with golden horns, found by me at Mycenæ, represent Hera βοῶπις, I trust he will not refuse the same honour to the three cow-heads of terra-cotta found by me in the depths of Ilium; and, if he does this, why should he be unjust towards great Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη? It was precisely the hundreds of owl-headed and winged female idols modelled on the sacred Trojan vases, that proved to me that Ilium's patron deity Minerva γλαυκῶπις was represented with an owl-face, and I naturally inferred from this that Hera's Homeric epithet βοῶπις solely referred to her cow-face. But, no sooner had I published an article on this subject, than I was fearfully mauled and laughed at by the German philologists, who could not find words enough to condemn my presumption in trying to correct the interpretation of Homeric texts, with which all the world had for ages and ages been satisfied. The only exception was Professor Max Müller, who very wisely proclaimed that he should at once accept my interpretation, as soon as I could prove to him that Hera βοῶπις was represented as a cow-headed monster. This I have done. This commission I have faithfully executed, and I have therefore no doubt that, true to his pledge, Professor Max Müller will now not hesitate to acknowledge that Athene's epithet γλαυκῶπις is materialised in the owl-headed Trojan idols. Perfectly assured in this respect regarding my esteemed friend Professor Max Müller, I am now exceedingly ambitious to convince the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, because the present Greek world believes in the infallibility of his opinion, if possible, still more than their ancestors believed in the infallibility of the Oracle in Delphi. I would therefore recommend him to consider that only Pallas Athena, and no mortal woman, has the Homeric epithet γλαυκῶπις.

Further, that this goddess was the tutelary deity of Troy, and that it was precisely in the depths of Troy that I found all the owl-faced idols, which had never been found anywhere else.

"Identical in the three prehistoric cities are, further, the whorls and balls of terra-cotta, with their wonderful incised ornamentation; but those of the lowest of the three can easily be distinguished by the colour of the clay, and, as a general thing, also by the superior skill in the incisions. All the incisions had originally been filled with white clay, so as to strike the sight. Of wheel-made pottery only very rudely made plates were found in the third city, and none in the two upper ones. Identical in the three cities are, further, the forms of the bronze lances and battleaxes, which latter have no hole in the middle, and have therefore been fixed in the shaft, instead of the shaft being fixed in them. Characteristic in the three cities is the absence of iron and glass.

"In the second and third city were found sixteen short Greek inscriptions in very ancient Cypriote characters, and it is therefore certain that the Trojans spoke Greek, for I take it for granted that all here are aware of Dr. Birch's and George Smith's great discovery, that the language of the Cypriote inscriptions is none other than Greek. Below the third city are the 16 ft. to 20 ft. deep ruins of a still more ancient, but still smaller, city, because it was limited to the original size of the rock, which, having increased by the ruins and *débris*, both in width and height, each of the subsequent cities is larger than its predecessors.

"The pottery of this lowest city is beautiful, but altogether different from that in the three upper cities, and the finest is only found on and near the virgin soil. Characteristic are here the hand-made large deep plates of lustrous black or brown colour, whose interior is covered with an incised ornamentation, filled with white clay, and with two long beautifully-shaped tubular rings in the rims, for suspension with a string; but by far the larger part of the vases is monochromatic lustrous black or brown, and has no incisions. Further, the terra-cotta tripods or vases with a convex bottom, and with two tubular holes on each side for suspension with a string. The funnel-like two-handled goblets without feet are entirely wanting here. In their stead I find here the different forms of the Mycenaean goblets—viz., those in the shape of very large modern wine glasses with one handle, and those with a large hollow foot, and with horizontal furrows in the middle. I may also mention that there is a very great similarity between the hand-made monochromatic pottery of this most ancient Trojan city and that found in the five Royal Mycenaean sepulchres; and one involuntarily thinks of the common origin of the Royal houses of Mycenæ and Troy, for Pelops, the father of Atreus, the grandfather of the king

of men Agamemnon, was the son of the Phrygian king Tantalus, whilst Ilium was, according to the tradition, built by Ilus, who came here from Phrygia with fifty young men and as many girls. Apollodorus (iii, 12) relates this legend as follows :—‘ When Ilus came to Phrygia he took part in the game instituted by the king, and triumphed in wrestling ; and having taken as prize of the contest fifty young men and as many young women, and the king having, by an oracle, given him also a party-coloured cow, and having recommended him to build a town, in which place soever the cow would lie down, he followed the cow, and when the cow had reached the so-called mount of the Phrygian Ate she lay down, and Ilus built there a town, which he called Ilium. He then prayed to Jupiter to grant him a favourable sign, and the following day the palladium, which had fallen from heaven, was lying before his (Ilus’) tent. It was three cubits long, had closed feet, and held in its right hand a lance, in its left a distaff and a spindle.’ Passing over the myth of the cow, and the palladium fallen from heaven, this legend must be perfectly correct. In fact there seem to be before us three tangible proofs of its correctness. In the first place, the similarity between the most ancient Trojan and the most ancient Mycenaean pottery ; secondly, the form of the very numerous Trojan Athena idols, the lower part of which is always more or less in form of a disc, and therefore perfectly answering the requirements of the palladium of the legend, and perfectly resembling the four Trojan idols on one of the Mycenaean signet rings and the palladium on another. Thirdly, the palladium of the legend, with distaff and spindles, explains the presence in Troy of the many thousand terra-cotta whorls, in form of spindles, with incised ornamentations, representing religious symbols, and sometimes short inscriptions, because all those spindle-like whorls can be nothing else than exvotos to Minerva *Ἐργάνη*. I would also call attention to the symbolic character of the myth itself, for in the cow which guides Ilus from Phrygia to Hissarlik we cannot possibly see anything else than Hera *βοῶπις*, who, as lunar deity, necessarily was the goddess of fertility. This is proved by the four horns with which her cow-head form is represented on the Mycenaean gold plates, as well as by the figs with which the space between the innermost horns is filled up. Further, by the pomegranate with which she was represented, even in classical antiquity, when, for ages, she had abandoned her cow type, and adopted the shape of a woman. It is further proved by the horned Egyptian lunar goddess Isis, the tutelary divinity of agriculture, whose identity with Hera *βοῶπις* I have demonstrated. In the cow that guides Ilus we therefore have a symbolic representation of Hera *βοῶπις* protecting the Phrygian colonists’ settlement on Mount Hissarlik, in the fertile plain of Troy. As respects Athena’s palladium, which is said to have fallen from heaven before the tent of Ilus, the founder of Ilium,

it was fabled to have been of immense size, to show the power of the new colony's tutelary divinity. Its closed feet may mean that the goddess could not move, and remained stationary in Ilium. The Palladium's lance no doubt symbolises the warlike character of the new colonists, and its distaff and spindle can symbolise nothing else than their great industry in weaving and spinning, which was under the protection of Athena Ἐργάνη.

"This first Trojan city had no walls, and it must have been several times destroyed so as to form a 20 ft. deep accumulation of *débris*. Homer mentions that Troy had been destroyed by Herakles long before its destruction by the Greeks under Agamemnon, and this legend may refer to the destruction of this first city. But identical with the Homeric Troy, which was captured by the Greek army, must be the city second in succession from the virgin soil, because here we find the great tower, the huge walls, whose construction Homer attributes to Neptune and Apollo; here we further find the most evident proofs of great wealth, and a sudden destruction by the hand of the enemy. The extent of Troy, as encompassed by its walls, is but very small, and it cannot possibly have contained more than four or five thousand inhabitants; but small as it is, it is still larger than the city of Athens under the kings, which was confined to the Acropolis until Theseus added the twelve surrounding boroughs to it. I must further remark that the Acropolis was then only two-thirds as large as now, it having only been enlarged by Cimon in about 464 B.C. I can also with certainty maintain that the Royal city of Mycenæ was originally confined to its very small Acropolis, because only part of the lower city had a circuit-wall. By far the larger part of the lower town was merely a suburb. Besides, there are evident signs that the lower city-wall was built centuries posterior to the time of Agamemnon; and thus, in a remote antiquity, the whole of the lower city of Mycenæ must have been a straggling suburb. The same must have been the case with Athens; and as the Right Honourable Mr. Gladstone has suggested in his celebrated work, *Homeric Synchronism*, the same must have been the case with Troy. Here also must have been straggling suburbs whence the inhabitants flocked into the Acropolis at the approach of the enemies.

"The question whether Homer ever visited Troy is difficult to answer. By the verses (*Il.* xxii, 147-152) where he makes the Scamander originate from a boiling hot and an icy cold source, it appears that he could not have come here himself, because, although the Scamander really originates from a hot and a cold source, these two sources are not at the foot of Ilium's walls, as Homer describes, but they are at a distance of sixty miles, near the top of Mount Ida. The verses (*Il.* xx, 307-308) in which he puts into the mouth of Neptune

the prophetic words that Æneas and his descendants will reign over Troy, cannot assure us that he ever came here, because Homer may have heard that Ilium was rebuilt, and that its new king prided himself on his descent from the son of Anchises. At all events, even if he did come to sacred Ilium the very day after its destruction, he cannot have seen anything of the town because it became completely buried by the ashes and ruins; the double gate was entirely blocked up, and people seem to have not known, or to have forgotten, that it ever existed; for the new palace, which was erected on the top of the old one, extended on the ruins which, to the depth of 9 ft., covered that gate.

"As respects the golden ornaments, the large Trojan golden head-covers are, as the Right Honourable Mr. Gladstone rightly maintains, exactly like the *πλεκταὶ ἀναδέσμαι* which Homer makes Aphrodite give to Andromache; and I avow I have found nothing like them in the Mycenian treasures. But otherwise the Trojan culture is too rude as compared to the Homeric songs. The Right Honourable Mr. Gladstone has proved that Homer was an Achaian; and this is also proved by my excavations in Mycenæ, because I found there thousands of objects of art such as he describes, and he evidently passed his whole life in a civilisation like the Mycenian. On the other hand I must remind my audience that the mode of burial which I found in the Royal tombs in Mycenæ is perfectly unknown to Homer, who only knows the burning of the bodies on the funeral pyres, and the deposition of the ashes in funeral urns, of which I found many hundreds in the depths of Troy; but not a single one in Mycenæ, where the bodies were burnt on pyres prepared on the bottom of enormously large and deep tombs.

"The primitive state of civilisation which the antiquities of Troy denote is, of course, no proof that they are more ancient than the objects of art of Mycenæ, because in the heroic age nobody travelled except on warlike or piratical expeditions. Thus there may have been a very high civilisation at Mycenæ, while at the very same time the arts were only in their first dawn at Troy; and writing with Cypriote characters may have been in use in Troy more than a thousand years before any alphabet was known in Greece. There can, consequently, not be the slightest objection to admit that the tradition which assigns the tombs of Mycenæ to Agamemnon and his companions, who on their return from Ilium were treacherously murdered by Clytemnestra or her paramour Ægisthus, may be perfectly correct and trustworthy.

"The Turkish Government having, at the suggestion of His Excellency Safvet Pasha, the learned Minister of Foreign Affairs, generously granted me a new *firman* for the continuation of my excavations at

Troy, Mrs. Schliemann and I intend to proceed thither shortly ; and I trust, my Lord Houghton, my Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen, that your good wishes will accompany us in our hard work at Ilium."

Mr. J. Gennadius, the Greek Chargé d'Affaires, who was then invited to address the assembly, said there was in Greece an Archæological Society, and that the antiquities were no longer in the condition in which they had been figured by travellers, being through the agency of that Society restored and preserved. They would never hear again of the columns of the Temple of Jupiter Olympus being burnt for lime, or of the walls of the Acropolis being sold for pin-money for a lady. They had been taken to task on account of the pillars of the Parthenon, which had been taken down ; but that had been the work of Venetians and Turks ; and though the Greeks had not restored them, they were carefully preserving them. And that was not the only example in which antiquities were being preserved under wood sheds until proper steps could be taken for their disposal. Greeks were doing all that was possible for the preservation of relics of the past.

Professor Donaldson referred to his visit to Mycenæ, and having seen some of the antiquities, he was charmed with the discretion Dr. Schliemann had displayed in dealing with the subject. In Assyria he had noticed gold plates upon the faces of buried nobles, and he believed the custom to have prevailed to a considerable degree among ancient nations. The reason Dr. Schliemann had come upon no specimens of such a high art as Homer speaks of, was that there were none to be found at the depths to which the diggings had been carried. He moved a vote of thanks to the author of the paper.

Dr. Birch, in seconding the motion, said he was not aware that he would be called upon to make a speech, nor was he prepared to enter upon any criticism or discussion regarding the interesting remains found by Dr. Schliemann. They would all feel he had made one of the most important discoveries of the age, and that he would stand as one of the most distinguished excavators of the remains of ancient art, which threw a new light upon antiquity. The discovery of Troy had shown them what Troy actually was, enabling them to determine that there had existed an ancient city where illustrious deeds were enacted by the Trojans and the Greeks. Afterwards, no doubt, the poetic imagination of Homer was accepted by his contemporaries as the true version. With respect to Mycenæ the discovery was more interesting. But in another place a discussion did not occur until the *Blue Book* was before them. This *Blue Book*, however, relating to the discoveries at Mycenæ would shortly appear. As archæologists they would be highly indebted to Dr. Schliemann and to the Greek Government if a portion of his collection could be exhibited in this country, in order that they might have an opportunity of examining the objects. Just

as some Egyptian treasures had been sent to England by the Khedive for temporary exhibition. He (Dr. Birch) personally had seen some photographs; but what they most desired was to see the objects themselves, in order to determine the relative ages of these monuments, and by such means to decide what was the probable antiquity of Mycenæ itself. With regard to Dr. Schliemann's discoveries, the whole world must be indebted to him for the efforts he had made. Nowhere were these efforts more appreciated than in this country, where there were to be found a deep love and feeling for Greek art, which had been imbued by classical education.

The resolution having been carried, Mr. George Godwin, F.S.A., moved "That this Association tenders its hearty congratulations to Dr. Schliemann upon his discoveries at Mycenæ, and hopes that results of equal importance may reward his labours upon the Plains of Troy." The remarkable results, he said, that had attended Dr. Schliemann's investigations were the outcome of a life of effort and of self-culture. His autobiography was one of the most encouraging works that could be put into the hands of any man or woman. He taught himself language after language, and fought down vexations and annoyances; and having realised a fortune commercially, he set himself to the work of his life, the discovery of these two cities. There were many points he could mention in which the world would be benefited by these discoveries, but he would only allude to one. He had always found a difficulty in understanding by what steps the Greeks attained that sublime perfection which was evident in their sculpture. In these works at Mycenæ, however, there was evidence of a school of artists of very great ability who worked in metal. They flourished centuries before the time of Phidias, who was the outcome of these workers; consequently it was now found that Phidias did not stand alone.

Mr. Thomas Morgan having seconded the resolution, it was carried.

The Chairman then announced that the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, the President of the Association, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Duke of Norfolk, and many of the Vice-Presidents, had been prevented from attending the meeting from unavoidable circumstances; and Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the letter from Mrs. Gladstone, which is given above.

The Chairman then presented Dr. Schliemann with the diploma of membership of the Association, and in so doing said: I do this with a feeling that the honour is conferred more on ourselves than on you. You have done honour to the country which owns you as a native, and also to that country, that still greater country, with which we are so intimately connected, and which you have honoured by your devotion. It has been your good fortune to make two great discoveries, either of which would have been a great honour and credit to any in-

vestigator whatever. It is also your peculiarity that you have done this in the noblest and most generous spirit in which a man could do such a work. You, not a wealthy man, not endowed by fortune with any pecuniary gifts, have, nevertheless, from the exertions of your own life, and the labour of your own intellect, been entrusted, as it were, by Providence to make these great discoveries; and you have done so without, as far as I know, inflicting any injury upon any human being, or bringing discredit upon any portion of the human race. You have done credit, as I have said, to your country, Germany; you have had the pleasure, the infinite pleasure, of adding one more laurel to the great name of Greece; and, therefore, in the name of those countries and of England, to which you have always shown so much kindness and favour, I present you with this diploma.

To this Dr. Schliemann replied: "My Lord, I accept with gratitude the diploma of membership of this Association of distinguished scholars and archaeologists. In the midst of the sufferings and privations in the depths of Ilium, it will always be to Mrs. Schliemann and myself a great consolation to think that we have the kind sympathies of the great English nation."

Professor Donaldson said it was only right they should present their sympathies and congratulations to Mrs. Schliemann for the part she had taken in the discoveries.

Upon the motion of Lord Effingham, seconded by Mr. Planché, a vote of thanks was accorded to the Royal Institute of British Architects for the use of their rooms for the purpose of the gathering, which was carried.

Mr. Charles Barry returned thanks for this vote, and Mr. J. A. Roebuck, M.P., briefly proposed a vote of thanks to the noble chairman for presiding, and as it were representing thereby the people of England in the national appreciation of Dr. Schliemann, thus forwarding the adventures of one who had devoted his life to the performance of a task of which archaeologists of far better opportunities had failed to make advantage.

Dr. Philipps seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously; and after Mr. Ouvry had moved and carried a vote of thanks to the Greek Chargé d'Affaires, who promised to convey the feelings of the meeting to the Greek Government, the proceedings terminated.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH APRIL, 1877.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following gentleman was duly elected an associate: Dr. G. J. Woodhouse, Ranelagh Lodge, Fulham.

Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam, F.S.A., was elected a Local Member of Council for Warwickshire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following present to the library :

To the Society, for "Journal of the East India Association", vol. x, No. 2. 1877.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a large collection of prehistoric remains and later relics from the newly excavated finds at Kintbury, to which the attention of the associates has been already directed in the "Antiquarian Intelligence" of March 1877. The descriptive paper which accompanied this exhibition will be printed on a future occasion.

Mr. J. W. Grover said he had already surmised that Kintbury was upon the site of the ancient *Spinæ*, although the present village of Speen is by some considered to have more claim. These remains confirmed him in his opinion.

Mr. H. S. Cuming, F.S.A.Scot., V.P., described the mediæval weapons, and considered the specimen of sword converted into a bayonet as especially interesting.

Mr. Cuming exhibited, on the part of Mr. J. T. Irvine, four old water-colour drawings, viz. : 1, a view of the church of Stanton Drew, co. Somers., from the north-west, showing the circular apse, chancel, and north transept; 2, a view of the cove¹ near Stanton Drew Church; 3, part of a Druid's temple at Stanton Drew; 4, a view of a temple of the Druids at the same. These views, which he had obtained some years ago at Bath, were painted by an artist named William Lloyd, and are dated in 1784, since which time considerable change and destruction are said to have taken place. It was hoped that some endeavours would be made to illustrate a paper by Mr. Dymond, already before the Association, with these pictures.

Mrs. Bailly submitted for inspection two fine poniards or stilettoes, upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following observations: "The earliest of the two weapons now before us presents some peculiar features that it may be well to describe in detail. Its extreme length is $15\frac{3}{4}$ ins. ; $11\frac{1}{4}$ ins. being occupied by the blade, which is nearly 1 inch wide next the hilt. The sides of the blade are slightly concave, a fashion which may be traced back at least as far as the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is sharp at one edge, and the thick back is flat at the upper part, then ridged or bevelled, followed by another short flat piece, the remainder of the blade being ridged to the sharp point. The brazen pomel and guard are still more curious and novel

¹ Not far from the church of Stanton Drew, and about a hundred yards north-west of the south-west circle (called by Stukely the "Lunar Temple"), is a cove formed of three large stones, and some have supposed that the Druids here sat for judicial purposes. This portion of the remains is not shown in the plan of Stanton Drew given in our *Journal*, xvi, p. 114.

than the blade. The first represents a *chapeau* or skull-cap, the crown composed of eight gores, and with a broad rim turned up all round, and it is secured to the end of the flat tang by a quatrefoil rivet of thin latten. The strong quillons measure a little over 2 ins. across, and tend slightly towards the blade. Each end is convex, and boldly wrought with a cross pattée. From the centre of the guard projects a hook of singular form, which may be likened to a cheese-cutter in outline. The purpose of this hook is not very obvious. It may have been used to hang the poniard on the waist-belt, or to prevent it slipping through the pouch, if it was ever worn in the manner shown on a monumental effigy of the fourteenth century, engraved in Demmin's *Weapons of War*, p. 187.

"Let us now briefly consider if there be anything symbolic in the form of the pomel and the crosses on the extremities of the quillons of this highly interesting specimen. If we turn to Dugdale's *Monasticon* and to the preface to Grose's *Antiquities*, we shall see figures of Knights Templars wearing *chapeaux* very similar to the one represented by the pomel of our poniard, and with the left shoulder of their mantles and head of their staves decorated with the cross pattée. Can the weapon before us have possibly belonged to a brother of the famous and at length cruelly persecuted Order of Templars? This fraternity was founded in the year 1118, and finally abolished by the Council of Vienna in 1312. The dagger is undoubtedly of the fourteenth century, and may be as early as the time of Edward II; though were it not for the suggestions offered by the pomel and quillons I should have been inclined to assign it to the reign of our third Edward. This rare and valuable relic was exhumed at Three Cranes' Wharf, Upper Thames Street, in 1864.

"The second weapon from the Baily collection is a stiletto of the commencement of the seventeenth century. The grip is of black horn reeded perpendicularly, and divided longitudinally with twelve thin plates of brass, the base being fitted into a brass socket with waved edge. The blade is 7 ins. long, and full three-quarters wide next the haft, and gradually narrows to the point. The thick back is flat for nearly half its length, the rest being bevelled on either side so as to produce a double-edged blade. There is a marked resemblance between this specimen and a dagger of the time of James I, given in Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, Plate cx, fig. 15, the pomel of which represents the turbaned head of a Negro. The pomel of the Baily stiletto is unfortunately lost.

"The two weapons we have been considering are important additions to those described in our *Journal*, xxxii, p. 118, where the difficulty of clearly distinguishing between the poniard and stiletto has been commented on."

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited the following matrices and impressions of seals :—1. The seal of William, the Prior of Metulum (Metling in Carinthia), of the early fifteenth century. Cast matrix in possession of Mr. Brock. 2. Seal of the official of Resbacum, or Rebais, in the Isle de France, of the fifteenth century. Cast matrix, as above. 3. Seal of a French seigneur. Legend obliterated. Shield of arms, on a bend three cinquefoils. Cast matrix, as above. 4. Impression of the seal of the town of Camelford, co. Cornwall, as engraved in Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*, vol. i, p. 333. 5. Impression of the seal in the possession of John Bradshaw, LL.D., of Balmoral House, Weston-super-Mare. Believed to be that of John Bradshaw, to whom, during the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland, lands were given *circ.* 1650-1. Crest of Bradshaw, on a mount *vert*, a stag at gaze *ppr.*, under a vine *vert*, fructed *gules*.

The Chairman exhibited two mediæval documents, one bearing the autograph signature of King Philip III of Spain; the other relating to a miracle said to have occurred at Cordova. The text of these interesting records will be given hereafter.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a curious chalice from Ireland, of the sixteenth century.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth, M.A., F.S.A., forwarded rubbings of two pigs of lead lately described in the *Journal* (p. 106), and the following extracts of his note, in correction of the description there given, were read: "I send you a rubbing of the inscription on the pig of lead found at Charterhouse, which has not only the imperial stamp but the inscribed front, which you will see clearly to be *BRIT. EX ARG. VE.* I send a sketch of the other, which has only the imperial stamp, and no lettering on the front. They both have the name of *Vespasian*, but *not* of *Titus*; and this will enable you to correct an error in the last number of the *Journal*. These two pigs of Roman lead are the first that have been found in England bearing the stamp of *Vespasian* alone, and *without* the name of the Emperor *Titus* associated, and the date must, therefore, be between A.D. 69 and A.D. 78. I have given the respective weights as a note to the rough sketches I send, viz., (1), 2 cwt.; (2), 1 cwt. 1 qr. 3 lbs."

Mr. Scarth also forwarded for exhibition a rubbing of a very singularly scored tile lately found at Charterhouse, Mendip Hills' Mines, among the old lead workings. It has evidently been formed upon an indented mould, or the mould pressed upon it, with regular, raised, and rounded indentations cut into the wood.

Mr. Compton read a paper on "Forest Laws", which will be printed hereafter. In the discussion which ensued the Chairman, Mr. Phillipps, and Mr. Thairlwall took part. Mr. Birch pointed out the immense amount of information concerning forest laws to be obtained from

Thorpe's *Antiquæ Leges*, Kemble's *Saxons in England*, the Welsh *Laws of Howel Dha*; and said that in his opinion the earliest forest law was necessarily interparochial and intertribal, and therefore well understood throughout the length and breadth of England for ages before it was codified.

Mr. Birch, *Hon. Sec.*, read Mr. C. W. Dymond's paper, "Notes on the Men-an-Tol and the Chywoon Quoit, Cornwall", which have been printed in the current number of the *Journal*, pp. 176-78. The paper was illustrated with the two beautifully drawn plans, with elevations and measurements, which have been reproduced above. Mr. Brock, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Birch, took part in the discussion which followed.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND MAY, 1877.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

After declaring the ballot for officers and Council of the Association for the ensuing session of 1877-8 duly open, the Chairman read the

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1876.

My report upon the balance sheet for the year ending 31st December, 1876, which has been duly examined and verified by the auditors, will be gratifying in one respect to our associates, in that they have received a larger volume this time than usual. The *Journal* for 1876 consists of no less than 545 pages of closely printed matter, which exceeds by 200 pages the *Journal* of fourteen years since (1863), and it is illustrated by thirty-six engravings. The subjects treated of have been particularly diversified, the excavations and discoveries made in different parts of the country have been so many, and of such interest, and our friends have been so liberal in their contributions of papers, that it has been difficult to keep the *Journal* within its accustomed limits, and I hope we shall be excused in consequence if the funds of the Association do not show so favourable a balance to carry over as could be wished, and which is attributable partly to increased expenditure on the *Journal* and partly to an apparent diminution in the receipts of the Congress in Cornwall as compared with that held at Evesham; but there is an item of £12:8:6, belonging to the Evesham Congress, arising from a claim of one of the Local Committee, which from unavoidable circumstances was not ascertained till this year, and therefore now appears in this account. The total ordinary income, however,

shows no diminution, but the reverse; and the sum of £41 8s. has been realised from the sale of our publications,—a much larger amount than usual; and the assistance of Messrs. Trübner and Co. in extending this branch of revenue, by advertising in their Circular and otherwise, may cause us to look hopefully on this source of revenue in the future. Though the expenditure on the *Journal* shows an excess over the previous year, the illustrations, which have been very good, have cost a less sum.

I referred last year to the sum remaining due on the *Index* printing account, £61 5s., which remained unpaid on 31st December last; but I propose next month, if it meets with the approval of the Council, that £31 5s. of this account shall be paid off, and the remainder next year. This will have been money well spent, though not resulting in an immediate money gain to the Society. The sum realised last year from the sales of the *Index* amounted to £11 : 9 : 6.

The Council has ordered the suspension of the rule, for the present, passed two years ago, by which one half of the sums received during the year for life-compositions and entrance-fees was to be set apart and invested. The suspension of this rule has been rendered necessary by the state of the funds, and there has always been a feeling that there might at times be a difficulty in carrying into effect this new rule, which was objected to by both our former Treasurers. The payment of the *Index* printing account prevents me from holding out any hope of being able to spare the £38 17s. this year, which would be required to make the investment according to the rule; which, however, is not abrogated, but only suspended. The sum invested last year remains so invested, and the dividends upon it being small, have not yet been received; but the two years' interest together will be credited to the receipts of the current year.

Upon the whole, notwithstanding the circumstances referred to, the position of the Society, both financially and otherwise, must be considered sound and improving. The number of members on the roll has been increased by the accession of associates who are likely to aid the interests of the Society.

I have again to thank the President, the Vice-Presidents, the Council, the officers of the Society, and all those, its members, with whom I have had communication, for the assistance they have rendered me in the performance of my duties, and for the kindly feeling and encouragement shown me, by which those duties have been made agreeable; and if I am again elected to the office of Treasurer for the ensuing year, I shall do my best to deserve this further expression of your confidence.

THOMAS MORGAN, *Hon. Treasurer.*

The adoption of the Report having been moved, seconded, and unanimously agreed to, Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, read the

SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DEC. 1876.

The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the associates of the British Archæological Association, at the Annual General Meeting to-day, the following Report upon the state and progress of the Association during the past year, 1876.

1. By comparing the list of associates in the current number of the *Journal* with that of the corresponding period last year, a total of four hundred and forty names is shown, against a similar total of four hundred and twenty-four last year. We have thus an increase of sixteen. The corresponding increase last year was seven names. We observe among the newly-elected associates several gentlemen of eminent antiquarian and literary position; and we trust we are justified in expressing our conviction that the British Archæological Association will continue to add to its numbers at the satisfactory rate of progress which has been so marked of late years.

2. Biographical notices of the associates whom we have lost by death have, as far as is practicable, been prepared from materials submitted to us for the purpose. These will be found in that portion of the *Journal* which is devoted to that object.

3. During the year six documents, two views, and seventy-three complete books, or parts of books issued in periodical series, have been presented to the Association; but the Honorary Secretaries deeply regret that they are compelled to repeat the statement embodied in their Report of last year, to the effect that no improvement has yet been adopted so as to render the valuable and extensive library of archæological works available to the necessities of the associates. However, with a view to the preservation and identification of the books, drawings, manuscripts, and objects, belonging to the Association, the Honorary Secretaries would suggest that a catalogue should be made forthwith by some one or more associates, and printed at an early opportunity in the *Journal*; and that each volume should be stamped with the name of the Association, or with some suitable device, as a protection against loss.¹

4. Forty-six of the most important papers read at the Evesham Congress, or during the progress of the sessions in London, have been printed in the *Journal* of the past year. This quantity affords a favourable comparison with the thirty-two papers of the previous year; and the Honorary Secretaries are glad that they are enabled to announce that there is no lack of material for the proper continuation of the

¹ The difficulty of getting Parts of *Journals*, to enable us to make up perfect sets, will increase with every year of delay.

Journal, as they have on hand several valuable contributions to British and foreign archæology from the pens of Messrs. Birch, Boutell, Brock, Compton, Cuming, Dymond, Grover, Irvine, Kerslake, Lach-Szyrma, Lukis, Lynam, Mayhew, Money, Morgan, Phené, Planché, Prigg, Schliemann, and Walcott. These papers, as far as the very limited space at the command of the Editor will permit, will be printed in future issues of the *Journal*. And the Honorary Secretaries beg here to point out the large sums expended on the publication, whereby almost, if not quite, the whole amount of the subscription is returned to the associates; and they also here take the opportunity of asking Local Members of Council and associates individually to lose no occasion of laying before the meetings early papers and notices of new discoveries and interesting researches; thereby assisting to maintain the important position of the *Journal* as a record of archæology, and as a book of reference to all matters which enter into the scope of the proceedings.

5. With regard to the portions devoted to Antiquarian Intelligence, it has been found that a useful medium of communicating new and important matters has been in this way established, and the Honorary Secretaries earnestly desire all members to assist them in this object by prompt correspondence with regard to local discoveries.

6. The Honorary Secretaries have to record that on the 17th of May 1876, one of the ordinary evening meetings of the Association was held, by kind permission of the Royal Institute of British Architects, in the large Hall of that Society, 9 Conduit Street, Regent Street, on which occasion Dr. J. S. Phené, V.P., delivered an interesting lecture on Brittany and Britain. Upon that occasion, as also upon a more recent one of a somewhat similar character, the numerous attendance of the associates and supporters of the Association not only indicates the amount of latent power possessed by the Association, which is capable of being turned to practical account when circumstances favour, but that if the Association were in occupation of suitable accommodation, the gain accruing, both intellectual and financial, would be very considerable.

7. The Honorary Secretaries also desire to represent to the Annual General Meeting that the period seems to be now at hand, according to prevalent opinion, when the Rules of the Society would be benefited by a careful revision, many omissions having been discovered, and many customs not sanctioned by the Rules being in practical operation. They would, therefore, recommend that a sub-committee of seven gentlemen, consisting of the Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Secretaries, two Vice-Presidents, and two members of Council, be appointed to consider the printed Rules, and present their report at the commencement of the new year.

W. DE G. BIRCH }
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK } *Hon. Secretaries.*

The adoption of this Report having been duly moved, seconded, and unanimously accepted, Mr. J. W. Previté moved a vote of thanks to the Royal Institute of British Architects for the kind reception it had afforded to the Association.

The ballot was then taken, with the following result—

President.

[SIR WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN, BART., M.P.]

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD; THE EARL BATHURST; THE EARL OF CARNARVON; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGECUMBE; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOURTON, BART.; SIR W. C. MEDLYCOTT, BART., D.C.L.; JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.; KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, M.P.; GEORGE TOMLINE, F.S.A.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
SIR H. W. PEEK, BART., M.P.
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
A. W. FRANKS, M.A., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MATHEW, M.A., F.S.A.
R. N. PHILLIPS, LL.D., F.S.A.

J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Somerset Herald*
REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.
JOHN WALTER, M.P.
THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A.

Secretaries.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A. (*with a seat at the Council*).

Draughtsman.

G. F. TENISWOOD, F.S.A.

Council.

GEORGE G. ADAMS, F.S.A.
GEORGE ADE
THOMAS BLASHILL
CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.
GEORGE G. COCKAYNE, F.S.A., *Lancaster Herald*
WILLIAM HENRY COPE
T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A.
R. HORMAN FISHER

J. W. GROVER
J. TURK LACEY
J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A.
J. W. PREVITÉ
E. M. THOMPSON
REV. ALEXANDER TAYLOR, M.A.
STEPHEN I. TUCKER, *Rouge Croix*.
F. A. WAITE, M.A., F.S.A.
J. WHITMORE.

Auditors.

WENTWORTH HUYSHEN

F. J. THAIBELWALL.

The following resolutions were then moved, and carried by acclamation :

That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Right Hon. the Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, the past President of the Association, for his

kind and courteous attention to the business of the Congress for 1876, and for the interest manifested by his Lordship in the general welfare of the Association.

That the thanks of the Meeting be given to Thomas Morgan, Esq., F.S.A., the Treasurer of the Association, for his valuable services during the past year, and for the highly satisfactory statement of accounts presented by him this day.

That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., and E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., Hon. Secretaries, for their unceasing exertions to promote the prosperity of the Association.

That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Vice-Presidents, Council, and Auditors, for their services in furthering the object of the Association during the past year.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator, Librarian, and Excursion-Secretary*, laid before the Meeting the results of his work with regard to the forthcoming Congress proposed to be held at Llangollen in North Wales. A separate prospectus of the Congress will be issued in a short time, containing the details of the excursions and other information connected with the proceedings.

The Chairman then briefly recapitulated the work of the Association during the past year, and said: "It would occupy too long a time even to give the names of the interesting objects which have been exhibited at our evening meetings this session, or to particularise the subjects discussed, nor indeed is it necessary for me to name them *seriatim*, since so many associates are here who have been present at our meetings, and have taken part in our discussions; but what I think will be of use is to draw your attention to the names of localities which have been specially referred to by the discovery of antiquities, because I think they should be made the subjects of further study and research, with a view to really utilise the labours of the excavators, by a comparison of historical with topographical observations. First, I would speak of the new light thrown upon the topography of the south-western district of England by the researches of our associate, Mr. Kerslake of Bristol, who has made a special study of that fortified position on the borders of Somerset, Wilts, and Dorset at Penselwood, where an enclosed tract of land 700 acres in extent is honeycombed with pits, which, if they represent the dwellings of men, must be deserving of the name given to it by Mr. Kerslake of a British metropolis. He identifies the name, too, of Penselwood with Pensavelcoit, one of the cities recorded by Nennius. Whether all his conclusions are to be adopted or not, the importance of Mr. Kerslake's pamphlet (*A Primæval British Metropolis, Bristol, 1877*), cannot be over-estimated.

"At Britford Church, near Salisbury, a Roman or Saxon arch has been discovered, and described by Mr. H. J. F. Swayne; and we have

had observations upon it by Mr. C. Roach Smith, our veteran associate, who has also done us the favour to give us an account of his personal survey of the old Roman road, through Surrey and Sussex, from Ewell to Chichester. Mr. Prebendary Scarth has sent us photographs of two Roman pigs of lead of the time of Vespasian, and bearing his inscription, from the Mendip Hills in Somersetshire. At Putley, near Hereford, Roman pottery has been discovered from time to time, and exhibited by Mr. T. Blashill. We have accounts of British interments near Lancaster, by John Harker, M.D.; and at Wilderspool, near Warrington, by Dr. Kendrick; and our attention has been drawn to Roman Lancaster by the researches of Mr. W. Thompson Watkin; and to the Roman Wall of Hadrian or Severus in the north, by recent important discoveries at Chollerford (*Procolitia*) of altars and other Roman works in stone, as well as thousands of coins. At St. Mary-le-Wigford, near Lincoln, our attention has been called to a Saxon inscription deciphered by Professors Earle and Hübner. Mr. J. Tom Burgess has given us an account of antiquities at Offchurch, Warwickshire; and Mr. W. Money, an interesting description of a Saxon cemetery at Kintbury, near Newbury. Then at Colchester Roman kilns have been uncovered, which have produced specimens of pottery, and among them many of the two kinds known as Upchurch and Castor ware, or resembling them, but which must have been made on the spot. Mr. Papillon, on whose property the kilns were found, kindly brought specimens for exhibition, as well as coins of Vespasian found at the kilns. Mr. Cecil Brent, by his exhibition of ceramic ware, and his brother, Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., on the topography of Roman Canterbury, have also done us good service; and Mr. Wentworth Huyshe exhibited Roman antiquities dug up in Walbrook, at the corner of the Mansion House. We are just now informed by our active Secretary, Mr. Brock, who is keenly alive to any antiquities which may crop up, of a Roman villa lately discovered at Icklington in Suffolk; and I should also mention his further discoveries at the Roman London Wall, which were not on the same spot as those described by him last year, being in Camomile Street, and embedded in the Roman foundations; so that they must have been taken from another building, and used when the Wall was built. We must commend his promptitude in both cases in getting drawings made before the ruins were covered up; and the same may be said of the ancient groined arches of a crypt in Jewry Street, which he has duly recorded, with ground-plan and drawings. Our old associate, Mr. J. T. Irvine, is entitled to our thanks for his contributions this session.

"At our evening meetings you will remember with pleasure the exhibition by Mr. J. R. Planché, *Somerset Herald*, of two historical paintings by the famous Florentine Uccello, which was the occasion of

an interesting paper by that learned antiquary, in which he critically discussed the inaccuracy of ascribing to this artist a picture in the National Gallery said to be his work. The anachronism was discovered and pointed out by certain unmistakeable signs in the fashion of the armour, which proved the picture to have been painted after Uccello was dead. This paper, in bringing before the Association the subject of ancient armour, was not less interesting than that read to us at the beginning of the session by our Somerset Herald on the youthful armour of Prince Edward, killed after the battle of Tewkesbury; the identical suit being then exhibited to us, which has been now deposited in Warwick Castle.

“Mr. Syer Cuming’s account of, and rubbings from, the knightly effigies in Suffolk Churches have been supported by the exhibition of other rubbings of brasses by Mr. Loftus Brook; and I would take this opportunity of suggesting that in our numerous visits to churches we should take occasion to secure rubbings of any brasses which may be seen. Mr. Grover’s photograph of a ceiling in St. Alban’s Abbey Church, painted with heraldic devices, was the cause of a most interesting development of the shields by Mr. Bontell, and a description of them by him, which tells a European history as graphic almost as that of the chronicles for which the Abbey was celebrated. Mr. Trigg, from Ipswich, produced some good specimens of swords, possibly as old as the time of Henry II, and also some Roman antiquities. In objects of metallurgic art I may recall the two beautiful bulls, carved in gold, of ancient Roman work, exhibited by Mr. Cope; and a lady’s waist-girdle in silver, exquisitely embossed, of the fifteenth century, exhibited by Mr. Stephen Tucker, *Rouge Croix*. The two historical rolls, one of which was twenty-five feet long, exhibited by Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, showed us a genealogical series of the kings, with collateral branches, from the earliest time. They are MSS. of great interest, particularly as to the costume of the figures of the period when the work was done. We shall be fortunate if Mr. Birch is as successful in his researches as he was last year, when he discovered the portraits of the Abbots of Evesham painted on glass from the Abbey, hidden away and unknown till brought to light by Mr. Birch’s discovery, and figured in the *Journal*.

“I must leave unsaid many of the subjects treated of at our evening meetings, such as the stone circle of Stanton Drew, by Mr. C. W. Dymond, and stone crosses by Mr. C. Lynam; but before finishing I think you will agree with me in saying that Mr. H. Syer Cuming’s comments upon, and exposition of, the many interesting antiquities from the Baily collection, as well as from his own, have greatly added to the instruction derivable from their exhibition; and the Rev. Mr. Mayhew’s unrivalled specimens of Venetian glass will be particularly

remembered among the many other objects he has shown us. Taking, then, the few out of many more subjects brought under our notice, and having regard to what may be called the business work of archæology, such as interceding for the preservation of the old towers of St. Antholin in the City, and St. Werburgh in Bristol, and petitioning the authorities, in conjunction with other learned societies, for the passing of measures of importance to archæology, we may look back on the session as one which has done good work in forwarding the objects for which this Society was established."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 16TH, 1877.

THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following associates was announced :

C. H. Talbot, Esq., Lacock Abbey, Chippenham, Wilts

The Rev. G. B. Lewis, M.A., Kemsing Vicarage, Sevenoaks, Kent.

And also the following as Local Member of Council for Hampshire :
Joseph Stevens, M.D., St. Mary Bourne, Andover, Hants.

The following presents to the Association were announced, and thanks recorded :

To the Smithsonian Institution, for "Smithsonian Report, 1875."

To the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, for 3rd Series, vols. iii and iv.

To the Author, Matthew H. Blozam, for Pamphlets, "On some of the Sepulchral Monuments", and "Antiquities of Warwickshire."

A paper was then read by Mr. C. H. Talbot on "The Saxon Arches of Britford Church, Wilts", which will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

The discovery of a Roman tessellated pavement was announced, in Cannon Street, City, on the north side, and two or three doors west from the junction with Bow Lane. It is in poor condition, but is at present only partially uncovered. It has been met with in course of the excavations for the new buildings about to be erected on the site. One of the trenches for the foundations has cut through a portion of its border, which is formed of red tesserae; but others of white and black have been revealed, with a few walls of chalk. The pavement is about 12 feet below the present level of Cannon Street.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following notice of the "scold's bridle", from Vernham, in Dr. Stevens' unavoidable absence :
"A brank, or scold's bridle, has lately come into my possession from Vernham, Hants, a village near here, which was probably employed in

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DEC. 1876.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Annual subscriptions and donations	£274	11	0
Life-compositions and entrance-fees	77	14	0
Balance of the Cornwall Congress	62	9	2
Special donations by—			
The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe	£10	0	0
J. O. Halliwell-Phillips, Esq.	17	7	6
Sale of publications			89 16 8
Sale of the Index			41 8 0
Balance due to the Treasurer			11 9 6
			9 17 9
			£504 16 11
Investment at cost			£44 12 6
Less balance due to Treasurer			9 17 9
In hands of the Treasurer			£34 14 9

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

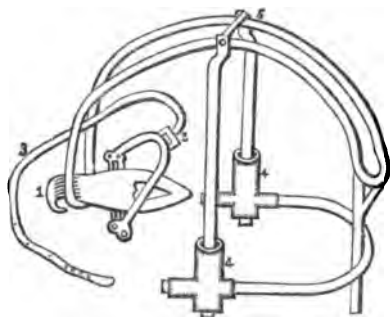
J. TURK LACEY }
F. J. THAIRLWALL } *Auditors.*

April 28th, 1877.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Balance over-drawn from last year			4 18 11
Paid Mr. Herbert New, bill due on Evesham Congress, not before rendered			12 8 6
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>			297 2 0
Illustrations to the same			83 0 0
Miscellaneous printing			16 17 6
Delivery of <i>Journals</i> and Index			19 19 6
Rent for 1876, and clerk's salary			68 4 6
Stamps, stationery, postages, carriage of antiquities, etc.			12 6 0
			£504 16 11

the Upper Test Valley at no very distant period. It differs from that engraved in the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association (June 1869, p. 174), as well as from others I have seen or heard described,



in containing a removable sliding tongue-plate (1), as shown in the adjoining sketch. The side or sur-pieces have leather fixings (2, 3, 4). Beneath the tongue-plate or gag there are two bars,—one forming the base of the stirrup, and unconnected with the tongue-plate; the other one uniting the tongue-plate to the stirrup, and, being connected by movable joints, the stir-

rup-bar is enabled to act as a lever to the tongue-plate, and thus must have furnished the conductor of the poor gagged creature with considerable latitude in inflicting punishment to the mouth. The brank, like most other examples, is framed with iron bands, the flat ones being of stout hoop-iron. Its dimensions are the following: length, from behind forwards, $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; width between ear-plates, 6 ins.; circumference of neck-plate, $17\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; height of side-plates, 8 ins.; length of cranial hoops from occiput to nose-piece, $17\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; length of connecting pin (5) at the vertex, $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; height of stirrup, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; width of ditto at back, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; length of tongue-plate and slide, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; width of ditto at centre, $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins."

The Council's attention having been directed to the contemplated destruction of various old papers and records now in the Record Office, and in view of the necessity for speedy action, the following resolution of the Council was read: "Resolved that a sub-committee be appointed, consisting of Messrs. S. I. Tucker (*Rouge Croix*), E. M. Thompson, and E. P. L. Brock, to take such steps as they may deem expedient to prevent the contemplated destruction of records and documents of great present and prospective value, on the recommendation of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records."

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited, of recent London finds,—a dish of Wrotham ware, 12 ins. in diameter, ornamented with yellow scrolls; a socketed *pilum* of iron, 8 ins. in length; a bronze-handled knife-dagger of fourteenth century. Of glass, a magnificent wine-cup encrusted with granular iridescence, silvery and green; a drinking-glass brilliantly coloured, and about 4 inches high, of the Roman period, found in the Steelyard excavations; a fine-shaped *oinochos* of white glass, also Roman, about 6 ins. high. This latter is in form uncommon and beautiful.

It was then announced that the next Congress of the Association

would be held at Llangollen, North Wales, and Mr. Geo. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Curator and Excursion Secretary*, detailed the proposed arrangements.

Mr. Geo. Payne, jun., of Sittingbourne, exhibited a large collection of Roman relics, pottery of many hues and of various forms, including several examples of Samian ware, some charming vessels of delicate glass in perfect condition, and some capital specimens of bronze. The description of these relics is contained in the following notes :—

ON ROMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED AT SITTINGBOURNE.

BY GEORGE PAYNE, JUN., ESQ.

Before I proceed to give you a description of the various articles which I have laid upon the tables for your inspection, I feel it my duty to thank you most heartily for your kindness in placing a portion of this evening at my disposal. The great risk in conveying these fragile objects to London is entirely effaced by the pleasure it gives me to extend your acquaintance with Roman remains. I am often severely censured for running such risks, but I think if local antiquaries would open their treasures more readily, and endeavour to place their discoveries before the various archæological societies of the metropolis, we should by this means get the combined opinions of the highest authorities, thereby adding considerably to our knowledge of antiquities. The old proverb, "Union is strength", applies very forcibly here, and I feel sure if the course I have ventured to suggest were more generally adopted, it would not only bring many fresh faces into the ranks of the scientific throng, but give renewed zeal to those already enrolled. It is for these reasons that I appear before you to-night, as most of the relics which I have the honour to exhibit are unusually rare in Britain, and demand our keenest attention. I would direct your thoughts more particularly this evening to the Bayford group. The other vessels have been selected from my collection to illustrate the various kinds of pottery found in the neighbourhood of Sittingbourne. A reference to my archæological maps will give you the best idea of the relative positions of the sites of my discoveries. The following remarks apply to the discovery of a Roman interment at Bayford, in the parish of Sittingbourne, in Kent, on the 7th of March last, by workmen engaged in digging brick earth; the relics are arranged *in situ*. The site of the interment is about a hundred yards to the east of Bayford orchard, the footpath through the brickfields to Marston being but a few yards to the right of the grave. It will be necessary, though somewhat tedious, to take each object singly, giving a detailed description of it. We will take then—

No. 1. A pale blue glass vessel, containing calcined bones, height, 9½ ins.; diameter of body, 7¾ ins.; diameter of neck, 2½ ins.

No. 2. A white glass vase in fragments.

No. 3. A white opaque glass vase in fragments.

No. 4. Bronze lamp or lamp stand; height $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The handle, which is in the form of a crescent, is $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide; weight, 1 lb. $2\frac{3}{4}$ oz.

No. 5. A copper *præfericulum*, its mouth being in the form of a trefoil leaf; height, 6 ins.; diameter of body, $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; weight, 2 lb. $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The handle is ornamented at the base with the figure of a siren in relief.

No. 6. A pale green glass jug, decorated with a raised ribbed pattern. Height, $8\frac{1}{8}$ ins.; diameter of widest part, 6 ins.; diameter of neck, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; diameter of base, $2\frac{3}{8}$ ins. The handle is attached to the rim of the vessel by a screw-shaped design, which had been twisted round the rim when in a heated state, then folded into a kind of loop, and continuing down to the body of the jug, almost parallel with the neck.

No. 7. A copper bowl with handle; the latter is ornamented with the head of a deity, bearded, and represented with horns; diameter of bowl, $9\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; length of handle, 5 ins.; weight of the whole, 3 lbs.

No. 8. A copper *lekythus* ornamented with four medallions in relief, representing female faces of a Nubian type. The features of each face are well defined.

No. 9. Portions of an iron strigil. These were found attached to the *lecythus* by corrosion. The latter was probably suspended by a small chain, from a ring, with the strigil, similar to some examples of bathing requisites in the British Museum.

No. 10. A large Samian dish; diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; height, 2 ins.

No. 11. A patera of ditto; diam., $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; height, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

No. 12. Ditto; diam., $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; height, 1 in.

No. 13. Ditto; „ $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; „ $1\frac{3}{8}$ in.

No. 14. Ditto; „ $6\frac{1}{8}$ ins.; „ $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.

No. 15. Ditto; „ $6\frac{5}{8}$ ins.; „ $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

No. 16. Ditto; „ 6 ins.; „ $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.

No. 17. A cup; „ $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; „ 1 in.

No. 18. Ditto; „ $5\frac{1}{8}$ ins.; „ $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.

No. 19. Ditto; „ $5\frac{1}{8}$ ins.; „ $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

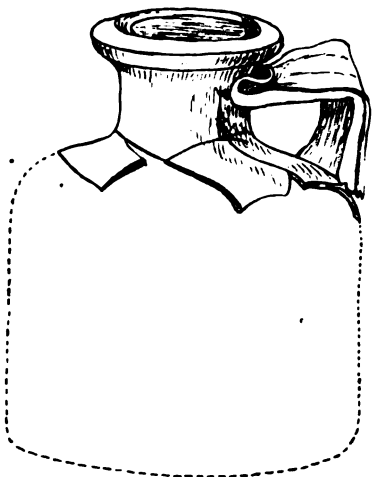
No. 20. A small handle of bronze or copper.

No. 21. A small urn-shaped vessel of brown pottery; height, $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; diameter of mouth, 2 ins.

No. 22. A small urn-shaped vessel of brown pottery; height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; diameter of mouth, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.

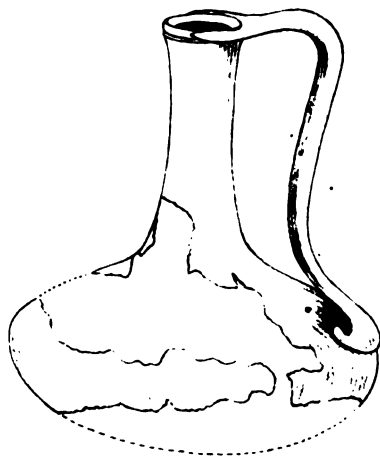
From the foregoing list it will be apparent to you all that we have here a discovery of peculiar interest, and it leaves no doubt in our minds as to the rank and worldly position of the person whose charred ashes were deposited so many centuries ago in the glass vessel occupying the centre of the group. When these articles are placed side by

Nº 2.



$\frac{1}{4}^{\text{th}}$ OF ACTUAL SIZE.

Nº 3.



$\frac{1}{3}^{\text{rd}}$ OF ACTUAL SIZE.

Nº 5.



$\frac{1}{3}^{\text{rd}}$ OF ACTUAL SIZE.

Nº 6



$\frac{1}{2}$ SIZE.

ROMAN VESSELS FOUND AT SITTINGBOURNE

Nº 4.



1/10th OF ACTUAL SIZE

Nº 8.



ACTUAL SIZE.

Nº 7.



1/2 SIZE

Nº 6.



1/3rd OF ACTUAL SIZE.

ROMAN VESSELS FOUND AT SITTINGBOURNE

side with the richly ornamented leaden coffins found at Bex Hill, in the parish of Milton, we naturally ask ourselves the question, Where were the dwellings of these wealthy Romans? It is reasonable to suppose that persons who could be buried with such magnificence occupied during their lifetime substantially built houses, none of which have been discovered. Those time-honoured walls have, doubtless, shared the fate of many a noble pile, which we daily see torn down in a spirit of reckless Vandalism. It is probable that the ground around Milton Church may cover some of these dwellings. I have, within the last few days, petitioned the Council of the Kent Archaeological Society to grant a sum of money to enable us to excavate in a field adjoining the churchyard, where foundations are continually being found, and also immense quantities of broken Samian and other pottery. Should my plans with regard to this matter be carried out, I may ask you again to give me the privilege of submitting to you the results of my labours.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a large collection of ancient relics recently excavated on the site of the old Bagnio, Bath Street, Newgate Street, immediately in the rear of the new General Post Office. He described the old building, which has recently been removed after having witnessed many changes of fortune. The works for the new buildings to occupy its site, now in progress, have produced a considerable number of fragments of pottery of all ages and dates, the oldest being found naturally at the greatest depth. Near the surface several Bellarmine jugs, tiques, and other relics of the Elizabethan period, were met with; then a considerable number of earthenware moneyboxes, some of which were very similar to those illustrated in the *Journal*, xxx, p. 444, fig. 1.¹ One had perforations through its base, to admit of any contents being visible. At a distance of about fifteen feet from the surface, Roman Samian ware was met with; and many of the fragments were of vessels of great beauty and of an early period, the patterns being well defined and the glaze excellent. Many fragments of brown and light mortaria, lusted and silvered ware, were met with; and a large number of portions of black Upchurch vessels of considerable diversity both of size and pattern. This discovery is of interest in shewing that the Romans were present in the west, as we know they were in the east of London. At the lowest depth some fragments of very rough brown pottery were found, having a coarse texture filled with pieces of oyster-shell, differing from all the others. These were carefully examined, and were pronounced to be of prehistoric date. They resembled in texture and material some fragments found, with flint implements, by Mr. Payne near Sittingbourne, which were on the table with his other objects.

¹ Found a few yards only from the site of this find.

A paper was then read by the Rev. Canon Ridgway on "The Temples and Worship of Baal, and the Traces of these still to be found in England", which will appear in a future *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 6 JUNE, 1877.

H. S. CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were duly elected :

Ch. Teniswood, B.A., Caton Lodge, Putney

T. Wise, M.D., Thornton, Beulah Hill, Upper Norwood.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library :

To the Society, for "Archæological Journal", vol. xxxiii, No. 131. September 1876.

" " for "Index to Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries", Second Series, vol. vi.

" " for "The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. iv, Fourth Series. Jan. 1877. No. 29.

" " for "Archæologia Cambrensis", April 1877. Fourth Series. No. 30.

To the Author, for "Stonehenge and its Barrows", by William Long, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. Devizes, 1876. 4to.

It was announced that a Committee, consisting of the Hon. Treasurer, Secretaries, and Librarian, with Messrs. C. Brent, F.S.A., R. Horman Fisher, and the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, had been appointed to examine the state of the Rules of the Association, and report upon the same in January next.

It was also announced that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales had graciously signified his acceptance of the office of Patron of the Association for the North Wales Congress, and that Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart., M.P., had been elected President of the Association for the ensuing Congress and session.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator and Librarian*, briefly detailed the proposed arrangements in connection with the Congress, and invited associates to signify to him the titles of their intended papers, and the numbers composing their parties, in order that proper accommodation might be duly secured for them.

The Rev. Charles Boutell presented a series of twenty-six autotypes

of the sculptured bosses in the vaulting of the roof of Norwich Cathedral. Also the first and second of four papers on the "Symbols of the Seasons and Months represented in Early Art", by himself, now in the course of publication in the *Art Journal*. Mr. Boutell exhibited a volume of sketches carefully drawn from rubbings of monumental slabs that have been despoiled of their brasses; the collection including several examples of interesting and curious designs from the cathedrals of Ely, Lincoln, Chichester, Worcester, and St. Alban's; from the churches of Wootton-under-Edge and Tormarden in Gloucestershire; Stradsett and Pulham in Norfolk; and from the chapel of Merton College, Oxford, etc. Mr. Boutell briefly pleaded the claims of these despoiled slabs for attention and record; and he also submitted to the meeting a series of fifteen excellent photographs of the remarkable early sculptures in the spandrels of the wall-arcade of the easternmost part of Worcester Cathedral; and he expressed his satisfaction at these sculptures of the thirteenth century, which still are wonderfully sharp, and but slightly mutilated, having escaped from sharing the "terrible restoration" of Worcester Cathedral, and consequently retaining their original character.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, laid upon the table the following descriptive account of the Roman pottery-kilns discovered at Colchester, read at the evening meeting on the 4th of April, and now completed and revised:

ROMAN POTTERY-KILNS AT COLCHESTER.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., *HON. SECRETARY*.

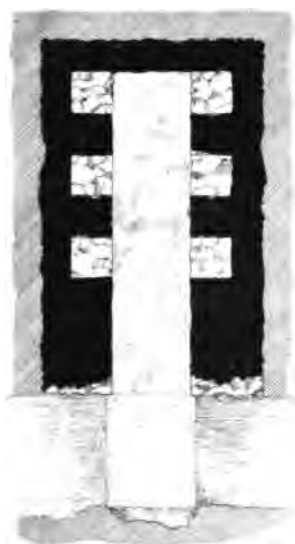
An unexpected discovery of much interest has just been made on the Sheepen Farm at Colchester, on the grounds of T. A. Papillon, Esq., of Lexden Manor. A slight inequality in the ground, and a certain blackness of the earth, different from the bright sandy colour of the natural soil, called special attention to a spot on rather high ground above the river Coln, and close where two footpaths to Lexden meet together. Mr. R. Joslin, so well known for his investigations of Colchester antiquities, having obtained permission from Mr. Papillon, made some excavations which resulted in the finding of a kiln for the baking of pottery. It is of peculiar construction, being in the form of a parallelogram, 5 ft. 4 ins. by 4 ft. broad. It is formed of puddled clay now quite hardened, and with all its surfaces completely vitrified by the intense heat. The furnace is 5 ft. long, and 1 ft. 10 ins. broad; and has only the entrance-aperture for firing, and has no outlet at the other extremity. There are six cells, three on each side, all also formed of clay, and evidently intended to retain and equalise the heat on the baking floor. The crown of the furnace is arched over,

as are also the little cells ; and there are piercings over the whole surface, through to the baking floor above, to transmit the heat. The baking floor is also vitrefied, and with its small circular piercings has a strange aspect as you look down upon it from the bank of earth thrown up from the excavations. It was buried completely with earth, but it was cleared for inspection at the period of my visit. Mr. Papillon proposes to preserve it, and to protect it with a roof ; and it will thus be, we may reasonably hope, an interesting addition to the important antiquities of Colchester.

There were no traces of the enclosing kiln above the floor. It was probably only built over the vessels when placed in position for baking, and removed at conclusion of the process. It was most probably only of clay and sods. This is the first kiln of a rectangular form which we have had before us. The ground was filled with fragments of the ware baked at this kiln, and the vessels were in every case noted of light or fawn-coloured ware. The rims of a vast number of mortaria of familiar form were visible at every turn, and possessing all the usual characteristics of diversity of form and size. It is, however, to be much regretted that hitherto not a single whole vessel has been discovered.

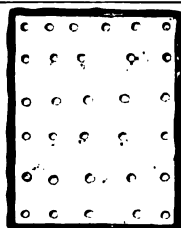
The discovery of the first kiln led to other investigations which speedily led to other results. At a distance of about 65 ft. from this kiln another was found, of a peculiar, curved form, also constructed of puddled clay ; but no remains were found either of the furnace-floor or the baking floor above the kiln. This is the more remarkable since the whole of the kiln, when found, was completely filled with earth which contained no fragments of the floor. We may reasonably conclude that it was formed of movable slabs similar to those of the Roman kilns discovered by Mr. Artis at Wansford, and which are figured in vols. i and ii of the *Journal*, and that it was supported in a similar manner by a central pier. There is an exit as well as an entrance to the furnace, and there are approaches to both by slopes from the old surface of the ground. In both of these, and on both sides, right and left of the entrance-passages, a series of steps were noticed, cut into the golden coloured sand, and evidently intended for drying the pottery prior to its being stacked in the kiln, and probably as places of deposit during the process of stacking. The walls of the kiln are dark coloured, and much burnt ; but the surfaces are not vitrefied as in the first one, indicating that while this was undoubtedly a smother-kiln, yet the process of manufacture was different to that of the former one. The earth excavated is of dark, inky hue, contrasting strangely with the bright yellow of the natural soil. It was remarked by more than one visitor, however, that this black tint was rapidly fading since the earth was being exposed to light and air. A vast quantity of frag-

ROMAN POTTERY KILNS AT COLCHESTER.



Plan of the Furnace.

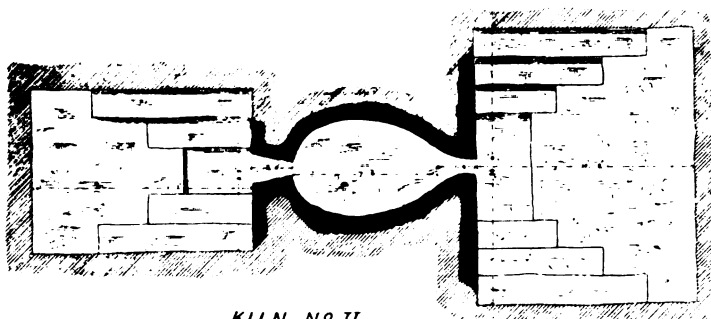
KILN N° I



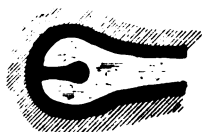
Plan of the baking floor.



Section of the Furnace.



*KILN N° II.
Plan*



Plan.



Section.

KILN N° III.

ments of pottery was found in the excavated soil ; indeed, it was filled with them ; and they were all of black ware, the great majority being of a dark hue, while others approached to a chocolate brown ; the former resembling that which we are accustomed to call Upchurch ware, and the latter similar to other articles of pottery found in the locality of Colchester.

Since my visit a third kiln has been found, and I am able, through Mr. Joslin's courtesy, to produce a sketch of its plan. It will be noticed that its form assimilates to that of the Northamptonshire examples, but that its baking floor as well as its sides and its central arm supporting it, are all alike of clay, still bearing the indications of intense heat. I hear from Mr. Papillon that a fourth kiln has just been discovered, but in poor condition, its roof and part of the sides having fallen in. He also informs me that a coin of Vespasian was found near the first kiln, and I have seen a bronze fibula of usual type found in the same position. Mr. Joslin has a remarkable collection of fragments of the pottery met with, and I have examined those from the two first kilns. They illustrate clearly what is also visible on the sites, the first kiln having produced the light ware, and the second the black. The fragments are several hundreds in number, and the forms of the vessels that can be made out are very diverse. We have the types of a vast number of those exhibited in the Colchester Museum as well as those in Mr. Joslin's own collection. It is, however, in relation to the question of the local manufacture of pottery in Roman times that this discovery is of its principal value to us, for it indicates the capability of the production of pottery in other parts of England, and particularly the black ware.

I exhibit a large number of fragments of this latter material ; and beside them are fragments of Upchurch ware found in London and elsewhere, and it will be noticed that they are identical in style and texture. On both alike are the scoring-lines forming a simple pattern ; and it will be observed that on some of the varieties is a peculiar, smooth, hand-finished surface, formed by a smoothing process on the lathe after manufacture, and which has been supposed to distinguish Upchurch ware ; this appears alike on the Colchester and the Upchurch specimens. The mortaria, of which I exhibit fragments, are also identical with those found so frequently in London ; and the peculiar, "squeezed in" vessels, of which several portions are on the table, are similar in design to others found over an extended area. These relics lead us to think that it would have been as easy to have served London with pottery from Colchester as from Upchurch, did not this discovery lead us to conclude that what could be produced at Upchurch and Colchester alike, could also be made at London and on other Roman sites, wherever the material for the purpose could be found.

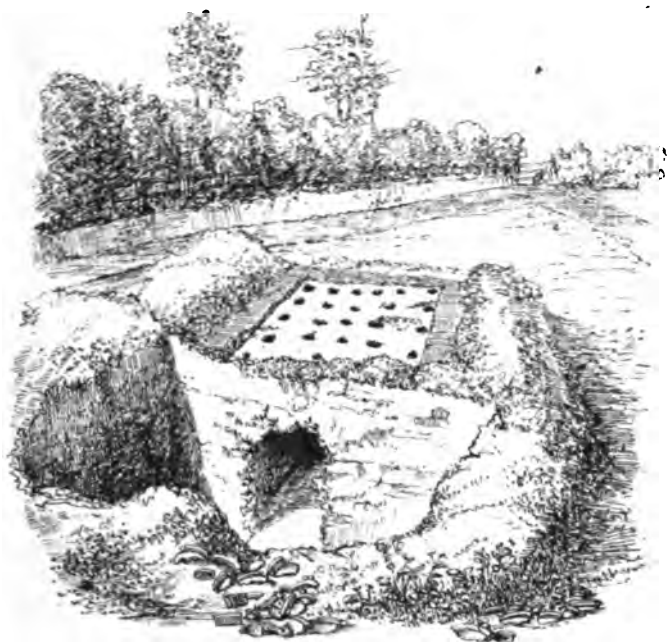
The Colchester field appeared a very unlikely site for pottery works, since no clay was known to exist upon it. These discoveries have, however, been supplemented by another. A bed of pottery clay has been found beneath the present surface, and at once indicates to us the reason of the choice of this position. The term "smother kilns" has often been applied to Roman kilns, wherein dark coloured or black ware was produced, and Mr. Artis, in the articles already referred to, has lucidly discussed the question of the manufacture. We are, however, indebted to Professor Buchman, who, in his work on ancient Corinium and its remains, has shown that while the dark colour of clay before the process of baking is due to the presence of *peroxide* of iron, and that the change which pottery or bricks undergo when baked in the same manner, is due to the conversion of the *protoxide* (blue) into *peroxide* (red). He goes on to say that the diffusion of a carbonaceous vapour prevents this chemical change, more especially in the smoke of burning matters, as wood or coal, as these would give off hydrogen, and both hydrogen and carbon at high temperatures are capable of reducing the peroxide of iron to oxide, or rather preventing the additional oxidation, so that the dark colour of this pottery was due to the chemical action of the means employed, and not as Mr. Artis seems to conclude, to a "colouring exhalation", merely permeating the articles fired in the smother kilns with its black smoke.

Mr. Papillon described the fourth kiln, which is in close proximity to the other three. Since then a fifth has been met with. This is of rectangular form, but in poor condition. The warm thanks of the meeting were given to Mr. Papillon, not only for permitting these interesting investigations to be conducted on his grounds, but also for his intention of preserving the first kiln, which its peculiar form and admirable preservation fully merits. The others will be covered over again with earth and their positions marked. It is probable that the whole of the brow of the hill has been occupied by similar kilns, the site being thus one of the largest pottery works yet met with.

I am informed, and it must be a matter of congratulation to us, that the whole subject has been taken up actively by the Essex society, and that an elaborate memoir, illustrated with several engravings and details of the objects met with, will shortly appear in the Society's *Journal*.

Mr. J. T. Irvine exhibited a rubbing from a remarkable slab recently found during the repairs at St. David's Cathedral, where it had been used as old material. It is a portion of a sepulchral slab about 3 ins. in thickness, and has an elaborately designed cross of an interlaced fretwork-pattern, precisely similar in style to those seen in Cornwall during the recent Congress. He also exhibited sketches of two out of the three incised slabs at or near Pen Arthur Farm, near what is

ROMAN POTTERY KILNS AT COLCHESTER.



View of the first kiln



A. Black ware.
B. Reddish ..

C Dark Brown
D Light

*Restored Sketches of pottery
from Kilns I & II.*

thought to be the site of the first Cathedral of St. David's. One of these at present does duty as a gate-post ; and the other is in a fence-mound, and so much covered as to be hardly visible. There is a local tradition that these slabs stood around a well which still exists in a field to the north-east of Pen Arthur ; but they appear to be sepulchral slabs having cruciform circles with sunk fretwork-patterns, and one is inscribed with a word of seven letters, GUSMOWC (?). Mr. Irvine sent for comparison with these early relics a sketch of a fragment of an elaborately carved cross found in excavating the trenches of the new buildings of the White Hart Inn, Bath, in 1867. This relic is of late Saxon date, and an interesting example of the peculiar sculpture of the style.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock exhibited a fine example of a glazed costrel found under ground in Newgate Street during recent building operations.

Mr. W. de G. Birch exhibited a series of early charters in the possession, and by permission, of T. F. Halsey, Esq., M.P., of Great Gad-desden. These ranged from the early part of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, and several had fine examples of seals still appended to them.

Mr. J. T. Irvine sent for exhibition three tracings of Ogham inscriptions. 1. Found in Lunnasting, in the north-east of Shetland, 5 ft. below the surface, by Mr. J. C. Roger, in September 1876. The dimensions of the stone are 4 ft. 11 ins. by 13 ins. by 1½ in. 2. From a slab found in the island of Bressay, Shetland. 3. From Cunningsburgh, on which the following note from Mr. R. Cogle was read :

"I send you herewith a copy of the Runic inscription on the stone in the wall of Meal Kirkyard here. I have given the characters the same size as those in the original, but portions of some of them are defaced, as the stone has been exposed to the action of the weather, especially on the inscribed edge ; the thickness of the stone forming the length of the letters, which have been deeply cut at first. Where the stone came from first is uncertain ; but it is of the same quality as those found in the island of Mousa, which is about two miles from this place. The present kirkyard appears to have been built about the latter end of the seventeenth century ; but there are one or two burying places, now disused, in the vicinity, of a very ancient origin. There is no doubt as to the genuineness of the inscription. It was found covered with moss when discovered a few weeks ago."

Mrs. Baily added to the fine series of daggers previously exhibited another example of the *dague à roëlle*, which was exhumed at Clerkenwell when cutting for the railway in 1864. The extreme length of the weapon is 15¾ ins. The pomel and guard are of iron ; the latter being slightly convex above and below, and 1⅞ ins. diameter. The fusi-

formed grip is composed of two stout pieces of bone fixed to the broad tang by three brass tubes now empty, but which were probably once filled with pegs of ivory, or possibly coloured paste. The flat-sided blade is upwards of $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, and 1 inch wide next the hilt. Both edges are bevelled, but in opposite directions, and so that both are equally sharp.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming drew particular attention to this blade as being a type of great rarity, and the first example of its kind submitted to the Association. He assigned this powerful dagger to the reign of Richard II (1377-99).

Mrs. Baily also forwarded for inspection two beautiful poniards, which Mr. Cuming stated were of German fabric of the close of the fifteenth century. The most ornate one is $14\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length. The globose steel pomel is boldly chiselled with four large leaves. The steel quillons bend towards the blade, and are of quaint design, being marked in segments, and ending in something like dragons' heads. The double-edged blade is 8 ins. long, and full $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide next the hilt, and is thick in the centre, so that a transverse section would yield a rhombic figure with slightly concave sides. On either face next the guard are graved little effigies of St. Andrew with his cross saltire, and St. Margaret of Antioch with the dragon, and beneath them a band of Gothic fashion. This weapon is evidently strongly characteristic of the era of Henry VII. Lower down the blade is an X ensigned by an open crown inlaid in copper. Towards the close of the fifteenth and at the dawn of the sixteenth century, the portion of the blades of weapons next the hilt were occasionally engraved with religious subjects, as may be seen by the Albert Durer sword in Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, Pl. 102, on which are figures of St. George, St. Christopher, the Virgin and Child, and St. Theresa; and by the dagger in our *Journal* (vi, 150) with the equestrian effigy of St. George, a shield charged with the letters I.H.S., etc. The second poniard is full 14 ins. in length, and closely resembles the first described in general aspect. The chiselled steel pomel has four large leaves round it, but it is only the upper half of each that is marked with veins. The steel quillons curve towards the blade, and their ends are of the same fashion as the pomel. The blade is over $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, and nearly 1 inch wide next the guard, and of the same form as its companion, but it is unornamented.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a well executed sketch he had received from Dr. Kendrick of a singular pot of brown stoneware, now in the possession of J. C. Thompson, Esq., of Warrington. It is nearly cylindrical, but contracts slightly from the base to the brim, and has a capacity of five pints. The drum is embossed with a hunting subject, in which appears a sportsman in the garb of the middle of

the seventeenth century, and carrying a gun in his right hand. He follows nine hounds who are in active pursuit of a fox. Some robust trees indicate that the chase is in a wooded country, whilst the branches are heavily laden with foliage. On the front of the pot is a shield with its base-point uppermost, which is charged with an anchor with the cable wreathed about its shank. Beneath this shield is the date 1727. At back is a strong handle. The rim bears the following inscription, which, like the date, was graven in the soft paste before firing, "*John Faithfull of y^e Dutchy Liberty of St. Clements Deans.*"

Mr. Cuming said that although this fine ale-pot was made as late as last century, it displays some curious vestiges of much earlier fashions. The hunting scene, with dogs and trees, finds many a parallel on the convivial bowls of Samian ware; and the rosettes placed between the trees look as much out of keeping with their surroundings as many of the devices do on the ancient vessels just mentioned. If the Romans did not commence the practice of inscribing the names of the owners on their drinking-vessels, they certainly followed it at times in the same spirit, though not exactly in the same way, as shown on the ale-pot. The ancient mode was to scratch the name through the glaze after the complete finishing of the cup or bowl, whereas in the case of this stoneware vessel it was graven whilst the paste was yet soft and unglazed. The parish of St. Clement's Danes consists of two grand divisions, one denominated the Westminster Liberty, the other the Duchy of Lancaster Liberty; and it was in the latter that John Faithfull dwelt, most probably at the sign of "The Anchor", the emblem of the holy Bishop who has given name to the parish. And here it must be remarked that the shield bearing the sign is reversed, as it was wont to be when a knight was disgraced for some cowardly act,—a strange fancy on the part of the modeller of the vessel. This noble ale-pot is not the only one which has the name and location of the person for whom it was made inscribed on its rim. Our former member the late Mr. J. B. Price possessed a vessel of similar form and material, on the rim of which are incised the words, "*Alexander Peterson in King Harry Yard, 1724.*" These two pots are so near of an age that it is highly likely that they were both made by the same Lambeth or Vauxhall potter during the reign of our first George.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited some interesting specimens of mediæval glass, and read the following descriptive notes:

"There are upon the table several beautiful specimens of art as developed in glass manufacture, derived from several sources, and marking successive eras in national taste and ideas. This elegant vessel, lime-coated and partly iridescent, is a Roman *guttus*, found in London, probably an importation from Egypt.

"No. 2 is a very rare and beautiful Hispano-Moorish vase, possibly

the work of the artists of St. Ildefonso. From a flattened globose body springs an ornamental scroll, terminating in an expanding, octagonal mouth, wrought with a pale blue edging and many lines, supported and united to the body by broad arms, with frilling of light blue; impressed with an ornamentation in which it needs but slight effort of imagination to find the Sacred Name.

"Nos. 3, 4, 5, are Venetian, and for various reasons claim attention. This cream-ewer, of clearest, intensest blue, glances in our artificial light with as true and intense a purple; and the noticeable cuttings are the elongated diamond of Venice glass. The gourd-shaped perfume-bottle speaks for itself. It is pure pale blue with white enamel spots wrought in its substance; suggested, one would think, by some specimen of amygdaloid. This wine-bottle of the sixteenth century, not made for a mere receptacle of wine, but rather, from its wear, having long been pushed upon some hospitable board. We have had imperfect specimens of this manufacture in London finds. Here is one perfect. Notice the peculiarity. The bottle of black glass is first devitrified, and then overspread with a preparation containing metallic oxide, and this again with a pure, clear glaze: an effect of polished agate is the consequence. Preparations of gold and silver were used by the Venice workers in producing a cloudy effect, which can scarcely be described. Such specimens are of extreme rarity. One exists in our collection,—silver spots and trails, woven into a large gourd-shaped bottle of lapis-lazuli glass.

"Nos. 6 and 7 are of old Bohemian, designed for the Eastern market,—a plateau and flower-vase enamelled in orange, blue and white, twinkling in brilliancy, and lavishly overspread with minute stars and bouquets. On the swell of the vase are three labels enclosing within a golden line a bed of silver, and roses, forget-me-nots, and another flower, carelessly thrown together. The perfection of beauty would be presented were the vase topped by a handful of Eastern roses. The cutting on plateau and vase mark the German origin, although shape and enamelling might plead for an Oriental.

"No. 8. A sherbet-pot of Persian manufacture, most probably of Shiraz, and of no modern date. Its Oriental character is apparent to the most casual observer, and its texture and painting would class it as porcelain; but glass evidently it is. Our good friend Mr. H. S. Cuming will tell you of its rarity. It differs from Venetian art; for though the glass may be designated Lattimo, that of Venice is more transparent, and either white or with a slight transfusion of creamy tint. This is less transparent, and bluish throughout. The painting is purely Oriental. Foliage of blue and red, with three stars, or *suns*, perhaps, decked with gold. This relic, long secluded in the cupboard of an ancient lady, now enriches our collection, and assists to adorn and

furnish the table of the Association on the last evening gathering of the session; and I am glad of it."

Mr. J. Reynolds forwarded a photograph of a curious discovery at Cirencester, recently made. Indications having been observed of Roman foundations in one of the pleasant kitchen-gardens of a house within the lines of the old walls of the town, it was determined to investigate their nature by excavations. A large block of walling of considerable length has been exposed down to its foundations, of peculiar construction. The stones are laid irregularly, and without mortar, fully justifying the supposition that the work was intended to be the foundation merely of some building, and was arranged to admit of the percolation of water through the mass in this low-lying position, and so as not to cause injury to the superstructure. A few moulded stones and a large quantity of broken pottery were met with, the latter very similar to the usual description found at Cirencester.

The following papers were then read, and will appear hereafter in the pages of the *Journal*:

In the absence of Mr. Richard S. Ferguson, his paper on the stockades of Roman Carlisle, recently discovered, was read by Mr. Loftus Brock.

Mr. Brock also read Mr. C. W. Dymond's paper entitled "A Group of Cumbrian Megaliths", and exhibited several excellent plans.

By Mr. Henry Prigg on "The Roman House at Icklingham."

By E. M. Thompson, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, "On the Will and Inventory of Robert Morton, A.D. 1486-88."

By H. W. Henfrey, Esq., F.R.H.S., on "Seals and Medals of the Cromwell Family", with an ample exhibition of specimens and casts.

By Colonel Bramble on "A recently discovered Pavement at Old Cleeve Abbey."

By J. Reynolds, Esq., on "The Discovery of a Refectory at Cleeve Abbey."

An interesting exhibition of prehistoric remains was shown by Mr. Burgess, who described them as follows:

RECENT DISCOVERIES AT KENILWORTH.

BY J. TOM BURGESS, F.S.A.

If another instance were wanting to show how much remains to be investigated even in well worked and well known districts of the country, Kenilworth might be cited as an example, for probably no castle has been oftener the theme of the historian, the antiquary, and the novelist. Perhaps the very greatness of the principal object caused the lesser but no less interesting remains to be overlooked by such antiquaries as Dugdale, Hamper, Bloxam, Reader, and other local

investigators into the remains of the past. I confess to feelings of contrition that I should have overlooked them so long myself, for they appear to stamp Kenilworth as an older settlement than was before thought probable, and to supply a missing link of evidence to illustrate the great survey of William the Conqueror.

The earliest historical mention of Kenilworth shows it to have comprised two lordships,—Optone or Upton, and Chinewrde or Kenilworth. The former was held by Albert the Clerk in the time of the Domesday survey, and the latter by Richard the Forester. These lordships were part of the royal manor of Stoneley, and did suit and service at Motslow Hill, which overlooks the Norman church of Stoneley: indeed, Motslow is one of the few places in the Midlands where the Saxon mote, or court-leet, was continued till a late period; and Dugdale has preserved, in his *History of Warwickshire*, a full account of the customs observed by those doing suit and service thereat. I mention this fact because Dugdale further says that there was a castle at Holm Hill, further down the river, opposite the Abbey of Stoneley, or, as it is now spelt, Stoneleigh, which was destroyed by the Danes. There are not, however, now any clearly defined lines of castrametation to be found on the spot; for the genius of the landscape-gardener has been at work there, and has turned what few remains which existed to other uses. The position is, however, naturally a strong one, and bears some resemblance to the sites chosen by the early settlers in this central shire for their defensive works.

In January last (1877) I heard accidentally that a stone war-axe or battle-axe had been found at Kenilworth; and this axe turned out to be a rude stone celt which had been fractured at one end, and bore other marks of hard usage. I found that it could be traced to the rough piece of common land traversed by the Leamington and Coventry Railway. This common is the ordinary gravel and sand-pit of the neighbourhood, and is peculiar, from the existence of two or three rounded hills; in themselves suggestive of ancient barrows, though there is no doubt they owe their general configuration to natural forces. The discovery of the celt led to a more careful investigation of the spot, and revealed the existence of lines of circumvallation on the summits of two of these hills. How far they had been connected by intervening ramparts it is now impossible to say, for the space between these hillocks has been cut away by cart-ruts and by the quarrymen: indeed, neither of the hills is intact from this cause. The one nearest the Railway is the most perfect, and on its summit a circular entrenchment can be distinctly traced. From its exposed situation, and the sandy nature of the soil, it has been much denuded by the weather, still it is distinctly visible; and there are signs, particularly on the north side, to show that it existed long before the hill was

disturbed for the sake of the gravel and sand. The circle is about 80 feet in diameter. The second hill, which is nearer the mill, is much cut away because good stone is found beneath it. On the summit there is a much stronger entrenchment; but only a third of the circle remains. The vallum is 2 ft. high, and 5 ft. broad; and where it is cut through by the quarrymen, it is shown to rest upon a substratum of black earth; but whether peat or ashes, it is difficult to say, from the danger of approaching the edge. It is, however, clearly not the black sand which occurs in bands in the drift of this neighbourhood. I am inclined to place these entrenchments amongst the earliest we have in the county of Warwick, and I think they may have enclosed some rude barrow which has now disappeared. Trees have been planted or grow indiscriminately over both ditch and summit, and so disprove the idea that the vallum had some connection with the later plantation of trees.

A visitor leaving the Coventry road, and proceeding by "The Springs" to Camp Farm, may see on his left hand the rear of the line of houses which mark Optone, the high ground north of the church. North of the attached gardens to these houses, and nearly midway between the road from the town to the Catholic Chapel and the road from the Castle to Camp Farm, a mound of earth is visible. On approaching the spot from the north-east, it appears nothing but a misshapen mass of earth with a projecting bank on the north-west; but when approached from the westward, lines of circumvallation appear, though much cut up by the roads to some farm-buildings which now nestle comfortably on the south side of the mound. On a cloudy day it is difficult to decipher any regular ground-plan; but when the sun is high, the plan becomes distinctly visible, and shows it to have been originally a high mound or burh situated on the north-east side of a circular entrenchment formed of two half-moon shaped lines of embankments. This is not an uncommon form of earthwork in Warwickshire. There are instances at Seckington, Castle Bromwich, Kineton, and the Castle Hill at Brailes, which are very much larger and more defined. At Fillongly, which is about nine miles due north of Kenilworth, there is a similar but larger mound with a deep ditch. At Optone the ditch is fainter, though one of the tributaries of the Inchford brook appears to have been diverted to skirt the outer vallum.

The fact of Kenilworth being noted for its quarries, and the knowledge that the old monks at the neighbouring Priory sent stones from this neighbourhood to build or repair even distant churches attached or belonging to their house, suggested the idea that this, after all, might be but a heap of *débris* from a quarry which had been filled up by other means. The sites of many of the old quarries are well known; and on inquiry I found that the site of every quarry was ascertained,

and that no excavation for stone had taken place at this spot. The mounds had been noted on the older maps; and whatever may have been its use in the far off past, it did not owe its origin to quarrymen or masons. At first I thought I had discovered a relic of the great siege of the adjacent Castle of Kenilworth in A.D. 1266, and that these mounds showed the exact site of the pavilion of Henry III; but now I think it may be fairly and confidently said to be the site of the "ham" or "worth" of Albert the Clerk, if not of the previous owners of the lordship of Upton or Optone.

When standing on the top of the central mound, and looking due west, a small clump of trees can be discerned about three fields off, standing on what appears to be a tumulus or high bank of a round shape, above the level of the adjacent fields. This can be approached by a footpath which starts from the southerly end of the road before mentioned, leading from the Castle to Camp Farm. It is only one field distant from the road, and this field is crossed by another of the streamlets which diverge from "The Springs" towards the Inchford brook, which was the principal feeder of the lake and moat of the mediæval Castle of Kenilworth. From this watercourse the field rises gently to the stile, and then it is seen that the next field lies some 10 to 7 feet above the level of the adjacent land. This stile is 300 feet south of the trees I have mentioned, and the escarpment is kept up by a supporting wall or revetement of masonry 4 ft. high, which is of no great antiquity in itself. By skirting this wall you can come to the foot of the trees; and some 30 feet from the end of the trees the bank suddenly rises until it reaches the height of more than 25 ft. from the level of the field outside, and then turns suddenly at right angles to the westward, where a wide and deep ditch is continued to the site of the lake which defended the western face of the Castle. I confess that I felt some chagrin on finding that I had overlooked so obvious an entrenchment when searching for the site of the camp of Henry III some ten years before. I had, however, gone much further afield, being misled by the term "Camp Farm" being applied to a house some distance to the northward. I had on that occasion proceeded along the Coleshill Road, which, though crossing the Camp, is so much lower than the fields on either side, that nothing is visible save a portion of the northern ditch, which is converted into a duck-pond. I have since surveyed the whole, and have arrived at the approximate measurements.

The entrenchment is quadrangular, and is in reality the exact width of the northern face of the Castle defences, 700 ft. Its eastern face runs in a line nearly due north with Lunn's Tower, and passes through the pleasure-grounds and gardens of the Queen and Castle Inn, where no signs of the vallum can be now seen. I am, however, inclined to

think that the remains of a dam might be found at this corner, to stop the water from "the springs", and add to the defence of the eastern side.

We are without any authentic information respecting the defences of the north side of the Castle itself. Lunn's Tower, on the east, is at least as old as King John. The western, or Swan Tower, was altered in the time of Henry VIII, and marks the site of an older tower. The intervening space has been altered and modified to suit the taste of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; but in the space of 450 ft., from the Swan Tower to the present gate-house, erected by Robert Dudley, there were probably two towers; one of which is supposed to have been rectangular, and the other polygonal.¹ The ditch along this face is particularly deep and wide, and formed, indeed, the outer northern defence of the Castle. The apparent depth of the ditch is increased by a large bank of earth which extends along the entire face. It is said, on what authority I know not, that this mound was thrown up during the civil wars. Mr. Clark thinks it was connected with the siege-works of Henry III; and the fact that the road to the Chase and a portion of the road to Coleshill has been cut through it, shows its ancient origin. The poor Royalist garrison, consisting of two companies of foot and one troop of dragoons, were withdrawn early in the civil wars; and Carey, Earl of Monmouth, was in nominal care of it till 1648, when Cromwell gave it to Colonel Hawkesworth and several other officers of the Warwickshire contingent of the Parliamentary army, by whom the Castle was dismantled, and the gate-house turned into a dwelling-house, in which state it yet remains. We may, therefore, accept Mr. Clark's suggestion, that this bank or mound is a relic of the famous siege, which lasted from midsummer to the Feast of St. Thomas, 1266. It is somewhat curious, too, that the few houses which skirt the mounds are set back so as to form a square behind the mounds, and thus make the open space known as Clinton Green, and thus to preserve the name of the founder of the Castle and Priory of Kenilworth, Geoffrey de Clinton, Chamberlain to Henry I, *circa* 1120-24. This bank is continued westward farther than the Swan Tower, and terminates now opposite the platform which formed the landing-place from the lake. It is cut off from the adjacent gardens by the deeply sunk road to the Chase, where there is a large quadrangular earthwork. This road must have been cut at a later date than *circa* 1648-50, as the road leads across part of the bed of the lake, which was only drained about that period; and probably the earth thus removed to the bank on either side, gave rise to the idea that the mound itself was then originally thrown up. It is at the present time difficult

¹ G. T. Clark, Esq., F.S.A. These are shown on the engraved view of the Castle, *temp.* 1630.

to say positively how much the bank skirting the eastern side of the arm of the lake running to the northward, owes to nature, and how much to the handiwork of man, as a large portion of it is occupied as gardens, and the other is under cultivation. The bank is high until it approaches the spot where the broad ditch of the entrenchment entered it. The ground here slopes, and it appears as if the water of the lake were high enough to enter the ditch, and render any vallum unnecessary. The Coleshill Road turns gradually to this point (marked by a few cottages on the Ordnance Map), and then proceeds onwards. East of the road the ditch is occupied by a small duck-pond, and there are no signs of a raised vallum on either side of this ditch, which in places is 40 ft. wide, till we reach within 60 ft. of the trees, when the vallum is perceptible, and takes a decided turn outwards; and forms, with the vallum on which the trees stand, two sides of a steep entrenchment, some 30 by 35 ft. The vallum is about 12 ft. wide at the base, and rises gradually from 5 ft. high to 12 ft. at the angle from the inner side, and more than 25 ft. from the bottom of the outer escarpment. It is 300 ft. from the outer angle to the stile of the footway close to the hedge of the field; and though the rampart has been thrown down, its outline may be seen along the top of the escarped bank, from 10 to 12 ft. above the field to the east, and some 60 ft. broad. It is very perceptible where it has been cut through to admit the footway to the stile. This footway is 9 ft. lower than the summit of the rampart, and gives, as I before stated, 10 ft. for the height of the rampart above the level of the field to the eastward. From the stile to the pleasure-grounds of the Inn are cultivated gardens. If the rampart was ever carried across the present road between the Inn and Lunn's Tower, it was removed when Leicester built his gate-house, to enable him and his retinue to go that way to the church and to Coventry.

We have here a quadrangular, well defined entrenchment of 700 ft. wide and 800 ft. long. It is situated on a farm called Camp Farm. It is placed on the north side of the mediæval castle, which, in the opinion of competent military authorities, was the most open to attack. We know, from the accounts of the siege which have been preserved, that the forces of Henry III occupied ground which enabled them, by erecting a wooden platform, to place Ottobone, the Pope's Legate, in view of the garrison when he excommunicated them. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that this entrenchment, if it was not originally formed by Henry III and Prince Edward, was used by them during the siege.

There are, however, some other points to be considered in relation to this entrenched enclosure. With the exception of the north-eastern angle, it has neither bastion nor tower to guard its long curtain. The De Montfort garrison was very strong, and we are told made frequent

sallies. Some other defences, either temporary in themselves, or others since removed, must have been used. The mound occupied by the keep, banqueting-hall, and inner quadrangle of the Castle, is made ground, and corresponds in some degree with the western side of this entrenchment. Clinton is said to have utilised the "worth", or fortified dwelling of a Saxon thane, for his castle; and curiously enough this supposed "worth" is in a line of earthworks which extend along the northern bank of the Avon from the plains of Leicestershire to the low-lying lands of the Severn Valley. There are three such lines in North Warwickshire, and they are intersected here and there by distinctly marked Roman entrenchments, which appear to have been about eight miles apart on every side. Several Roman coins have been lately found at Kenilworth; and as it occupies a site midway between several of these stations, may this quadrangular entrenchment be originally Roman, planted in the centre of a line of fortifications before which Ostorius paused in his conquest of Britain? Not far from Harborough Banks, eight miles distant, west (which is undoubtedly Roman), there is a "Camp Farm"; and, indeed, there are several close to these ancient entrenchments in the Forest of Arden.¹

It is also possible that this enclosure may have been part of the Castle arrangements; and from the circumstance of the name, "Clinton End" or "Clinton Green", being preserved, gives this conjecture a little weight. I may add that though the entrenchment at the Chase (marked on the Ordnance Map as "The Pleasaunce"), said to have been formed by Henry V, and removed by Henry VIII to the Castle, is quadrangular, it is entirely different in form and structure to the one I have endeavoured to describe to you.

Whatever may have been the origin and the use of this entrenchment, there are but few students of the past but will admit that there are but few places where so many and progressive signs of military defences are grouped together as at Kenilworth. The rude stone celt marks one era; the huge stone balls of Simon de Montfort's engines represent another, before the "villainous saltpetre" changed the mode of attack and defence, and rendered so many ingenious ideas of our soldier-fathers useless.

¹ See *Archæological Journal*.

Biographical Memoirs.

CHARLES CURLE is a name far more familiar to our older than to our newer members, for in years gone by he was a constant attendant at our evening meetings, and not an infrequent exhibitor. Our deceased associate was the nephew of Thomas Faulkner, the well known historian of Fulham, Hammersmith, Chelsea, and Kensington, and was born at Pimlico in the year 1816. From his early childhood Mr. Curle manifested a strong love for literature, and proved himself an apt scholar in many branches of learning. He was well versed in the works of Greek and Latin writers, and was a proficient in several modern tongues. His reading was varied and extensive, and he has often been heard to say that he believed he had perused every novel and romance which had appeared in the English language. Mr. Curle's historic and practical knowledge of music was profound, and as an original composer he deserves to take rank with some of our esteemed artists. As an author he will be best remembered by his little volume of poems published in 1875, and its *Addenda* in 1876, under the unassuming title of *Wind-Tossed Leaves*. Many of these pieces had previously appeared in periodicals with the *nom de plume* of "BARFOOT SHENSTONE." For scholarly treatment of subject, for deep pathos, keen insight into human nature, and easy flow of verse, these *Wind-Tossed Leaves* merit the highest praise.

Mr. Curle joined the Association in 1855, and was elected on the Council in April 1857; but retired from it in April 1860, in consequence of the discourteous behaviour of one high in office; and nothing would induce him to again appear at our meetings, although he kept up a friendly intercourse with several of his old colleagues, and never ceased to feel a lively interest in the proceedings and in the success of the Society. Mr. Curle's first exhibition was on March 25, 1857, and on subsequent occasions he continued to submit various antique relics; and his observations on them and on other articles evinced that he possessed an ample fund of archæological erudition, but we have no regular paper from his pen. Mr. Curle was a man of retiring habits, and little inclined to mingle in the busy world; but this was by no means the result of a misanthropic disposition, for no one ever had a warmer heart than our lamented member. His gentle voice, his kindly manner, his friendly grip of the hand, will long be remembered by those who had the happiness and privilege of his acquaintance. The following lines from Mr. Curle's latest poem read like prophetic words:

"O love ! O life ! The spirit groweth weary
 Under blue skies and glowing, glorious sun :
 Soft breezes kissing sigh, the woods are dreary,
 The brightest hours are sad, the race is run."

Mr. Curle breathed his last on October 26th, 1876, and on November 1 was interred in Brompton Cemetery.

"O love ! O death ! The fabled swan dies singing :
 Dumb life may find a voice when near its doom.
 Death loosens life that still to love is clinging.
 Love clings to death. Love's tears bedew life's tomb."

SIR TITUS SALT died in January 1877, at his residence, Crow Nest, Bradford, aged seventy-three. We learn from *The Bradford Observer* that he was born on Sept. 23, 1803, at the Old Manor House, Morley, his father being a woolstapler. The son, Titus, who was associated with his father in this business, determined to attempt the manufacture of stuffs, and gave the first indication of his speciality in the utilising of raw materials theretofore unappreciated. The wool called "Donskoi", from the south-eastern parts of Russia, grown on the banks of the river Don, was a coarse and tangled material, then considered unavailable for purposes of manufacture. To overcome the difficulties of spinning and weaving this article was the first problem Mr. Titus Salt set himself to solve. For this purpose he set up his machinery in Bradford, where his trade grew rapidly under his hands. In 1836 he achieved his greatest success in becoming, for practical purposes, the discoverer of the wool or hair now known in almost all parts of the civilised world as alpaca. The existence of the animal known as the paca or alpaca had been known nearly three hundred years before, and its long fleeces were boasted of by the Spanish governors of Peru in the sixteenth century; but no one in England had operated upon the article with much success, and it was shown to Mr. Salt by a Liverpool broker as a "novelty" in 1836. The steady persistence by which he overcame the difficulties in the manipulating of this material was the distinguishing element in Mr. Salt's character, and the source of all his success throughout life.

He was elected Mayor of Bradford in 1848, and discharged the duties of that office with punctuality and efficiency. Meanwhile his reputation as a manufacturer was advancing, and the increased demand for his goods rendered necessary improved facilities for their production. Accordingly, in 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition, the works at Saltaire were commenced. They were opened on the 20th September 1853, the fiftieth anniversary of their owner's birthday. These works received subsequently various additions and improvements, and now furnish employment to a very large number of per-

sons, for whose accommodation he erected the dwellings which have grown into the town of Saltaire. These comprised, at the last census, 820 houses occupied by 4,389 persons. In 1863 he erected baths and washhouses for his work-people. He had before this furnished them with facilities for the education of their children by building a large schoolroom; but as, with the extension of his works and the increase in the numbers of his work-people, this provision had become inadequate, he built a fresh range of schoolrooms in 1868, with accommodation for seven hundred and fifty scholars. During the past summer a new Sunday School was built by Sir Titus in connection with the Saltaire Congregational Church, costing, with site, nearly £10,000. Very recently he offered a site for a Board School at Saltaire. A hospital and infirmary have also been added to his buildings, while for the widows and aged he provided forty-five almshouses with a lawn and shrubbery in front, all so neatly kept as to be models of cleanliness and comfort. In the year 1871 a beautiful park, fourteen acres in extent, on the banks of the river Aire, and within an easy distance of the Factory and town, was given by Sir Titus Salt for the use of the public; and in November of the following year a large and handsome building was provided by him to serve as a club and institute. In 1859 he was elected Member of Parliament for the borough of Bradford, but he resigned in 1861. Previous to entering Parliament, however, he had filled a number of important public offices. Besides being a magistrate for the borough of Bradford, he was appointed on the commission of the peace for the West Riding, and was also made a Deputy Lieutenant of the Riding. In 1857 he filled the office of President of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce, and in September 1869 the honour of a baronetcy was conferred upon him. During the last few years he lived in retirement at Crow Nest, although never relinquishing his connection with the works at Saltaire. In politics the deceased Baronet was a Radical, and he was a member of the Dissenting community. His contributions to charities and his public donations during the last quarter of a century amount to many hundred thousand pounds.

The death of Mr. JOSEPH WARREN occurred on Wednesday, 21st November, 1876, at his residence at Ixworth. He was born at Attleborough, Norfolk, May 17, 1792, and in March 1818, removed to Ixworth, commencing business there as a watch and clockmaker. About 1828 he turned his attention to archæological studies. Having obtained a British silver coin of Cunobelinus of a rare type, struck at Colchester, and now in the British Museum, it was in consequence of being deprived of it by a well known antiquarian of the eastern counties, that he was first led to "read about old coins and study them;

so it turned out", he adds, "to be the means of my saving many good coins and antiquities from the melting pot". There is a print of this coin in Akerman's *Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes*, plate xxiii, fig. 7, and it was found by the side of the Walsham Road in 1826. This very rare and interesting coin is also engraved in the *Journal*, vol. v, p. 152, and in Evans's *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pl. x, No. 10; but its place of discovery is not recorded. The type was previously known. In 1848 Mr. Warren discovered the register belonging to Stowlangtoft Church, which the late rector, the Rev. S. Rickards, believed had been lost for a century. It was tied together with a string, through a hole made for that purpose, and contained entries from the year 1559 to 1709, and amongst others those of the Ashfield and D'Ewes families. The register was found in the small church of Ixworth Thorpe, and singularly enough, the parish of Stowlangtoft was not even named therein. In 1849 Mr. Warren was instrumental in the discovery of the Roman hypocaust about half a mile to the south of Ixworth, on the Stowlangtoft Road, having previously called attention to its probable existence as early as 1835. His antiquarian map of Ixworth, with portions of Pakenham and Stowlangtoft, published in the *Proceedings* of the West Suffolk Archæological Society, to which he contributed in the early volumes, may be mentioned here. "A curious and diligent preserver of antiquities", few places in the eastern district escaped his notice; and to him, it may be truly said, few relics of the past came amiss, or were beyond his searching elucidation. The village of Stanton, which produced a fine gold cross and fibula in 1863, described by Mr. C. R. Smith in his *Collectanea*, vol. iv. p. 162;¹ Pakenham, with its Roman road, between Ixworth and the Red Castle Farm; Icklingham, rich in early remains; Culford, West Stow, Bardwell, Botesdale, Redgrave, Bury St. Edmund's, with its find, in 1861, of nearly four hundred silver coins of the Henries and the Edwards; and though last, not least, Ixworth, his home, which he loved so well, with its priory, fine church, and its "pargetted" houses—all these places, and a host of others, contributed to his collections, portions of which were frequently exhibited both in London and in the provinces. One of the most important of these exhibitions was that held in the hall of the Ironmongers' Company in May 1861, the magnificent illustrated catalogue of which was something like seven years in printing. Mr. Warren's articles commence at p. 482, and comprise, amongst other objects of local interest, Anglo-Saxon and Roman finger-rings, including an Anglo-Saxon shield-shaped silver ring, found in Ixworth. A great portion of Mr. Warren's antiquities were purchased in 1866 by John Evans, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., &c., author of *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, to which admirable work we must refer our readers for a

¹ This volume has two plates of Mr. Warren's local antiquities.

number of rare coins found in this locality, nearly all more or less associated with Mr. Warren's name; and his fine collection of coins and medals was dispersed by Messrs. Sotheby and Co. in 1869.

As has been said of another Suffolk worthy, Mr. Warren made no attempt to vie in luxury with persons of greater wealth and higher station. He was a strict Churchman, a humble Christian, and, with a mind strongly imbued with religious feeling, he looked forward with calmness and serenity to his approaching end. We may add that in matters of dress he was in no way disposed to defer to modern customs. A clever mechanic, and a cunning worker in metals, he could manufacture a turret clock, and when verging on four-score, could set an antique gem in a delicate fibula of gold. As a numismatist and antiquary, with an experience of something like half a century, we believe he may be placed in the foremost rank. He retained his faculties in a state of remarkable vigour almost to the very last, enjoying the personal friendship of some of the most distinguished archæologists in England.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

A Primæval British Metropolis.—In this work, the production of our associate, Mr. T. Kerslake of Bristol, there is a great store of antiquarian research. The Pen-Pits, numbering thousands, which remain over the unemparked half of the elevated basin wherein is situated Stourhead, the beautiful seat of the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, have always been an insoluble puzzle not only to that learned and earnest topographer, but to all antiquaries who have hitherto described or referred to them. Sir Richard Hoare himself, although he lived on the spot, passed the last thirty years of his life in unsuccessful surmises of their cause. His final judgment was that they had "never as yet been accounted for in a satisfactory manner".

But contemporaneously with this "*crux* of antiquaries" has been also going on, through the entire range of British historical time, an equally unsolved riddle,—the name "*Caer Pensauelcoit*" in the very ancient list of primæval British cities found in some copies of Nennius.

In the above named essay it is proposed to translate the Celtic "coit" of this name into its modern equivalent, "wood", when it becomes "Penselwood", the name of the village "where two or three straggling streets of scattered houses are spotted about among the remaining areas of the ancient pits".

By the help of this new ray of light, the entire basin is described, and its unaccounted-for phenomena are shown to be explained by evidences that they are all that remain of a British city of very great extent, which had never been influenced by Roman occupation. Also that it was the chief object of Vespasian's incursion under Claudius, of which the result is summarised by the Roman historians as the subjugation of the Isle of Wight and more than twenty towns.

There are several digressive disquisitions. The list of cities is carefully examined, and shown to be a more ancient document than the text of Nennius, into companionship with which it has strayed. Also that the "Totnais" or "Tainas" of the Brutus fable, and other Lloegrian disembarkations, is not the Totnes of Devon, but "t'Alnas", the mouth of the Alaunus of the ancients; which is also shown to be not at the Axe, as placed by Horsley and his followers, but at Christchurch, as by the earlier topographers. The confounding this port with Totnes having tempted Geoffrey of Monmouth to misplace *Caer Pensauel-coit* at Exeter, has caused the true place to be lost sight of ever since.

The "æt Peonnum" of the *Saxon Chronicle* is also shown to have been misplaced at Penselwood by all the received historians, and to have truly belonged to Pointington Down near Sherborne; and that the conquest of the Britons there by Kenwalch, A.D. 658, was the first Saxon penetration of Somersetshire. The maps of Dr. Guest and Mr. Freeman, representing a large part of Somersetshire to have been previously occupied by the pagan conquest at Dyrham in Gloucestershire, A.D. 577, are disputed; the whole of the district so claimed by them still retaining traces of British Christianity, which could hardly have survived a torrent of pagan conquest.

The "Alauna Sylva" of the anonymous *Ravennas*, and some other topical doubts, are also endeavoured to be solved.

Discovery of Roman Remains.—During the progress of some drainage-works now being carried on at Caerleon-on-Usk, a very interesting discovery of Roman tessellated pavement, coins, and objects of minor value, has been made. The present discovery bears out the tradition that the city suffered from a severe conflagration, as a stratum of charcoal about 4 inches thick has been observed through the whole length of the cutting, and about 3 feet from the surface. The pavement was found in Backhall Street. It was evidently the floor of an apartment about 30 ft. by 16 ft., the walls of which were standing, tolerably per-

fect, to the height of 2 ft., and were found to be decorated with coloured garlands. The design of the pavement is a floral one, highly ornamental, and worked out in six colours, viz., red, yellow, green, grey, black, and white. The pavement was laid in concrete, upon flat tiles, beneath which was a hypocaust. Unfortunately the pillars supporting the pavements were found to have given way in several places; but as much as possible has been removed to the local Museum, which contains a large variety of Roman remains previously discovered. The coins found were four in number, all bronze, and of the reign of Vespasian.

Restoration of Kirkstead Abbey Church.—This fabric, a remnant of the ancient Cistercian Monastery, but now the parish church, is well known as an exquisite, and perhaps unique, specimen of the Early English style of architecture. It has, for some years, been falling into decay; and is now pronounced to be in a condition so unsafe, that it has been thought best to suspend the services usually held in it; which, for the present, are transferred to the church of St. Andrew, Langton. It is important that something should be done without delay, if this beautiful little church is to be preserved from ruin.

It is proposed to raise a fund by subscription, in order to put the building into a proper state of repair, to remove modern obstructions, and, as far as possible, to restore the edifice to what it once was. Owing, however, to the care necessary to preserve the delicate carvings, as also to the large fissures in the walls, and to the weight of the solid stone roof resting upon them, the undertaking will be one of more than ordinary difficulty. It has been calculated that it will cost from £1,000 to £1,500.

A great interest has been created of late in the church, more especially since the visit to it, during last summer, of the Architectural Society; and it is hoped that all those who are interested in the preservation of our national monuments, will lend their aid for this purpose. It appeals to their assistance, not only as a parish church, but also from the typical character of its architecture, which renders it most worthy of preservation. Friends of the church will be glad to learn that the benefice of Kirkstead, hitherto a donative unendowed, is about to be transferred by the owner to Episcopal jurisdiction, and a permanent endowment secured to it. This, of course, will place the fabric itself also in a more satisfactory position than it has hitherto occupied, and seems to establish an additional claim upon the public on its behalf. Subscriptions may be paid to the bank of Messrs. Garfit, Claypon, and Co., Horncastle; to the incumbent, the Rev. J. Conway Walter, the Vicarage, Langton St. Andrew, Horncastle; to the churchwarden, J. Coppiug, Esq., Kirkstead; or to James Williamson, bookseller, High Street, Lincoln.

Collectanea Antiqua.—Volume vii of this work being in preparation, Mr. Roach Smith would be obliged by his friends and subscribers procuring for him the names and addresses of the inheritors of a large number of sets of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, in consequence of the decease of original subscribers. The number of copies of vol. vii will be limited to that of the subscribers.

Numismata Cromwelliana, or the Medalllic History of Oliver Cromwell. From the original Coins, and Medals, and unpublished Manuscripts. By Henry W. Henfrey.—In this work a complete historical description of all the coins, medals, pattern pieces, and seals of Oliver Cromwell is attempted for the first time. The general reader will, it is hoped, be interested in the new light thrown upon the history of the Protectorate by these reliable witnesses, and may gain some idea of the beauty of those splendid specimens of seventeenth century art, hitherto unrivalled in any country, the works of Thomas Simon. The collector and student of English coins will find amongst the numismatic information numerous facts, details, and elucidations which are absolutely unpublished; and the numerous autotype illustrations furnish the first correct, and, in some instances, the only representations yet published of many pieces. Mr. Henfrey has treated his subject in a most attractive manner, and his work not only increases our knowledge of the medals and coins of the Commonwealth, but also is a notable contribution to the general history of that period. The autotype illustrations are admirable as works of art, and greatly assist the reader in his study of the text.

Truro Diocesan Arms.—The Rev. W. Jago of Westheath, Bodmin, has lithographically drawn, and is having issued to applicants, some illustrated sheets (a new and improved edition), containing the correct heraldic arms granted to the new bishopric of Truro, designed at the Herald's College by S. I. Tucker, Esq., with his reasons for their composition. Other arms connected with the history of the see are added, and drawings of the ancient seals, giving the figures of the patron saints of the Cornish cathedrals. There is also a list, with dates, of the *authenticated* bishops of Cornwall, whose sees were at Bodmin, St. Germans, and Crediton.

History of the British Standing Army.—The intention of this work is that it shall be a *complete* history of our army in *all its branches*, and that it shall constitute an indisputable authority for historical reference on all military matters. The history of an army's battles is no more the history of that army itself than is a narration of the public acts of kings and emperors the history of a nation. This history is, therefore, not confined to a mere record of campaigns, although the utmost pains

have been taken to render this portion of the work as reliable as the rest, but equal care has been bestowed upon the history of the organisation and administration of the army.

The arrangement of the work is as follows: volume i comprises the period of 1660-1700; volume ii will comprise 1701-1715; volume iii, 1716-1760; vol. iv, 1761-1790; vol. v, 1791-1806; vol. vi, 1807-1815; vol. vii, 1816-1850; vol. viii, 1851 to the present time. The present volume (vol. i) is, therefore, limited to the period from 1660 (the epoch of the rise of the standing army) to 1700. This period is naturally the most recondite, and the most tedious of research; and on that account as well as because it is the introduction to this wide subject, this is the most voluminous of all the proposed volumes, for the length of time therein dealt with. Because this is an introductory volume a peculiar arrangement has been found desirable; but in future volumes it is probable that, except for artillery occasionally, distinct chapters for separate branches of the service will be no longer necessary. The arrangement of the illustrations, therefore, follows the text. But with respect to uniforms, it has been thought best to enliven the work by introducing them in places where special mention of any regiment is made, provided the uniform be that worn within five or six years of the period to which the mention has reference, instead of crowding them together in the exact chronological order of costume.

Callernish Circle and Avenues.—It will be seen that in the plan of these interesting remains, published in the present Part (p. 160), Dr. Wise has shown the arms of the principal avenue in the same straight line, and the others which make up the cruciform arrangement at right angles to this avenue. As the plan stands it affords almost a counterpart of that of the avenues which led up to the Drewsteignton Cromlech, Devon, noted by Mr. Ormerod, where the cruciform arrangement (Latin cross) was perfect. The plan also agrees, in this respect, with that given in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*. A notice by Mr. Church and a sketch-plan are, however, given in the *Archæological Journal* for 1874, p. 75, which call attention to the circumstance that the arms of the cross are not arranged at right angles. The point thus raised is one of some interest, and attention has been called to the subject.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER, 1877.

ON SOME MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS IN WESTERN CORNWALL.

BY REV. W. G. LUKIS, M.A., F.S.A., ETC.

THE excursions contemplated by the Local Committee of the Association define the limits of my subject. I propose making a few remarks upon some of those monuments which are situated within the area included by the programme. By so doing I shall be enabled to keep within that fragment of time which has been wisely prescribed by the Council for the duration of the papers.

Monoliths, circles, and cromlechs, are the forms presented by these rude stone monuments, and those which you will see in your excursions are among the best known examples of their class in this county. There are four principal cromlechs in the prescribed area, viz., Lanyon, Chywoone, Mulfra, and Bosporthennis; the first two of which are mentioned in the programme, and the last two are omitted,—perhaps because they are in a dismantled and unsightly condition. The capstone of Lanyon cromlech is an imposing slab; but compared with very many of the French monuments, with those in the Channel Islands, and with a few British and Irish examples, these Cornish megaliths are insignificant structures. They all appear to belong to the class generally known by the name of “kistvaen”, i.e., a stone chest, in the form of an oblong square, each of the four sides of which is often composed of one vertical slab, and sometimes of two or more, and over the whole a covering stone of considerable size and weight. This building was enclosed in a round or long mound of earth, or in a

cairn of small stones, vestiges of which are yet visible in each of the examples you will see during the session of this Congress.

Lanyon.—Unfortunately for purposes of archæological study, one of those mentioned above, the largest and most widely known, is nearly valueless. What had remained of the original fine monument at Lanyon fell to the ground in 1815, and the existing cromlech was constructed in its present form in 1824. It is necessary to make this statement, lest any one should be innocently led, by noticing a peculiarity which is absent from monuments of the prehistoric age, to arrive at injudicious conclusions, or to form false theories and classifications. This is no typical example of an ancient structure. It is simply a modern erection composed of ancient materials arranged in a new form. The upright slabs which used to support the covering stone were formerly so placed with relation to each other as to indicate the east and west direction of the cist. Now they indicate no particular direction. Before its collapse there were four upright slabs. Now there are but three; the same number, however, on which the upper stone had rested. Other flat slabs lie prostrate, which apparently had been used in the construction. These, assisted by a dry masonry of small stones filling up the interstices, composed the walls of the cist; and a long barrow, of which traces remain, enveloped the whole. Dr. Borlase¹ gives the dimensions of the mound as being 70 ft. long, 20 ft. wide, and 2 ft. high, in his time, and he also remarks that the covering stone was at such a height from the ground as to permit a man on horseback to sit under it. At the present time this would not be possible. As there does not appear to be any reason for supposing that the original supporting slabs were shortened when re-employed in 1824, it may be that the covering stone is now at a lower level than formerly, by their being buried deeper in the ground to secure the monument against a second collapse. Unquestionably the angular positions of the uprights tend to render it more stable; for it must be borne in mind that cromlechs were not intended to be exposed to view, but were buried, or packed externally with stones and earth, and thereby sustained.

Chywoone.—This is said to be the most complete kist-

¹ *Antiquities of Cornwall.*

vaen existing in this part of England. It is an instructive example because it clearly exhibits the various features which commonly belong to chambered barrows in a state of partial dilapidation, and serve to demonstrate what the perfect monument was. It is a kistvaen because it is closed on its four sides. The covering stone is convex-shaped, and the long axis of the cist is nearly east and west. The interstices between the side-stones are filled with smaller stones, to prevent the rubbish of the mound from falling into the cavity. Remains of the mound, 32 ft. in diameter, still exist, and a circle of small upright stones surrounds it.

Mulfra.—This cromlech is so near to Penzance (about four miles) that some of the members and their friends may be induced to visit it. It is in a sadly ruinous condition. Like the preceding, it is a kistvaen, open at this time on the south side. The removal of the stone which closed this side has occasioned the displacement of the capstone, which has slipped off, and rests in a slanting direction against the edges of the east and west stones. In Dr. Borlase's time the remains of the cairn, 37 ft. in diameter, in which it had been buried, were visible.

Bosporthennis.—Not far from the Beehive Hut, which it is proposed that you should visit, is a ruined cromlech whose general features coincide with those which have been shown to belong to the monuments here briefly described. It is a small kistvaen which was once enclosed in a mound not yet wholly swept away. Two only of the upright supports occupy their original places; and of the two others, one is prostrate, and the other has disappeared. Mr. W. C. Borlase has given an amusing account, in his *Nenia Cornubiæ* (p. 67), of the abortive attempt which was made by a miller to utilise the capstone.

These examples of Cornish cromlechs amply supply us with evidence in support of a principle of considerable scientific importance relating to these structures, and every other cromlech in the county will, I engage to say, serve to strengthen the assertion that, when they were erected, they were invisible externally, because a mound inclosed them. It could never have been the intention of their builders to erect exposed sepulchres unsupported externally, as some persons have imagined. The more these monuments are studied, and the more widely our acquaintance with them

extends, the more will this truth (for truth it certainly is) prevail among archæologists. It is, at all events, satisfactory to have watched the steady growth of this truth during the last half century. Fifty years ago cromlechs were Druids' altars. A careful investigation of some of them, under favourable circumstances, served to undermine this universal belief, and suggested a sepulchral attribution. By degrees, as knowledge increased, the sepulchre view was more widely accepted, and the denuded monument was more positively pronounced to be a kistvaen or chamber, more or less exposed to view by the partial removal of the barrow. And although some few individuals, here and there, both at home and abroad, still adhere to the old belief relating to uncovered cromlechs, all have given up, as untenable, the altar theory. A few years hence, and the opinion here strongly expressed will no longer be questioned by any man qualified by observation and extensive information to be ranked among archæologists.

Stone Circles.—The circles to which your attention is directed in the programme are those of Boscawen-un and Rosemoddress. They are both of moderate dimensions, being between 70 ft. and 80 ft. in diameter. The primary destination of circles is still a vexed question. Some writers incline to the sepulchral inclosure opinion, others to the notion that they were places of assembly. It is not easy to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. Some circles have been trenched by explorers, with a view to discovering their use, and in some cases have seemed to support the former opinion, while others have yielded nothing at all. As they frequently occur in localities which abound in graves, and are often intimately associated with graves, the presumption is that they were sacred inclosures, in some way connected with the burial of the dead. On a small island, Ile du Tisserand or Lanic, in the Morbihan, Brittany, there is a portion of a large circle, and within a few feet of it are the remains of a second circle of equal dimensions, and not far off is a fallen *mênhir*. All around, on the coast and islands, are barrows and pillars, so that in some measure we find there a counterpart, only on a very much grander scale, of the collection of monuments at Rosemoddress and Boleit. In this case one of the circles has been partially explored, with remarkable and interesting results. The entire area

is thickly strewn with potsherds, broken stone axes, pounding stones, flint scrapers and knives, and burnt animal bones. We seem to discover in the bones the relics of funeral feasts, and in the fractured and scattered food vessels and broken implements the tokens of grief which thus found expression. May not this shed some light upon stone circles like those of Rosemoadress and Boscawen?

Monoliths.—Single *mênhirs* are at once suggestive of memorials to departed chiefs—i.e., grave pillars, and in many instances they were probably thus employed. Human remains and earthen vessels and implements have been found at their feet, although not so frequently as to make their use for such a purpose general and decisive. They are commonly erected in the immediate vicinity of barrows and circles, and are sometimes placed on the summits of barrows, which would seem to import a like destination. But they are also met with at long distances from such monuments, standing in imposing and silent grandeur upon a bed of rock, with no soil about them that could ever have been sufficiently deep to cover an interment. It is difficult to guess the signification of these. Some writers have supposed that they were symbols of a Supreme Being, or that they were commemorative of great deeds. This may be true, but there is no evidence in the case of uninscribed pillars for either supposition. The ground at the feet of the Boleit “pipers” has yielded nothing, and no opinion that I can offer will be of any value. Local traditions, which relate to battles fought on these spots, and point to these groups of monuments in their support, are altogether undeserving an archæologist’s attention. These traditions have been suggested by the presence of these groups. Ignorance of the varied construction of barrows, and of the fact that some of them were erected over the remains of only a single individual, and that many others contained a very small number of dead, and these, moreover, of men, women, and children, and also that the monuments themselves do not all belong to one period, has been the fruitful source of these fables.

There is one monument in particular near Penzance on which I desire to say a few words in closing this brief paper, viz., the *maen-an-tol* or holed stone. It is a striking and mysterious looking object, and so remarkable, that the

eyes of the beholder are riveted upon it, to the exclusion of other stones, with which it seems to stand connected. Three upright stones, of about the same altitude, are placed in a line. Those at the extremities of the line are rather columnar in form, and the middle one is broad, flat, and round, like a millstone, and has a round hole in its centre, large enough for a person to creep through. I have seen several monuments, but two especially, which I think will help us to form an opinion with respect, to the one in this neighbourhood. I do not venture to assert that the conclusion to which I have arrived is altogether satisfactory, but I offer it to this meeting in the hope that the idea may be worked out by some of the members carefully inspecting the stones, with this idea before them. The two monuments to which I allude are King Orry's grave, a chambered barrow in the Isle of Man, and a very remarkable chambered long barrow at Kerlescant, near Carnac, in Brittany. These sepulchres are both divided into two compartments, separated by two stones, whose contiguous edges have been chiselled away, so as to form an oval opening of sufficient dimensions to enable a man to creep from one compartment into the other. If you suppose the enveloping mound, the cap stones, and side walls to be removed, and one stone at the extreme end of each compartment, together with the partition stones to remain standing, you have a monument closely analogous to the *maen-an-tol*. If this be what has actually occurred in this Cornish monument, it is the remains of a cromlech composed of two compartments, and the holed stone is the doorway between them. In support of this idea there is a prostrate stone, which may have been a wall slab, and a bank of earth, which may be a portion of the barrow. The superstitious practice which I believe exists, of persons creeping through the hole, will then simply be the traditional use of the doorway, handed down from a time when the monument was in a more perfect state, and the compartments were complete.

THE MEGALITHIC ANTIQUITIES AT STANTON DREW.

BY C. W. DYMOND, ESQ.

“Remnants of things that have passed away :
Fragments of stone reared by creatures of clay.”¹

THE megalithic antiquities at this place, which rank third in importance among works of this class in England,—viz., after Avebury and Stonehenge,—have often been described, and, as usual, their arrangement and purpose have been fruitful subjects of speculation. An attentive examination of these remains, some years ago, convinced me that certain theories regarding them were based upon erroneous assumptions, originating in the data given by the survey made in 1826 by Mr. Crocker, which is the basis of most of the published plans, and has been regarded by the principal writers on the subject as the best, and, at the same time, as a trustworthy authority. Hence, I was led to make a new survey² on a much larger scale, in which scrupulous care has been taken to insure the most minute accuracy in every part, and to map everything that could be found after an exhaustive search. By the kind aid of the vicar, the Rev. H. T. Perfect, and of Mr. S. B. Coates, of the Manor House, the positions of several stones which had been entirely buried—probably for generations—were ascertained, and their contours traced with a probe, where they could not be exposed by the spade. These—which are all that are now known to exist—have been included in the plan, which gives the large circle twenty-four stones, being ten more³ than are shown in Crocker’s survey, and six more than are mentioned by Rutter, who, in his *Delineations of Somerset*, 1829, describes five stones as standing erect, eight others as “evidently buried just below the surface, whilst the position of five more is indicated in dry summers by the withering of the turf over them”. The plan in Seyer’s *History of Bristol*, 1821, shews fourteen stones standing or lying distinctly above-ground, eight others as nearly buried, and five more as merely conjectural or “only suspicious”. All of these have been found,

¹ *Siege of Corinth*, xviii.

² See the plan published herewith.

³ Nos. 2, 3, 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 28, and 29.

except three,—one of them being that which he has placed at the root of the southern line of the large-circle avenue, and has indicated as partly visible; the other two being in the last class,—one of them supposed by him to be between Nos. 6 and 7, and the other to be between Nos. 14 and 15. Repeated search has made it clear that these do not exist, and, probably, did not in Seyer's time, for old inhabitants of the village testify that none have been removed within their memory. As to the first-mentioned,—that at the entrance to the avenue,—he must have been misled by the small fragments which abound in that part of the field in a layer a few inches below the surface, and which may be the remains of a stone, long ago broken up. In the south-west circle, Seyer has shown a partly-visible stone about half-way between Nos. 6 and 7. It is not there now, and, possibly, its remains may exist in the fragments at the corner of the wall, near the centre of the circle.

The general results of the inquisition into the sixty-six stones now remaining at Stanton Drew, as numbered on the plan, may be tabulated thus :—

	Erect Stones	Prostrate Stones	
		More or less visible	Quite buried
Large circle	3	15	6
Ditto, ditto, avenue	3	2	—
North-east circle	5	4	—
Ditto, ditto, avenue, etc. . . .	5	5	—
South-west circle	—	12	—
The Cove	2	1	—
Lower Tynings	—	2	—
Hauteville's Quoit	—	1	—
Totals	18	42	6

With regard to the original number of stones that may have composed these circles, it is only in the case of the large one that there is room for much difference of opinion. The number (eight) remaining in the small one is, evidently, complete. One appears to have been removed from its proper position in the south-west circle, which pretty clearly contained twelve stones in its pristine state. The distances between those remaining in the large circle are so irregular—varying from 11 ft. to 107 ft.—that it is impossible to allocate most of the missing stones with any assurance of accu-



racy. There can, however, be no reasonable doubt as to one,—that at the root of the southern line of stones of the avenue,—and the wide gaps between Nos. 6 and 7, and Nos. 14 and 15, must almost certainly each have been broken by at least one stone. If these are supplied, a readjustment to nearly uniform intervals of nine out of the fifteen fallen stones will give eighteen intervals, varying only from 42 ft. to 46 ft., and will leave eight intervals, which cannot well be adjusted, varying from 29 ft. to 61 ft. But, although it seems highly probable that this circle, when complete, consisted of twenty-seven stones, it by no means follows that these were generally spaced at tolerably regular distances, as it is quite clear that they were not so in some parts of the circle.

Rutter describes the large circle as separated from the river “by some rising ground, forming a sort of rough amphitheatre”. Nothing of the sort now exists, or, probably, ever did; for distinct traces of anything of this kind, whether natural or artificial, are scarcely ever obliterated; and he must have magnified to this degree the gentle slope which runs up toward the circle, unless he refers to the line of a former hedge and ditch which crosses the avenue of the small circle.

An important point, in which Crocker’s plan seems to have misled antiquaries, is the shape and size of the large and south-west peristaliths. The diameters have been taken between the stones as they stand or lie; but no one seems to have studied on the spot how they fell, so as to discover where they must have originally stood. The plan which accompanies this paper shows the results of a careful inquiry into this matter, demonstrating that, when these peristaliths were perfect, they were very nearly true circles. Thus, all speculations based upon their supposed ellipticity fall to the ground.

With respect to the alignment of the remains, it is noticeable that the centre of the south-west circle, the centre of the large circle, and the quoit, are nearly in one straight line; and that the centre of the north-east circle, the centre of the large circle, and the centre of the Cove, are still more nearly in another straight line. This may be merely a coincidence; but, if the like be observed in other instances, it may lead to some discovery of interest. To ascertain whether all

the leading points could be seen from one another, if there were no trees or buildings in the way, I took a great number of levels over the whole area occupied by the remains, and, from these, have contoured the parish-map, attached to the larger survey, with lines showing differences of 5 ft. in height. Some calculations, based upon these, will be found among the memoranda at the end of this paper, from which it will be seen that every such point could be seen from every other, even in the most difficult case, by standing a very few feet above the ground. I am, however, disposed to attribute very little importance to this fact, as it is probable that, in early times, this valley was even more wooded than it is at present, so that then, as now, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to keep some of these stations respectively in view.

As to the alleged great reduction in the size of Hauteville's quoit, it appears to have been less injured than has been generally believed. It is true that Stukeley, in 1723, made it 13 ft. by 8 ft. by 4 ft.; but that these figures were greatly exaggerated, is evident from the statement of the careful Aubrey, in 1664, who gives the dimensions of the quoit as 10 ft. 6 ins. by 6 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 10 ins.,—though he himself did not measure it, but got a friend on the spot to do it for him. If his figures were correct, the stone has since lost only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. of its length.

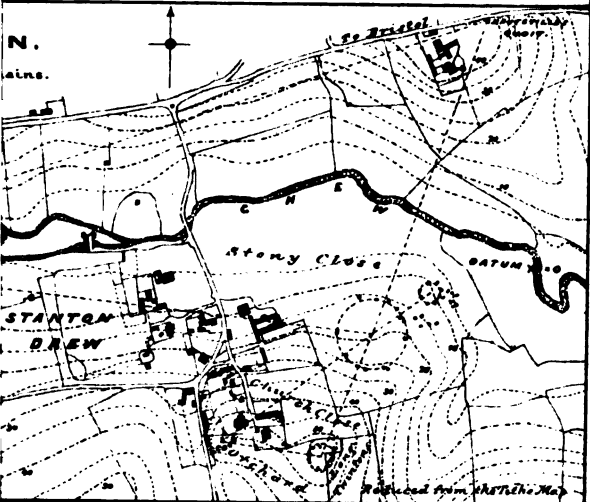
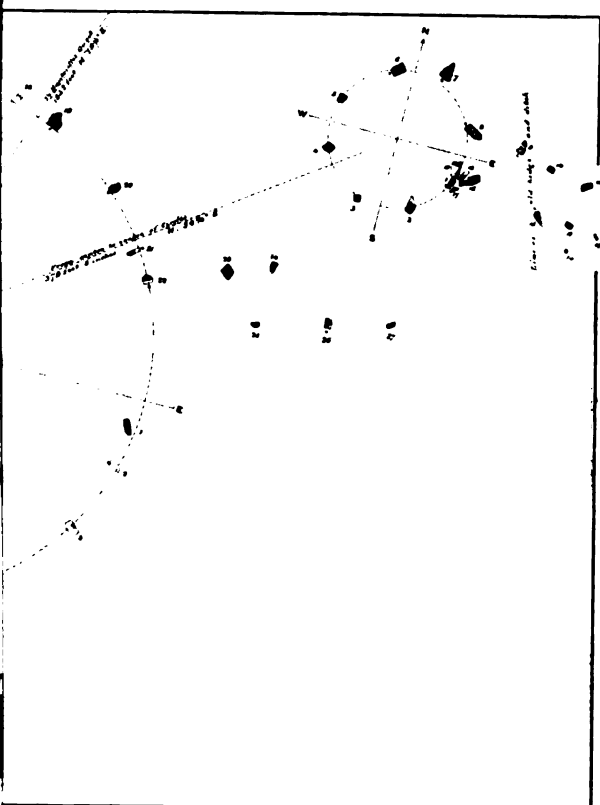
There has been much speculation as to the group of stones at the root of the southern line of the avenue of the north-east circle,—some supposing that they are the ruins of a dolmên, and others, that one of them was a mênhir. No. 18 is still well founded in the ground, and evidently *in situ*, though it is far from being upright; and a careful comparison of its side next No. 16, with the recessed part of the latter, with which it perfectly corresponds, must convince everyone who closely examines them that they were formerly one stone, which thus stood nearly behind No. 1, but, perhaps, 2 ft. or 3 ft. more to the north. The small stone leaning against the western end of No. 16 was, I think, attached to it, as its original base; and thus these three stones are disposed of, and formed a fine monolith, which must have overtopped the others. The fragments, numbered 19 on the plan, are sunk into, and are nearly level with the ground, so that it can only be conjectured that they are parts of what was

STONES IN MIDDLE

ANCIEN

STANT

SO



SCALE OF 1:1000

Surveyed by C. W. Byrnes, C.

formerly one stone, then standing on the northern side of No. 1, which is much smaller than any other of the stones in this circle, and seems to need some sort of reinforcement to balance them.

This small, or north-east, circle, and the groups of stones on both sides of it, have been a battle-ground of contending archæological factions,—some stoutly holding to the opinion that here we see the remains of what once were two concentric circles; others say three; and others, again, conjure up no less than five. Some see in the outlying stones a sharply-curving avenue; and others assume that the alignments were always nearly as they now are, and hold that the avenue of the large circle was intended to point toward the isolated stone, No. 14 in the north-east group. Now, it may be asserted that, if we scale on the plan, from the centre of the north-east circle to the stones numbered 24 and 27 in the large-circle avenue, and to No. 13, and to the western end of the fallen No. 11 in its own avenue, we shall find the distances (124 feet, 130 feet, 133 feet, and 132 feet) sufficiently alike to warrant us in making these the remaining members of an outer peristalith. I will cheerfully make a present of this approximation toward concentricity to those who can make anything of it,—at the same time asking them to explain how it occurred that, of all the stones which must have formed these concentric rings, those only have been left which happen to be ranged in straight lines, and now form distinct avenues leading to their respective circles; and also why, in this case, the usual rule was reversed, which placed the finer stones outermost and the smaller within. The theory that there was one sharply-bending avenue connecting the two circles does not look much more tenable, for, not only is it very rare to find two circles united in this manner, but it is not likely that those who designed these structures, if their wish was to make a passage connecting the circles, would have taken so indirect a way, especially when it involved a considerable descent, and subsequent ascent. It has been generally noticed that the stones in such avenues diminish in size as they recede from the structures at their roots; and the same custom seems to have been roughly followed here. It is thus probable that these two avenues were always quite distinct, converging toward one point; and that the larger

one was formerly longer, terminating, as to its northern line, in the small stone, No. 14, though no trace of the foundations of any intervening stones has been found. Possibly we have here the ruins of works of different dates ; and, if so, it is the more easy to understand why particular members, such as these avenues, should have been repeated in the later portion of the work without having necessarily any direct connexion with the earlier.

The strongest, indeed the only evidence as to the existence here of concentric circles is afforded by the plan which Aubrey made when he visited the spot in 1664, and which illustrates Part I of his manuscript work, *Monumenta Britannica*, in the Bodleian, a facsimile¹ of which accompanies this paper. In his account of it he says :—

“This Monument is bigger than Stoneheng : the Diameter is ninety paces. I could not perceive any Trench about it as at Stoneheng, etc. : it is in ploughed land, and consequently easily worne out. When I last sawe this, it was in Harvest time, and the Barley being then ripe, I could not come to survey the stones so exactly as I would otherwise have donne : but this scheme (as it is) resembleth it. The stones *a a a* etc : seeme to be the remainder of the Avenue as at Aubury, and Kynet, the length of the Avenue is about halfe a quarter of a mile : and the stones *d d d* might be a [line] leading to another Temple ; as from West Kynet to the Temple on the top of the Hill. see the scheme.”

Aubrey was unfortunate in the time of his visit, and evidently acquired a very confused notion as to the arrangement of the different parts of the work : for, seeing the rude stones rising in every direction out of a sea of corn, he might well imagine (what his whole work shows he was always ready to find) concentric circles surrounding a central stone. Except by some such explanation of his plan as follows below, his dimensions cannot be reconciled with anything that now remains—*e.g.*, the diameter of ninety paces (225 ft.) with the diameter of the small circle (97 ft.), or with that of the large one (368 ft.) ; the length of the avenue of “half a quarter of a mile” (220 yards), with the extreme distance (108 yards) from the root of the large-circle avenue to the extremity of the small one.

After much study of his plan, I think it may be thus explained. Assuming that he is right in his compass-bearings,

¹ This is taken from a copy very kindly lent me by our associate, Mr. Long, who has written the most complete account that has appeared of Stanton Drew, which will be found in the *Archæological Journal* for 1858.

and taking for a guide the old hedge which he has shewn,—the line of which is still visible,—we shall find the three stones, *d, d, d*, shown in a curved line, matched by stones numbered 8, 9, and 13 of the large circle; the four stones, *a, a, a, a*, on one side of his avenue, by those numbered 16, 18, 19, and 20 in the large circle; the single stone, *a*, on the other side of the avenue, by No. 21 or 22 in the large circle; the single stone outside his circular group, by No. 23 (the two stones outside the same, which he has crossed out, were probably at first intended to represent Nos. 23 and 25); and then,—omitting Nos. 12 and 14 of the north-east avenue, which are small, placed low, and, probably, at the time out of his sight behind another old hedge,—we shall have nineteen stones in the remainder of the two avenues, and in the circle, to satisfy the number, nineteen, which he has shewn in his concentric plan. Moreover, we shall have them extending over a piece of ground ninety paces across; and, from the end of this measurement to stone No. 8,—the extremity of his supposed curving avenue,—we have a distance of 233 yards, which is only 8 yards over the length he has assigned to the avenue. By what other mode of explanation can we account for his omission of all the stones of the smaller avenue, and for his representing the number and direction of those in the larger one so erroneously? If we could but surmount this difficulty, we might be tempted to seize upon a peculiarity which, at first sight, promises to give a clue to the labyrinth, and that is, the pictured plan of one of the outer stones on the south side, as though intended to represent the pointed and leaning stone, No. 2, in a similar position in the north-east circle, or, as it might be thought, the leaning stone, No. 18, with No. 16 lying at its foot. But, if so, then he is wrong again in showing twelve (or, possibly, eleven) stones in this outer ring against eight, the present, and evidently complete number, within which he shows six (or, possibly, seven) in an inner ring, and a monolith in the centre. It would be very singular if all these stones of the inner circle have been removed, without leaving any trace of their site, while all the outer ones have been allowed to remain. Nor will it do to suppose his inner ring to represent the existing one, for, independently of the difficulties discussed above, neither does the number of stones here agree with those now in and on the ground. On

the whole, therefore, I think no other conclusion is possible than that the avenue and curved line of stones shown trending westward and southward in Aubrey's plan, represent the stones on the northern and western side of the large circle (of whose existence, as such, he does not speak), and that the two concentric circles, with their central stone, represent his idea of the arrangement of the small circle, its avenue, and four stones of the avenue of the large circle. It is, perhaps, a pity that he ever made the plan, as he "could not come to survey" it better; for it is remarkable how often incorrect drawings have stirred the embers of strife, and bewildered the patient student by their fabulous data.

The Cove has been another gage of combat. With some it has been a throne or chair of state for the arch-druid, who was even seen sitting within its ample arms several times a day to dispense justice! With others it has been a dolmèn. If we suppose the latter, its reconstruction is attended by the following difficulties:—The prostrate stone (which could not possibly have fallen, as it has, if it had been the "table-stone") must have been a side-stone standing erect where its southern end now is, and at right angles with the other two, on the broken stump which still seems to be traceable in the ground. We shall thus have three uprights of greatly varying height—one 14 ft. 6 ins. high, another 10 ft. 3 ins., and a third 4 ft. 6 ins. It would be impossible to rest a cap-stone on these, as it demands a fourth supporter on the southern side, nearly, if not quite, as high as the prostrate one. Then, over the head-stone there will be a gap about 4 ft. high, in addition to the large square hole on one side of its base; and, over the foot-stone, a gap 10 ft. high, increased by the pyramidal shape of the stone. Now, not only would such a dolmèn be of most unusual height, in proportion to its length and width, but its chamber would always be open to easy access, which it would indeed tax the ingenuity of the sternest unbeliever in "free-standing" dolmèns to close by microlithic masonry, as a necessary preparation for covering it with a mound. But, if there were formerly a fourth side-stone and a table-stone, what has become of them? They are not buried in the ground. There is no reason to suppose that they have disappeared during the present century; so they are not likely to have been broken up to make or mend the country lane which

STANTON DREW, SOMERSET.



View of N.E. Circle, looking W.



*The Cove, looking W.
from a measured sketch*

passes near by ; and no fragments of such stones can be seen in any of the neighbouring fences or buildings. The most reasonable conclusion, then, seems to be, that these three stones are all that this monument ever possessed ; and it is fortified by the fact that two instances of a similar kind formerly existed at Avebury.

In this paper, as well as in the following memoranda, I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to avoid repeating what others have so well said before. My object has simply been to make a contribution to our knowledge on the subject; and, if these remarks, and the survey which accompanies them, should throw any fresh light upon it, the labour which has been spent on them will not have been bestowed in vain.

MEMORANDA WRITTEN ON THE ORIGINAL PLAN.

These remains are situated in a broad, rich valley, about six miles south of Bristol, overlooked on the north and south by high hills, and consist of three peristaliths, two of them with attached avenues ; a group of three large stones, called "The Cove"; two prostrate stones in a field at the distance of about two thirds of a mile to the west of the circles ; and one prostrate stone called "Hanteville's" or "Hackell's Quoit", about one third of a mile to the north-east of the large circle.

This plan has been constructed with the utmost care, from an accurate instrumental survey. The magnetic bearings were taken with a prismatic compass, the readings of which were adjusted by angular observations with a sextant.

The centres of the circles have been fixed by trial, after the plan was plotted, and indicate, as closely as it is now possible to discover, the centres of the work as it stood when perfect. To this end, the position of every stone has been studied on the ground, and, where practicable, the part which was either certainly or apparently the base of each has been marked by a small cross. As a rule which admits of but few exceptions,—and those are accounted for by the form of the ground,—that end of a stone which is now the lowest, and is sunk more or less into the ground, was undoubtedly the original base. Where it has been difficult to choose between two sides, a cross is put to each, and it is altogether omitted in cases where it has been impossible to decide on its proper place. From these centres dotted circles have been struck, representing as closely as possible the lines on which the stones appear to have been originally set up. It is thus made evident that these rings were not, as has hitherto been supposed, ellipses of a greater or less degree of eccentricity ; but that, when perfect, they were very nearly true circles.

The stones which are still erect are filled in with black on the plan.¹

¹ In consequence of the greatly reduced scale of the photolithograph, this distinction is not so clearly preserved as in the original.

Two of these in the north-east circle incline from the upright, and one in the Cove projects considerably beyond its base. The overhang is shown in outline, but is not shaded. The visible portions of prostrate stones are stippled and line-shaded, and those parts which are completely buried are indicated by dotted outlines. Some of these were exposed by the spade. The remainder were carefully probed to a depth of more than 12 inches, within which depth most of them lie; and it is believed that in almost every instance the edges have been correctly plotted, and that no unmeasured stones remain.

Traces of a buried stone, as dotted in the plan,—probably the broken base of the prostrate stone,—were found at the rear of the Cove, the site of which, between and around the stones, appears to be formed of small stones rammed together; probably, as is usual, for the purpose of keeping the erect stones in position. Nothing of the kind has been detected in connection with the circles and avenues.

The large and north-east circles stand in a posture sloping very gently toward the stream on the north. A rather sudden fall eastward occurs at about the middle of the avenue of the north-east circle. From the large circle the ground rises rather more steeply toward the south-west circle, which is on a level platform of its own diameter. From this the ground declines in every direction,—very gently toward the west and north-west, and most steeply toward the east. The Cove stands on the brow of a small flat elevation of nearly equal height, level to the north-east, as far as the church (which stands near its edge), declining very gently toward the east and south-east, and most steeply toward the west.

If the country were bare, the undermentioned points would be visible from one another: stones in Lower Tynning, from base of Cove; from $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet over centre of large circle, and from 8 feet above ground at quoit; centre of south-west circle from base of Cove; centre of north-east circle from 5 feet high at Cove; centre of large circle from 6 feet high at the same:—centre of south-west circle from base of quoit; centre of large circle from height of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet at quoit; and centre of north-east circle from height of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the same:—centre of large circle from height of 6 feet at centre of south-west circle; centre of north east circle from height of 4 feet at centre of south-west circle.

The magnetic bearings, etc., of the avenues are as follow:

NORTH-EAST CIRCLE.

North line of stones bears E., $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S., and points 31 ft. N. of centre of circle.

South line of stones bears E., $8\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$ S., and points $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft. S. of centre of circle, and 4 ft. N. of stone No. 1, running through the base of Nos. 16 and 18 when *in situ*.

Centre line of avenue bears E., 11° S., and points 11 ft. N. of centre of circle.

LARGE CIRCLE.

North line of stones bears N., 65° E., and points to centre of circle.¹ (?)

¹ Great uncertainty attaches to this, as only one stone in this line remains standing. The direction I have given runs through the cross at the foot of stone No. 22, which, being small, and lying across the circular line, has very

South line of stones bears N., 75° E., and points 6 ft. N. of centre of circle.

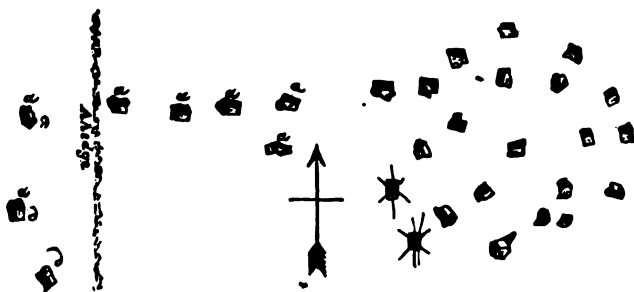
Centre line of avenue bears N., 70° E., and points 3 ft. N. of centre of circle; or centre line of avenue bears N., $73\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ E., and points 19 ft. N. of centre of circle, if the northern line of stones took the direction suggested in the note below.

Hauteville's Quoit was formerly larger than it now is. In 1664, Aubrey measured it, 10 ft. 6 ins. by 6 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 10 ins. In 1723, Stukeley (probably exaggerating) states its size as 13 ft. by 8 ft. by 4 ft.

Stone No. 16, in the avenue of the north-east circle, now prostrate, was part of a *ménhir*, of which another part (No. 18) remains standing, though much declined from the perpendicular. The apex and south-eastern side of the latter match exactly with the recessed part of No. 16. The stone leaning against the western end of No. 16 appears originally to have formed its base, and to have flaked off when this part of the *ménhir* fell. No. 1 was a separate stone, and seems never to have been disturbed or injured.

Two of the stones are new red sandstone,—the rock of the site;—one is similar to that obtained from Dundry, four miles north-west; a few are limestone from neighbouring quarries; and the rest,—forming by far the majority,—are a pebbly breccia of the magnesian limestone, probably brought from Broadfield Down, six miles west, or from East Harptree, six miles south.

The distances from the large circle to the quoit, and to the stones in Lower Tynning, are scaled from the Tithe Map; but the magnetic bearings of these objects were obtained from data observed on the ground. Those bearings recorded on the plan which could not be taken, in consequence of intervening obstacles, have been trigonometrically calculated from those which were instrumentally observed.



AUBREY'S SCHEME OF STANTON DREW.

[The accompanying Plate, of four views, is a reproduction of those exhibited by Mr. J. T. Irvine, and described above, at p. 249.]

likely been shifted from its place. This line of stones may have run to, and included, the small stone, No. 14, of the north-east avenue; in which case its direction would have been north, $72\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ east, and it would have pointed 32 feet north of the centre of the circle.

THE WILL AND INVENTORY OF ROBERT MORTON, A.D. 1486-1488.

BY E. M. THOMPSON, ESQ., ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF MSS.,
BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE documents which I have the honour of laying before the Association are copies of the Will and Inventory of Robert Morton. The Inventory was recently purchased at the sale of Mr. Bragge's collection of MSS., and is now preserved in the British Museum, under the number Add. MS. 30,064. The Will, with the kind assistance of Mr. John Smith, of the Literary Department of the Probate Office, I found copied into Register "Milles", f. 18, in that department. Robert Morton describes himself simply as "gentleman". He was a member of the parish of St. Nicholas Olave's, in London; though, as the inventory shows, he also kept a house at Standen, in Hertfordshire. He was well connected, being a kinsman of John Morton, Bishop of Ely, who subsequently became Lord Chancellor, Cardinal, and Archbishop of Canterbury: the same who is best remembered in these days as the contriver of that ingenious dilemma for the extortion of benevolences, known as "Morton's Fork". The prodigal could well spare money to the king, because he spent most; the careful man, because he had most. Another kinsman was Robert Morton, Master of the Rolls, who afterwards succeeded to the bishopric of Worcester, a nephew of the Bishop of Ely. Both he and his uncle are named executors to the will before us. Our Robert Morton was a devout man. Sick in body, but "of whole mind and in good memory", he made his will on the 15th May, 1486. His body is to be buried in the church of the Preachers or Black Friars within Ludgate. A mass and the prayers of the congregation are secured in the church of St. Nicholas for £1 6s. 8d., and, above all, a priest is to be found to pray for ten long years, specially for his soul and the souls of his parents and mother-in-law. The directions to the priest are somewhat particular; but the pay was good—ten marks a year, or, as it appears in the inventory, in the list of bequests, "to a preste to syng for hym ten yeres, £66 13s. 4d". After certain bequests, which

I shall notice presently, he leaves all his personal estate to his wife, as well as a life interest in his real property, with remainder to their children, if any. His wife was Agnes, daughter of Stephen Forster, Lord Mayor of London in 1454, and Agnes his wife. She survived him many years, the probate of her will being dated 1517. In default of issue, the executors are to dispose of the value of the lands in "dedys of pety and charite". Towards the close of the will he confides to the care of his wife certain children, the offspring of one John Andrew, for education, with the characteristic direction "to make the men children of them preestes, if they wil so be". Robert Morton lived apparently some time after thus making his last testament, as it was not proved until the 21st February, 1488-9.

The Inventory, made for the purposes of probate, is dated 1st August, 1488.¹ It is of more than ordinary interest, not only for its antiquity, but also from the fact of its being a double inventory: of goods in the house in London, and of goods in the house at Standen. It is also very full. The testator was a man of substance, and his fine collection of plate makes an important figure in the list. His goods in the London house are valued at £359:15:0 $\frac{3}{4}$, those at Standen at £43:17:8. Adding to these sums £150 in ready money, and £812:3:4 for good debts, his personal estate amounts to £1,365:16:10 $\frac{3}{4}$, which, however, must be reduced by £610:18:6, due to creditors. The great difference between the London and Standen valuations is chiefly caused by the large sum at which the plate is set; but, after deducting this, the former valuation still exceeds the latter, being about £76 as against £43. A comparison of the two lists explains this; for, although the London house seems to have been a small one, containing only fourteen apartments in all (unless any are omitted in the list as being unfurnished), and the Standen house one of twenty-one apartments, there are certain items, such as gowns, sheets, and table-linen, which amount to a comparatively large sum under the first list. In fact, the London house was the family house where the most valuable goods were kept; while that at Standen was an agreeable country retreat where Master Morton, doubtless, spent much of his time.

¹ The year, however, appears to be a correction, 1487 having been first written.

The names of the rooms, such as "Master Morton's chambre", "My master's chambre", at Standen, show this, as well as the enumeration of certain articles in every day use, such as pewter platters and dishes, which are in great measure wanting in the London inventory.

A brief examination of the different items of the Inventory will repay the trouble. Beginning with the London house, the first room we enter is the Hall. This is furnished with great simplicity. A few hangings and cushions, three tables and as many forms, fireirons, and a few arms of war and chase on the walls. The room is lighted with five candlesticks attached to a hanging beam, which seems to have been adorned with a crystal ball garnished with silver, if we may suppose that this last article really belonged to the item under which it is included. Crystal balls for cooling the hands or the eyes are sometimes mentioned in old inventories. This one seems to have served as a reflector. The two principal bedrooms are the Ceiled Chamber and the Chapel Chamber. Here we notice certain "pageauntes", or hangings with scenes painted or dyed, and with "scryptures" or descriptive titles; "counterpoynts", or counterpanes, of tapestry, with designs of a lion and St. John; and a large number of chests. Of these last there is good store. Almost every room has one or more of them; and they are of all sorts,—standard, flat, large, and small, ship-chests, and many of them old and "feeble". The other rooms, the Black, White, and Servants' chambers have the ordinary bedding; but the Maidens' Chamber seems to have been made a sort of lumber-room, for in addition to the legitimate articles we here find two saddles with bridles and harness, and a harp. This could not have been a very perfect instrument, for it is only valued at 8*d*. Among the gowns, the dearest, trimmed with marten's fur, was worth 33*s*. 4*d*.; the cheapest are those of striped material. Satin and damask are valued respectively at 5*s*. and 5*s*. 4*d*. a yard. In the chapel, the one vestment is described as of half say "with the Imperour", which I take to mean an embroidered figure of God the Father wearing a triple crown. The service-books are: a missal, a primer, and two psalters, all of which are described in the approved method, by the first words of the second leaf; for MSS. seldom correspond page for page, and so the second leaf would be a fair means of identi-

cation of a particular volume. There is likewise a super-altare, or portable altar. The valuation of the contents of the kitchen is high, upwards of £7, on account of the large number of brazen utensils.

We next come to the "plate and jewellys", a list in which there are many important items. The principal ones are : two standing covered cups, chased "chevron", and "upright and grained",—terms which are perfectly intelligible; three bowls chased "codround", or quadrant, in square patterns; a small covered cup chased with ivy-leaves; a Spanish spice-dish; a "layer", supposed to be a vessel to hold water, chased "wyndy", or with waved lines; and two round salts of large size, weighing as much as $59\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. All these are of silver-gilt. Among the pieces half-gilt are : two salts chased with honeysuckles; salts and goblets chased with "doppys"; other goblets chased "plomty", or with feather-patterns; bowls chased "codrounde"; three pottle-pots chased "wrethyn", or interlaced. Two ginger-forks are also counted. They occur in some of the oldest inventories. A goodly number of spoons with "wrethyn knoppes" and diamond-shaped points; several masers; and six rings of gold, described as coarse. Lastly we may notice a holy-water stoup and sprinkler, a chalice and paten, and a sacring bell.

With regard to the inventory of goods at Standen, there is necessarily a repetition of many things which are already enumerated in the London portion of the list. In the Great Parlour we find similar furniture to that in the hall in the London house. The entrance is adorned with two "pavy-sys", or large shields, and a lantern. In a room above, called the Corner Chamber, are stored seven pairs of "brygandys", or brigandines, body-armour composed of small narrow plates of steel covered with cloth or leather; and ten sheaves of arrows. The arms of which mention is made in various parts of the Inventory seem to have been used for ornamenting the walls, or thrust away as lumber. In addition to those which have just been noticed, there are two battle-axes, two Normandy bills, a javelin, a riding-spear, a sword, five coats of defence, and a pair of brigandines. The last named article is always referred to as in pairs, perhaps with the meaning of back and front pieces. In the chamber next the Great Chamber are "five costrynges, gret and smale, steyned with handes and arrows". This device is pro-

bably a family crest, but not that of Morton. It might possibly be that of his wife, Agnes Forster, for I find that one branch of the Forsters bore for their crest a hand holding a bow and arrow : perhaps carelessly described in our Inventory as above. The chapel at Standen, like that at London, contains a vestment of half say "with all the Impe-rour"; and among other things two superaltares and a pax-bread; and a small missal, a small grail or gradual containing the music for the mass, and an old "portews" or breviary. The other domestic articles contained in the list need not detain us, and we pass on to the debts, bequests, and funeral expenses.

In the first list of debts are the "Sperat dettes", a term rather puzzling at first sight, but explained by the next title of "Desperat dettes". First, the "Lord Markys" owes £288 : 6 : 8. This can only be Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, son of Queen Elizabeth Wydville, who narrowly escaped losing his head in Richard III's reign. His connection with Robert Morton is easily accounted for by the relationship of the latter to that zealous Lancastrian and enemy of Richard, viz., the Bishop of Ely. The Prior of Anglesey, in Cambridgeshire, who seems to have been at this time one John Wellys, also appears among the debtors. On the other side of the account is found the Lady Fowler as creditor to the amount of upwards of £130. This lady may, perhaps, have been one of the Fowlers of Foxley, co. Bucks. Sir Richard Fowler, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster under Edward IV, married Jane Danvers of Colthorp, co. Oxon. His son, Sir Richard, married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Windsor, and sister of Andrews, Lord Windsor. Both these ladies were probably living at the period of our Inventory, so that the entry may apply to either of them. The item of 40s. due to Agnes Forster for the board of her daughter, must refer to some kinswoman of Robert Morton's wife.

Among the bequests of Robert Morton were four standing cups of silver-gilt, left respectively to John Forster, his brother-in-law, and to my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Worcester, and Henry Asshbourne, his executors. The Bishop of Ely and the Master of the Rolls had risen to the sees of Canterbury and Worcester since the date of the will. It should be noticed, however, that only three standing cups,

properly so called, appear in the list. Perhaps the goblets might fall under this category. By the terms of the will all of Morton's servants received something. Two are mentioned by name, Hugh and Simond, and appear in the inventory as Hugh Weynde and Symon Forster. The latter was, no doubt, some poor kinsman of the wife's family; for even as late as the close of the seventeenth century, if not later, it was not uncommon for poor members of a family to occupy what would now be considered menial places in the households of their richer relations. Altogether the establishment consisted of nine servants.

Finally, we have only to remark on the very large sum expended on the funeral. Priests, clerks, bell-ringing for the "leystow" or burial of the body, stone, linen, and woollen cloths, ale, wine, and what not, besides alms to the poor, carried off no less than £70 : 6 : 8 of the personal estate of Robert Morton.

A glossary at the end of this paper will be found to contain explanations of most of the obsolete terms.

THE WILL OF ROBERT MORTON.

"In the name of God amen. The xv day of the monith of May, the yere of our Lord mccccxxxvj, and the fyrst yere of the reigne of king Henry the vijth, I Robard Moreton of London, Jentylman, thow I be visited w' sikenesse, neuerthelesse beyng of hoole mynd and in goode memory, laude and preysing be unto our Lord God therfor, make and ordeigne this my present testament of my moveabill goodes, conteynyng therin my last will of all my maners, londes, and tenementes w'in the Reame of England, in maner and fourme folowing: That is to wytt, fyrst I bequeith and recommend my soule to my Lord Jhesus my redemer and to the most glorious virgyn his modyr, our Lady seint Mary, and to his holy college of seintes in hevyn, and my body to be buryed in the conent church of the frires prechours w'in Ludgate of London in sunime convenient place ther after the discrecions of myn executours. Item, I bequeith to the high aluter of the parissch church of Nicholas Oluff beside Old-fisshstrete of London, where I am a parisschen, for my tithes and oblations w'olden or forgoton, if eny soo be doon, yt for the discharge of my soule and to thentent that the curat there pray the moore specially for my soule, vjs. viijd. Item, I bequeith to the werkys of the body of the same church, to thentent that the parissshens there recommede my soule to allmighty God among there devout prayers, xxs. Item, I will that myn executours of my goodis fiend an honest preest of goode name, goode fame, and goode conuersacion, to sey his masse and his other divine service in the seid parissch church of seint Nicholas Oluff, and to pray specially for my soule, the soules of my Fader and moder, the soule of dame Agnes Forster, late moder to Agnes my wyfe, and

for all Cristen sowles, bi the space of x yeris next sying after my deceese. And I will that the seid preest be attending and helping in his surplice at all maner divine service to be doon by note in the seid pariss church, during the seid terme of x yeris, and namely on sondayes and other festivall dayes, and that he on the deyes sey his masse in the seid pariss church at an awter assigned unto hym by the curat there for the tyme being, and that he goo no rather to his masse on thoo dayes till the viij lesson there be doon; and on the werke-days I will that the seid preest do the morow masse in the seid church at vij of the klok afore noon, like as the maner therof in that church is used so to be doon. And I will that the seid preest have for his wagis yerely x marc. Item, tenderly I pray and specially require myn executours that, if eny wrongis by me have be doone to eny maner persones and dew profe therof be made afore my seid executours, that they make due restitution to the parties grevid for such wrongys by me so doon, to the utterest that it may be knowen. Item, I bequeith to the full reuerend fadyr in God, my singuler goode lord John Bisschopp of Ely, for a memoriall that it may please his reuerend faderhode to hane my soule in his remembraunce, oon of my standing cuppis couerid, of siluer and gilt. Item I bequeith to my singuler goode maister, maister Robard Morton, maister of the Rolles, under lyke fourme, an other of my standing cuppis couerid, of silver and gilt. Item, I bequeith to my singuler goode Brother in lawe John Forster, Esquier, under lyke fourme, an other of my standing cuppis of siluer and gilt. Item, I bequeith to Alice Cornewayle, otherwyse callid Alice Styherst, to pray for my sowle, xxs. Item, I bequeith to Hugh my seruaut my best gowne and xxs. in money, to pray for my sowle. Item, I bequeith to Simond my seruaut, to pray for my soule, xijjs. iiijd. Item, I bequeith to euery of my other seruantes, men and women, dwelling w^t me the day of my deceese, to pray for my sowle, xijjs. iiijd. And all the residew of all my goodis, cattallis and dettys, whatsoeuer they be, after my funerall expenses full doone, my dettis paid that I owe to eny persones, restitutions made for wronges doone, and the legates in this my present testament fully perfourmed, I yene and bequeith to Agnes my wyfe, desiring hyr to dispose such a part therof as she by thadvyse of hyr coexecutours shall seme moost convenient to be doon for the wele of my soule, as wele among the Fryres of the seid house of frirous prechours, as in the pariss and pariss church of saint Nicholas Oluff aforseid, where I am now a parisschen. Item, I will that the seid Agnes my wyfe immediatly after my deceese have all my maners, londes, and tenementis w^t their appurtenances, wheresoeuer they be, wⁱⁿ the Reame of England for terme of hyr lyfe w^{out} empechement of wast. The remayndre of them after hyr deceese to the issew commyng of hyr body and myn, betwene us lawfully begoton; and, for defawte of such issewe, I will that all my same maners, londes, and tenementes w^t their appurtenances be sold by myn executours, and the money therof commyng to be disposed by myn executours in dedys of pety and charite, such as they shall seme moost convenient to be doone by their wyse discrecions, for the wele of my soule and of the soules of my fadyr and my moder, the soule of the seid dame Agnes Foster, and of all Cristen soules; saving I will that my seid wyfe, while she leuith, shal have the seid maners, londes, and tenementis under her rule and guyding, w^t part of the reuenues yerely commyng of the

same, she to fynd, immediatly after my deceese, the children of John Andrew and hys wyfe, like as I doo the day of the date hereof, and that she sett them forth to scole to make the men children of them preestes, if they wil so be, or els to sett them and the mayden children forthward otherwyse, lyke as she by thadvyse of her seid coexecutours shall mow think best to be doon. And of this my present testament and last will I make and ordeigne myn executours the seid reuerend fadyr in God, John Bisshop of Ely, the seid M. Robard Morton, maister of the Rollys, the seid Agnes my wyfe, and the seid Henry Asshbourne, gentilman; and I require and hertly exort the seid Agnes my wyfe to be goode and loving moder to my children and hyrs goton betwene us; and I pray and humbly beseche the seid Reuerend fadyr in God and the seid maister of the Rollis to be goode lord and goode maister to the seid Agnes, my wyfe, and the seid Henry Asshbourne to be loving frend to the same Agnes in executing of this my present testament and last will. In witnessse of all the premisses to this my present testament and last will I haue sett my seall. Yoven the day and yere aforeseid. And I bequeith to the seid Henry Asshbourne, gentylman, an other of my standing cuppis of siluer and gilt."

"Thys ys the Inventory of all the goodes and catallys of Robert Morton, Gentyman, preysyd by William Mariner and Symon Ogan, cytezens of London and preysers to the most Reuerend Fader in God, John, archebysshop of Canterbury, the furst day of August, in the yere of oure Lord God mccciiij^{xxviiij}, and in the thryd yere of the regne of Kyng Henry the seuenth.

In the halle.

In primis, iiij costerynges, xij quysshyns, and iij bankers of grene say lynyd, *prec.* xxvjs. viij*d.*
 Item, iij ioynyd tabylles, and ij peyre of trestelles with merke 1, *prec.* vs.
 Item, iij ioynyd formes, ijs. iiij*d.*
 Item, j peyre of aundyrons, ijs. iiij*d.*
 Item, j peyre of tonges and j fyre rake, v*d.*
 Item, j turnyd stoole and j haunce, v*d.*
 Item, j hangyng beame with ij cheynys of latone, v candylstykkes of latone, and j balle of crystall garnysshyd with syluer, *prec.* vjs. viij*d.*
 Item, j oysterborde, *prec.* iiij*d.*
 Item, ij batell axes and a Normandy byll, a chase veleyn and a rydyng spere, ijs. v*d.*

summa, xlvjs. ix*d.*

In the sylid chambre.

Item, j selor and testor, iij curteyns, iij costrynges, and a rydell of grene say, and iij couerynges for chestes of the same, xxvjs. viij*d.*
 Item, a fedyrbed and a bolster with merke 1, xxs.
 Item, a materas and a straw clothe, *prec.* x*d.*
 Item, ij pageauntes steynynd, viij*d.*
 Item, j peyre of blankettes, ijs.
 Item, a counterpoynt with a lyon of tapistry werke, xiijs. iiij*d.*
 Item, j peyre of bed bordes, x*d.*
 Item, j cupborde, ijs.
 Item, j cheste with merke 1, ijs. iiij*d.*

- Item, j standart cheste couered with ledyr, vjs. viijd.
 Item, a cheste with ij lyddes, and a forme, xx*d*.
 Item, a cheste bounde with yron, xiijs. iiijd.
 Item, a lytell fforser of sypresse, xij*d*.
 Item, j rounde cheyar ioynyd, xij*d*.
 Item, j peyre aundyrans j peyre tonges and j forke, xij*d*.
 Item, j lytyll watyr chafyr, x*d*.

summa, iiij*li*. xvs. x*d*.

In the chapell chambre.

- Item, a selor, a testor, iij curteyns and xj costrynges of red say, febyll, xiijs. iiijd.
 Item, a fedyrbed and a bolster with merke 2, xs.
 Item, a cheste with merke 2, ijs.
 Item, a cheste with merke 3, xv*d*.
 Item, a cheste with merke 4, ijs.
 Item, ij chestes with merke 5, ijs. v*d*.
 Item, a long setyll, iiij*s*.
 Item, a cheste with merke 6, viij*d*.
 Item, a sengyll cupborde, viij*d*.
 Item, j peyre of lytell aundyrans, viij*d*.
 Item, j counterpoynt of white tapistry werke with tuftes, xxs.
 Item, j counterpoynt of tapistry with imagery, xviijs.
 Item, j counterpoynt of tapistry with an image of seynt John, xvjs. viij*d*.
 Item, vj lytell carpettes of dyuerse sortes, xliijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, ix lytell cussghyns of carpet werke, xiijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, j olde lytell couerlyte red, viij*d*.
 Item, ij peyre and a blanket of fustyan, xvjs. viij*d*.
 Item, j peyre of olde blankettes, viij*d*.
 Item, xix pelows gret and smale, xliijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, vj olde cussghyns couered with red say, iijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, x quysshyn clothes of tapistry werke, smale, vjs. viij*d*.
 Item, iij bankers of tapistry werke, palyd, febyll, iijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, iij febyll costrynges, v*d*.
 Item, j valence of blew bokeram, xij*d*.
 Item, j speruyour with a cope of tartron palyd grene and blew, xs.
 Item, iij hachementes and iiij pageauntes with scryptures, vj peces, vjs. viij*d*.

summa, xli. xijs. iiij*d*.

Gownes with other weryng stuff.

- Item, a cremesyn gounne furreyd with martrons, *prec.* xxxiijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, a vyolet gounne furreyd with mynkes, *prec.* xxxs.
 Item, a blak gounne furreyd with foynes, xs.
 Item, a blak gounne furreyd with cony, xs.
 Item, a vyolet gounne furreyd with shankes, xs.
 Item, a tauny gounne furreyd with fechew pollys, viijs.
 Item, a russet gounne furreyd with blak lambe, xiijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, a sanguyne gounne, sengyll, xs.
 Item, a grene gounne, sengyll, vjs.
 Item, iij rydyng gounnes of dyuerse colors, xliijs.
 Item, ij old ray gounnes furreyd with whyte lambe, viijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, a sengyll ray gounne, iijs. iiij*d*.

- Item, xj half ray gounes of dyuerse colors, xxvs. viiij*d*.
 Item, iij lyuerey gounes of dyuerse colors, x*s*.
 Item, j cote of defence couered with chamlet, x*s*.
 Item, half a payne of fox furre, xx*d*.
 Item, a swerde, xx*d*.
 Item, a peyre of bregandys, x*s*.
 Item, ij doublettes, oone of damaske and that other of sateyne, v*s*. viiij*d*.
 Item, xiiij yardes of tauny saten, le yarde 5*s*. lx*s*.
 Item, iij yardes of blak damaske, le yarde 5*s*. 4*d*. xv*s*.
 Item, iij yardes of blak sateyn, le yarde 5*s*. xv*s*.
summa, xvj*li*. xix*s*.

Shetys.

- Item, ix peyre of shetes with merke 1, le peyre 3*s*. xxvi*s*.
 Item, iij peyre of shetes with merke 2, le peyre 3*s*. 4*d*. x*s*.
 Item, iij shetes with merke 3, le shete, 5*s*. 4*d*. xv*s*.
 Item, iij peyre shetes with merke 4, le peyre 6*s*. 8*d*. xx*s*.
 Item, ij pecys of grene tartron, le pece 13*s*. 4*d*. xxv*s*. viiij*d*.
 Item, ij hede shetes with merke 5, le shete 2*s*. 6*d*. v*s*.
 Item, x peyre of shetes with merke 6, le peyre 2*s*. 8*d*. xxv*s*. viiij*d*.
 Item, xvij peyre and j shete of course shetes, le peyre 2*s*. xxxv*s*.
 Item, vj peyre brokyn shetes, le peyre 8*d*. iiij*s*.
 Item, a seynt Johns clothe of bawdekyn, xx*s*.
 Item, iiij whyte furres, le furre 8*d*. i*s*. viiij*d*.
 Item, v pelow berys, i*s*.
 Item, a pelow couered with ragmersshe sylke with ij curteyns of tauny tartron, iiij*s*. iiij*d*.
 Item, a pelow couered with blak bokeram, iiij*d*.
summa, ixli. xvii*s*. viiij*d*.

Napry dyaper.

- Item, j bordclothe of dyaper with merke of 1, xiiij*s*. iiij*d*.
 Item, j bordclothe with merke of 2, xv*s*.
 Item, j bordclothe of dyaper with merke 3, v*s*. iiij*d*.
 Item, j bordclothe of dyaper with merke 4, xv*s*.
 Item, j bordclothe of dyaper with merke 5, x*s*.
 Item, ij bordclothes of dyaper with merke 6, iiij*s*.
 Item, ij bordclothes of dyaper with merke 7, v*s*. iiij*d*.
 Item, ij bordclothes of dyaper with merke 8, v*s*.
 Item, j towell of dyaper with merke 1, xx*s*.
 Item, j towell of dyaper with merke 2, x*s*.
 Item, j towell of dyaper with merke 3, x*s*.
 Item, j towell of dyaper with merke 4, viij*s*. iiij*d*.
 Item, j towell of dyaper with merke 5, v*s*. viiij*d*.
 Item, j towell of dyaper with merke 6, xiiij*s*. iiij*d*.
 Item, j towell of dyaper with merke 7, viij*s*. iiij*d*.
 Item, j towell of dyaper with merke 8, viij*s*. iiij*d*.
 Item, j towell of dyaper with merke 9, viij*s*. iiij*d*.
 Item, j towell of dyaper, with merke 10, v*s*. viiij*d*.
 Item, j towell of dyaper, with merke 11, i*s*. v*d*.
 Item, ij cupbordclothes of dyaper, i*s*.
 Item, j towell of dyaper with merke 12, i*s*. iiij*d*.
 Item, vj brokyn towelles of dyaper, i*s*.

- Item, iiij lytell bordclothes of dyaper with bléw mylynges, iijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, viij ewry towellys of dyaper, vjs.
 Item, ij dosen naptkyns of dyaper with blew mylynges, xs.
 Item, ij dosen and iiij naptkyns of dyaper of diuerse sortes, febyll, ijs.
 Item, iiij olde cupbordclothes of dyaper, iijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, ij towelles and vj naptkyns of dyaper, febyll, iiij*s*.
 Item, viij couerpaynes of dyaper, febyll, vjs. viij*d*.

summa, xj*li*. iij*d*.

Playne clothes.

- Item, vj cowchers playne, cont[aining] xxxiiij ellys, xij*s*. iiij*d*.
 Item, v brokyn cowchers, cont[aining] xvj ellys, vs.
 Item, xxj towelles long and shorte, and ix cupbordeclothes playne, febyll, xs.
 Item, iiij tabyll clothes playne, and ij rollers, febyll, iijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, xxxvij ellys of lynyn clothe, xij*s*. iiij*d*.
 Item, xvij playne naptkyns, ijs.
 Item, a playne cupbordclothe, vj*d*.

summa, xlvij*s*. vj*d*.

In the chapell.

- Item, ij awterclothes and iiij costrynges, steynynd, iijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, j other steyned coster with Images, iijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, j vestment of di. say with the Imperour, and a corporas case of the same, vs. iiij*d*.
 Item, an awterclothe of lynyn, xij*d*.
 Item, a masseboke, in 2^o fo. *Domine demonstra*, xls.
 Item, a sawter, in 2^o fo. *quoniam tu prius*, vs.
 Item, a prymer, in 2^o fo. *minans oculos*, iijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, a sawter, in 2^o fo. *mis meis*, ijs. viij*d*.
 Item, a superaltare, xij*d*.
 Item, an holy watyr stope of pewtyr, iiij*d*.

summa, lxvs. iiij*d*.

In the maydyns chambre.

- Item, ij celors, v curteyns, and iiij costrynges of dyuerse sortes, with a pageant steynynd, xs.
 Item, iiij febyll couerlytes of dyuerse sortes and a blanket, vs.
 Item, a fedyrbed and ij pelows with merke 3, viijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, ij bedstedes, ijs.
 Item, ij olde chestes, xij*d*.
 Item, ij sadylls couered with red leder and blak, with ij brydelles and harneys, iijs. viij*d*.
 Item, a close presse, febyll, iijs.
 Item, an olde harpe, viij*d*.
 Item, a cheste, x*d*.
 Item, in the brusshyng chambre, j table and j peyre trestelles, xij*d*.

summa, xxxvj*s*. iiij*d*.

In the blak chambre.

- Item, a celor, testor, iij curteyns and ij costrynges of blak bokeram, viijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, a banker and a curteyne of blak say, xij*d*.
 Item, a whyte couerlyte of wollyn, febyll, xij*d*.
 Item, a fedyrbed w' merke 4, xs.

Item, a cuphorde, *ijs. iiijd.*
 Item, a cheste, *ijs.*
 Item, ij olde shyp chestes, *vs.*
 Item, j olde ioyned forme, *ijd.*

summa, xxxs. xd.

In the whyte chambre.

Item, a celor, testor, and iiij costrynges, brokyn and febyll, *xxd.*
 Item, iiij lytell fedyrbeddes with a bolster, a materas, a blanket and a tapete of blak say, *xxs.*
 Item, an olde shyp cheste, a presseborde, a bedstede, and a flat cheste in the entre, *ijs. iiijd.*

summa, xxiijs.

In the seruauntes chambre.

Item, a materas, a bolster, a blanket, a quylte and a brokyn couerlyte, *ijs. iiijd.*
 Item, a rounde cheyar ioynyd, *viijd.*
 Item, a peyntyd coster and a brokyne selure, *xxd.*
 Item, ij couerlytes and a peyre of blankettes, *vs.*
 Item, a bedstede and a pane of whyte lambe, *xxd.*

summa, xijs. iiijd.

In the parlure.

Item, a flat cheste of welow, *iijs.*
 Item, a sengylle cupborde, a turnyd stole, and a roller for a towell, *xijd.*

summa, vs.

In the botry next the parlure.

Item, iiij ale stondes, a lanterne, with other lombor and tubbys, *ijs. iiijd.*

summa, ijs. iiijd.

In the kechyn.

Item, a water sesterne of lede set in a frame, *xvjs. viijd.*
 Item, a gret pot of brasse, *poyz. iij qrs. xj lbs. at 2d., xvs. xd.*
 Item, a pot of brasse, *poyz. xliij lbs. at 2d., vijs.*
 Item, a pot of brasse, *poyz. lviiij lbs. at 2d., xs. viijd.*
 Item, a pot of brasse, *poyz. xxxiiij lbs. at 2d., vs. viijd.*
 Item, a pot of brasse, *poyz. xxvij lbs. at 2d., iijjs. vjd.*
 Item, a pot of brasse, *poyz. xiiij lbs. di. at 2d., ijs. vd.*
 Item, a lytell pot of brasse, *poyz. v lbs. di. at 2d., xjd.*
 Item, ij lytell pottes of brasse, *poyz. xxiiijlbs. di. at 2d. ob., ijs. xjd. quad.*
 Item, a fretor chafyr of brasse, *poyz. xxxiiijlbs. di. at 1d. ob., iijjs. ijd. quad.*
 Item, a chafyr of brasse, *poyz. ijlbs. di. at 2d., vd.*
 Item, iij watyr chafyrs of brasse, *poyz. xvlbs. di. at 1d. ob., xxiijd. quad.*
 Item, a morter of brasse with a pestell of yron, *poyz. xxviiijlbs. at 1d. ob., iijjs. vjd.*
 Item, vj pannys of brasse, *poyz. xxiiijlbs. at 3d., vjs.*
 Item, iij olde brasse pannys and a skelet, *poyz. iijqrs., le lb. 1d., vijs. vjd.*
 Item, a basyn, a colondor, and a scomer, *poyz. xiiijlbs. at 2d., ijs. iiijd.*
 Item, j olde frying panne, *iiijd.*
 Item, x chargers, xvj brokyn platers, viij dysshes, xij sausers, *poyz. all togedyr iij^{xv} lbs. at 2d., xvs. xd.*
 Item, iij platers, *poyz. xlbs. di. at 2d., xxjd.*
 Item, xij platers, xvij dysshes, and xij sausers of another sorte, *poyz. lxjlbs. at 2d. qr., xjs. vijd.*

Item, in lay metall, ij basyns, ij potell pottes, j quarte, j pynte, ij botelles, j ewer, *poyz. xxviiijlbs. at 1d. ob., iijs. vjd.*

Item, j peyre rackes, iij pot hangyls, iij treuettes, j gredyron, ij fyre shouylls, j fyre forke, j peyre aundyrons, and a pele, *poyz. cxxviiijlbs. le lb. ob., vs. xd.*

Item, v spyttes gret and smale, *poyz. lxvijlbs. at 1d., vs. vijd.*

Item, a cours and a dressyng knyfe, *xd.*

Item, ij chafyng dysshes of latone, *xxd.*

Item, a shredyng knyfe and a lechyng knyfe, *iiijd.*

Item, iij bollys, a basket of wykers, and a watyr tankard, *iijs.*

Item, a shyp cheste, *xxd.*

Item, a bultyng pype and other lombor, *ijs.*

Item, a dysshe and iij sausers of pewtyr, *ixd.*

summa, vijli. vjs. jd. ob. quad.

In the botry.

Item, iij holow basyns, ij chambre basyns of latone, *poyz. xxixlbs. at 2d. ob., vjs. ob.*

Item, iiij belle candylstykkcs of laton, *ijs.*

Item, v candylstykkcs of dyuerse sortes, *xxd.*

Item, in lay metall, v potelles, iiij quartes, iiij pyntes, and iij holow basyns, *poyz. lvjlbs. at 1d. ob., vjs.*

Item, a bredbyn and a lytell barell, *ijs.*

Item, a flat cheste ouer the botry, *ijs. iiijd.*

summa, xxjs. ob.

In the fysshe chambre.

Item, an holow basyn, *vjd.*

Item, a selur, a testyr and ij curteyns of bokeram, febyll, *ijs.*

Item, iij trunkes couered with lether, *iijs.*

Item, a turnyd cheyar and iiij turnyd stoles, with olde yron and other lombor, *iijs. iiijd.*

Item, xij quysshons of whyte ledyr, *vs.*

summa, xiijs. xd.

In the counter next the gate.

Item, a lytell beame of yron, a peyre of scales, and iij lede wyghtes gret and smale, *cclbs., prec. of all, xiijs. iiijd.*

Item, j olde costyr of blew bokeram, j olde quysshyn of red, j hachement, j peyre of febyll pynsyna, and j hamer, *xijd.*

summa, xiijs. iiijd.

Plate and jewellys.

Item, a standyng cuppe with a couer, gylt, chasyd cheueron, *pond. xxix unc. di. qua., le unc. 4s., cxvjs.*

Item, j standyng cuppe couered, gylt, chasyd upryght and greynyd, *pond. xxix unc. iij qua. at 3s. 4d., iiijli. xixs. ijd.*

Item, iij bollys with a couer, gylt, chasyd codrounde, *pond. iiij^{xx} unc. j qua. at 3s. 5d., xiiijli. xvijs. vijd. quad.*

Item, j lytell cuppe with a couer, gylt, chasyd with ivy leues, *pond. xv unc. di., febylly gylt, at 3s. 4d., ljs. vijd.*

Item, j layer, gylt, chasyd wyndy, *pond. xij unc. di. at 3s. 6d., xlvjs. iijd.*

Item, ij rounde saltes with a couer, playne gylt, *pond. lix unc. di. at 3s. 5d., xli. iijs. ijd. ob.*

- Item, j poulder box, a lytyll salt, and a layer, febylly gylt, *pond.* xxxiiij *unc. di. at 3s. 4d., cxvs.*
- Item, ij sponys, gylt, *pond.* ij *unc. di. qua. at 3s. 6d., ix.* ijd.
- Item, j spaynysshe spyce dysshe, *di. gylt, chasyd, pond.* xvij *unc. iij qua. at 3s. 3d., lxs. xjd. quad.*
- Item, ij saltes with a couer, half gylt, chasyd with honysoclys, *pond.* xxxij *unc. iij qua. at 3s. 4d., cixs. ijd.*
- Item, xij bolles, with ij couers, chasyd codrounde, *pond.* cciij^{xx} *unc. iij qua. at 3s. 2d., xliiijli. xvij.* vjd. *quad.*
- Item, ij rounde saltes with a couer, parcelles gylt, chasyd with doppys, *pond.* xvij *unc. di. at 3s. 3d., lxs. jd. ob.*
- Item, iij goblettes with a couer, parcelles gylt, chasyd with doppys, *pond.* xxx *unc. di. at 3s. 2d., iijli. xv.* vjd.
- Item, vj goblettes with a couer, chasyd plomty, *pond.* xliij *unc. iij qua. at 3s. 1d., vjli. xv.* xjd. *ob. quad.*
- Item, iijj bollys, chasyd codrounde, parcelles gylt, *pond.* lx *unc. at 3s. 1d., ixli. vs.*
- Item, viij bollys of dyuerse sortes and a belle of syluer, *pond.* lxij *unc. at 3s. 1d., ixli. x.* ijd.
- Item, a taster with a couer, j layer, j crewse with a couer, ij rounde saltes of dyuerse sortes, ij playne goblettes with a couer, j powder box, ij gynger forkes, *pond.* lxvij *unc. iij qu., le unc. 3s. 1d., xli. x.* xjd. *ob. quad.*
- Item, iij potell pottes, parcelles gylt, chasyd wrethyn, *pond.* clv *unc. at 3s. 2d., xxiijli. xs. xd.*
- Item, j potell pot, playne, parcelles gylt, *pond.* xlvj *unc. di. at 3s. 2d., vijli. vijs. iij.* d.
- Item, ij quartlettes, playne, parcelles gylt, *pond.* liij *unc. di. at 3s. 2d., viijli. ix.* vd.
- Item, ij quartlettes, playne, parcelles gylt, *pond.* xxxij *unc. at 3s. 1d., iijli. xvij.* vjd.
- Item, ij basyns and ij ewers, parcelles gylt, chasyd, *pond.* cxxvj. *unc. at 3s. 2d., xixli. xix.*
- Item, ij playne basyns with ij ewers, parcelles gylt, *pond.* cxxj *unc. di. at 3s. 2d., xxli. xv.* vd.
- Item, j barbors basyn, playne, *pond.* lvij *unc. di. at 3s. 2d. ixli. vs. iij.* d.
- Item, ij pryked candylstykkes, ij crewettes, j holy-water stope with a sprynkell, j sacryng belle, parcelles gylt, *pond.* iij^{xx} *unc. at 3s. 2d., xivli. x.* iij. d.
- Item, a chalyce with a paten, playne, parcelles gylt, *pond.* xij. *unc. di. at 3s. 3d., xls. vij.* d. ob.
- Item, ij dosen spones with wrethyn knoppes, *pond.* xxx *unc. j qua. at 3s. 3d., iijli. xvij.* ijd. *ob. quad.*
- Item, ij dosen and vj sponys with dyamond poyntes, *pond.* xlj *unc. j qua. at 3s. 2d., vjli. xs. vij.* d. ob.
- Item, ij dosen and vj sponys of dyuerse sortes, a brokyn salt, a lytell coueryng for a crewse, *pond.* xxxij *unc. di. at 3s. 1d., cijs. iij.* d. ob.
- Item, vij lytell masers with duble bondes, *pond.* xlj *unc. di. at 2s. 4d., iijli. xv.* xd.
- Item, v masers with sengyll bondes, and an olde blak nutte with a couer, with iij knoppys for couerynges of masers, *pond.* xliij *unc. at 2s. 2d., iijli. xv.* ijd.

Item, vj rynges of golde, course, *pond. j unc. di. prec. xxvijs. iiijd.*

summa, cclxxxiijl. ijs. jd. ob

Item, in redy money nombred at the tyme of hys decease, *clli.*

summa, clli.

At Stondon in the counte of Hertforde.

In the gret parlure.

Item, vij costrynges gret and smale, iij bankers and ix cussghyns of grene say, *xxxs.*

Item, ij sengyll cupbordes, *xvjd.*

Item, a turnyd cheyar, *vjd.*

Item, vj ioynyd stolys, *ijs.*

Item, a turnyd stole, *iijd.*

Item, a watyr chafyr couered, *ijs.*

Item, iij screnys of wykers gret and smale, *vjd.*

Item, iij ioynyd tabyllys with ij peyre of trestelles, *xs.*

Item, a peyre of aundyrons, *iijs. iiijd.*

Item, a peyre of tonges, a forke and a fyre rake of yron, *ijs.*

Item, an hangyng beame with iiij candylstykkes of laton, *ijs.*

Item, ij pauysys peyntyd, and a lanterne hangyng in the entre, *xxd.*

Item, a ioynyd forme, *vjd.*

summa, lvjs. jd.

In the corner chambre aboue.

Item, vij peyre of brygandyrz couered with whyte fustian, and a peyre of brygandyrz couered with blew fustian, *xls.*

Item, x shefys of arows, *vjs. viijd.*

Item, a fedyrbed with the bolster, and a straw clothe of canvas, *xijs.*

Item, a lytell ioynyd tabyll, a peyre of trestelles, and iij lytell ioynyd formes, *xijd.*

Item, a peyre of bedbordes, *xijd.*

Item, v costrynges steynynd with lettres and braunches, *xs.*

summa, lxxs. viijd.

In the corner chambre benethe.

Item, a lytell fedyrbed with the bolster, *vjs. iiijd.*

Item, a peyre of blankettes, j quylte and ij febyll couerlytes, *iijs. iiijd.*

Item, a peyre of bedbordes, ij formys, with other lombor, *ijs.*

Item, viij costrynges and a selure steynynd, with damaske werke, febyll, *vjs. viijd.*

summa, xvijjs. iiijd.

In master Mortons chambre.

Item, a selor and testor with iij curteyns of whyte lynnyn and vj costrynges of damaske werke, steynynd, *vijjs. iiijd.*

Item, a counterpoynt of tapistry with imagery, *vijjs.*

Item, a peyre of blankettes, *xxd.*

Item, a fedyrbed with the bolster, *xiijs.*

Item, a materas, *xvjd.*

Item, a peyre of bedbordes and a sengyll cupborde, *xijd.*

Item, a gret flat cheste, *iijs. iiijd.*

Item, a lytell flat cheste, *xiiijd.*

Item, a lytell carpet, *ijs. iiijd.*
 Item, vj cushyns couered with bordalysaunder, *ijs.*
 Item, an hangyng candylstyck of laton, *vjd.*
 Item, j aundyron, j peyre of tonges, a fyre rake and j peyre of belows, *xijd.*
 Item, j lytyll ioynyd tabyll, *viijd.*
 Item, j olde Normandy byll, *vjd.*
 Item, ~~iii~~ cotys of defence couered with blak fustyan, *xvjs.*
 Item, ~~iiij~~ blankettes, *vs.*
 Item, ij curteyns of whyte lynnyn, *xviijd.*

summa, lxijs. iiijd.

In the withdraught.

Item, a selor peyntyd, *vjd.*
 Item, a whyte couerlyte and a brokyn quylte, *xxd.*
 Item, j blanket, *xd.*
 Item, j lytell fedyrbed with the bolster, *vs.*
 Item, j flat cheste, a peyre of bedbordes, and a straw clothe of canvas, *xvjd.*
summa, ixjs. iiijd.

In the chambre ouer the withdraught.

Item, j olde cheste, *xijd.*
 Item, a lytell rennyng bed, *xd.*

summa, xxiij.

In the presse chambre.

Item, a close presse and a standyng bed, *ijs. iiijd.*
 Item, j olde dagswayne, *xijd.*
 Item, a materas, *ijs.*
 Item, a fedyrbed with the bolster, *xvjs.*
 Item, a shyp cheste, *xxd.*
 Item, a flat cheste couered with leder, *ijs.*
 Item, j olde ioynyd stole, *ijd.*
 Item, ij materasses and ij bolstys, *iiijs.*
 Item, ij counterpoyntes of tapistry and j of bordalysaunder, *xiijs. iiijd.*
 Item, j couerlyte of grene with yelow werke, *ijs.*
 Item, a blew materas, *xxd.*
 Item, a straw clothe of canvas, *vjd.*
 Item, a selor and testyr steynynd, with damask werke, *vs.*
 Item, the costryng that hangeth about the presse chambre, steynynd with verdure werke, *xiijs. iiijd.*

summa, lxijs.

In the chambre next the gret chambre.

Item, a selor and testor steynynd, with damaske werke with a Ihesus, and ij curteyns of whyte lynnyn, *vjs. viijd.*
 Item, v costrynges gret and smale, steynynd, with handes and arows, *xxiijs. iiijd.*
 Item, a fedyrbed with the bolster, *xxs.*
 Item, a peyre of bedbordes and a rennyng bed, *ijs. iiijd.*
 Item, j olde shypcheeste, *xxd.*
 Item, a ioynyd tabyll, a peyre of trestelles, ij formes and a barrell, and a sengyll cupborde, *ijs.*
 Item, j aundyron, *vjd.*

Item, a fyrerake, *ijd.*

Item, a blew selour and a peyntyd clothe, *xiiij*d.**

summa, lviijs. xd.

In the gret chambre.

Item, a shyp cheste bounde with yron, olde and febyll, *iiij*s.**

Item, a flat cheste, a cheyar, and j sengyll cupborde, *ijs.*

summa, vjs.

In the chapell.

Item, a vestment of *di. say* with all the Imperour, febyll, *viijs. iiij*d.**

Item, ij awter clothes of grene tartron, *iiij*s.* iiij*d.**

Item, j olde vestment of ray tartron, *iijs. iiij*d.**

Item, ij curteyns of grene sylke, *xxd.*

Item, ij lytell frontelles, *xvjd.*

Item, *iiij* costrynges steynynd, *ijs.*

Item, ij awter clothes, dyaper, *xxd.*

Item, ij lytell pelows couered with sylke, *xvjd.*

Item, *iiij* corporas cases of dyuerse colors, and ij frontelles for an awter, *iijs. vjd.*

Item, ij superaltares, *xxd.*

Item, ij pryket candylstykkcs of laton, *xvjd.*

Item, a sacryng belle of laton and ij crewettes of pewter, *vjd.*

Item, a lytell masseboke, 2^o fo. *aduentum*, *xvjs. viij*d.**

Item, a lytell grayle, in 2^o fo. *et in tribus*, *xiiij*s.**

Item, j olde portews, *xs.*

Item, j lytell chalyce with the paten, *pond. vj unc. at 3s. 2d., xixs.*

Item, a lytell paxbrede, *ijd.*

Item, v febyll costrynges of say party and j olde banker, *xijd.*

Item, ij ledyr cussghyns, *vjd.*

*summa, iiij*li.* xijs. vd.*

Brasse.

Item, a pot of brasse with merke 1, *xs.*

Item, a pot of brasse with merke 2, *vs. iiij*d.**

Item, a pot of brasse with merke 3, *iijs. iiij*d.**

Item, a pot of brasse with merke 4, *iijs.*

Item, a pot of brasse with merke 5, *ijs. viij*d.**

Item, a pot of brasse with merke 6, *ijs. iiij*d.**

Item, a pot of brasse with merke 7, *xxd.*

Item, a pot of brasse with merke 8, *xvjd.*

Item, a lytell possenet, *xijd.*

Item, ij fretor chafyrs of brasse, *vjs.*

Item, j water chafyr, *ijs.*

Item, ij capyr pannys, *iiij*s.* iiij*d.**

Item, a cawdron of brasse, *iijs. iiij*d.**

Item, vij pannys of brasse gret and smale, febyll, *viijs. iiij*d.**

Item, *iiij* frying pannys of yron, *ijs.*

Item, ij gredyrans, *xxd.*

Item, a lytell mortar of brasse with a pestell of yron, *ijs.*

*summa, lxs. iiij*d.**

In the celer.

Item, ij olde almaries and a bolle, *xijd.*

Item, vij botelles and vj pottes of ledyr, *iijs. iiij*d.**

Item, a panne of brasse, with other lombor, *xxd.*

summa, vjs.

Pewtyr.

Item, vij chargers, iiij dosen iii platers, ij dosen viij dysshes, and xij sawsers, *poyz xj^{xx}vjlbs. at 2d. ob., xlvij s. jd.*

Item, ij sause pottes of lay metall, *vjd.*

Item, iiij chambre basyns of laton, *xijd.*

Item, a colondyr of laton, *vjd.*

Item, ij chambre basyns of pewtyr, *iiijd.*

summa, xlix s. vd.

In the countyr.

Item, iiij lytell costrynges of bokeram, palyd, *prec. iij s. iiijd.*

summa, iij s. iiijd.

In the chambre in the towre, next the countyr.

Item, iij chargers, xvij platers, xiiij dysshes and xj sausers, *poyz lxxviii lbs. at 2d., xiiij s.*

Item, ij pottes, ij chafyrs of brasse, brokyn, *ijs. ijd.*

Item, j quarte pot of lay metall, *iiijd.*

Item, ij chafyng dysshes of laton, *xxd.*

Item, v flat basyns of dyuerse sortes, with ij ewers of laton, *vjs. viijd.*

Item, v belle candylstykkas, *iijs.*

Item, xij candylstykkas of laton of dyuerse sortes, *ijs. iiijd.*

Item, ij potelles and j quarte pot of lay metall, *xxd.*

Item, j olde flat cheste, *xxd.*

Item, j peyre of bedbordes, with other lombor, *xd.*

Item, iij holow basyns, *ijs. iiijd.*

summa, xxxvs. viijd.

In the dry lardyr.

Item, iij morters of stone, *xvjd.*

Item, ij drepyng pannys of yron, *xiiijd.*

Item, ij peyre of cobyrons, *xviijd.*

Item, ij olde ketylles, *xxd.*

Item, a gredyron, *iiijd.*

Item, iij trevettes and a pele of yron, *xviijd.*

Item, a fyreforke and a peyre of tonges, *viijd.*

Item, a botell of ledyr, with bolles, tubbys, and lombor, *ijs.*

Item, a slawter ax, *iiijd.*

Item, a lytell rake and a mattok, *xijd.*

Item, iiij peyre of pothokes, *xvjd.*

summa, xij s. xd.

In the inner kechyn.

Item, iij rounde spyttes, j square, large, ij square spyttes, and iiij lytell spyttes for byrdes, *xs.*

Item, a peyre of pot hangylles, *viijd.*

Item, a mustard querne, *xijd.*

summa, xjs. viijd.

In the kechyn.

Item, ij water chafyrs of brasse, *iijs. iiijd.*

Item, a peyre of rakkes, *iijs. iiijd.*

Item, a gredyron, *xiiijd.*

Item, iij pot hangylles, *ijs. iiijd.*

Item, a skelet with a stele, *vijd.*

Item, ij scoomers of laton, brokyn, *vjd.*
 Item, a dressyng knyfe, a fysshe knyfe, and a lechyng knyfe, *viijd.*
 Item, a flesshoke, *ijd.*
 Item, ij bollys, gret and smale, *xvjd.*
 Item, a watyrtubbe, with other lombor, *viijd.*
 Item, a bredgrate, *ijd.*
 Item, ij gardnapys, *iijd.*

summa, xvs. vjd.

In the olde halle.

Item, *vj* costrynges of blew bokeram, *iijs.*
 Item, a watyr lauour of laton, *xvjd.*
 Item, a roller for a towell, *jd.*
 Item, ij bankers and *vij* cussyhyns of tapistry and say, febyll, *iijs.*
 Item, *iiij* turnyd stolya, *xijd.*
 Item, *j* lytell aundyron and a brokyn rake, *iijd.*
 Item, ij ioynynd formes, febyll, *iiijd.*

summa, xs.

In the lytyll parlure.

Item, a selur and *vij* costrynges, steynynd, with tuftes, and *iiij* curteyns, *xiijs.*
 Item, a carpet, febyll, *xxd.*
 Item, a foldyng tabyll with a countyr, *iijs. iiijd.*
 Item, a turnyd stole, *iijd.*
 Item, ij formes, *viijd.*
 Item, *iiij* chestes, gret and smale, *ijs. iiijd.*
 Item, *iiij* lytell torchys endes, *viijs. iiijd.*
 Item, a peyre of aundyrone, *ijs. iiijd.*
 Item, a watyr chafyr of laton, couered, *ijs. iiijd.*
 Item, a standyng bed, *xijd.*
 Item, a counterpoynt of tapistry with imagery, *ixs.*
 Item, a peyre of blankettes, *ijs.*
 Item, a fedyrbed with the bolster, *xs.*
 Item, a banker of tapistry, palyd, *xxd.*
 Item, a whyte couerlyte, *xxd.*

summa, lxs. vijd.

Napry, dyaper, and playne clothes.

Item, a bordclothe of dyaper, *iijs. iiijd.*
 Item, ij lytell towelles of dyaper, *xxd.*
 Item, *iiij* naptkyns dyaper, febyll, *vjd.*
 Item, *vij* bordclothes, playne, *vs. iiijd.*
 Item, *iiij* towelles, playne, *iijs. iiijd.*
 Item, ij counterpaynes of dyaper, *ijs.*
 Item, *viiij* cupbordclothes, *ijs. viijd.*
 Item, *xv* lytell towelles, gret and smale, playne, febyll, *ijs. iiijd.*
 Item, *iiij* rackes, a bokyng clothe, and a dore clothe, *xijd.*
 Item, *v* naptkyns, playne, *viijd.*

summa, xxijs. xd.

Shetys with other stuff.

Item, ij peyre of brokyn shetys, *ijs.*
 Item, *viiij* peyre and a shete at *2s. 4d.*, *viijs. iiijd.*

Item, xvj pelow berys, gret and small, iij*s.* iiij*d.*

Item, xx pelows, gret and small, xv*s.* viij*d.*

summa, xxx*s.* iiij*d.*

In my masters chambre.

Item, a selour and testor, steynyed, iij curteyns of blew bokeram, and curteyns of bokeram, palyd, xx*s.*

Item, a flat cheste with ij lyddes, iij*s.* iiij*d.*

Item, a peyre of bedbordes and ij long chestes, iiij*s.* v*d.*

Item, a sengyll cupbord, viij*d.*

Item, a lytell quylt couered with sylke, v*s.* viij*d.*

Item, a lytell blew quylt, iij*s.* iiij*d.*

Item, a fustyan blanket and a wollyn blanket, iiij*s.* viij*d.*

Item, a fedyrbed with the bolster, xx*s.*

Item, a peyre of aundryrons, i*s.* iiij*d.*

Item, a fyre shovyll of yron, v*d.*

Item, a grene couerlyte, i*s.*

Item, a cupbordclothe of bokeram, viij*d.*

summa, lxviij*s.* viij*d.*

In masteres Dorothes chambre.

Item, a selur and testur and v costrynges of bokeram, made of an olde tent, xii*s.* iiij*d.*

Item, a counterpoynt of blew say, xx*d.*

Item, iij olde couerlytes of dyuerse colors, iij*s.* iiij*d.*

Item, a lytell carpyte, brokyn, xv*d.*

Item, a lytell fedyrbed with the bolster, viij*s.* iiij*d.*

Item, a peyre of bedbordes and j olde cheste, xv*d.*

Item, a peyre of keruyng knyfes, iij*s.* v*d.*

Item, a peyre of blankettes, i*s.* iiij*d.*

summa, xxxv*s.* i*d.*

In John Cookes chambre.

Item, a couerlyte, a peyre of blankettes, ij materasses, and a bolster, vs. v*d.*

summa, vs. v*d.*

Sperat dettes.

Item, in sperat dettes owyng to the aforesayd Robert Morton, testatour; that ys to sey: Furst, the lorde Markys oweth cclxxxviij*li.* v*s.* viij*d.*

Item, John Exnyng oweth ccccl*i.*

Item, John Ansty, xliij*li.*

Item, Gylbert Palmer, vj*li.*

Item, Jacolet of Stondon, ix*li.*

Item, Thomas Oxenbrege, of arrerages of hys purchasyd londes in Somersetshyre and Wylteshyre, xiiij*li.*

Item, the Pryour of Anglysse, xxxvi*li.* v*s.* viij*d.*

Item, Jacolet, for iij kyne, x*ls.*

Item, John Jurdon, for the ferme of Stondon, xj*li.*

Item, John Bocher, *ls.*

summa, dcccxiij*li.* iij*s.* iiij*d.*

Summe total of the preysyd goodes in redy money and in sperat dettes, mcccxlvi*li.* xv*s.* x*d.* ob. *quad.*

Desperat dettes.

Item, in desperat dettes owyng to the sayd Robert Morton, testatour ;
that ys to sey : Nycholas Myller oweth *vjli*.

Item, William Wighton, *lijs. iiijd*.

Item, Thomas Jurdon, *xxxs*.

summa, xli. iijs. iiijd.

These byn the dettys that the aforsayd Robert Morton, testatour,
owed to dyuerse persons at the tyme of hys decese ; that ys to sey :

Furst, to Thomas Oxenbrege and to Thomas Alcock, clerke, *ccccxxvjli. xiijs. iiijd*.

Item, to the lady Fowler, *cxixiiijli. vjs. viijd*.

Item, to the apotecary for medycyns, *ixli. viijs*.

Item, to the steward of Lyncolns Inne, *xijs. ix d*.

Item, to the preste that sang for my lady, *xvjs. viij d*.

Item, to Willyam Russell, *xiijs. iiij d*.

Item, to John Ferroure of Stondon, *ijs. vij d. ob*.

Item, to Colson Tayllour, *ijs. iiij d*.

Item, to John Coke for grasyng of hys horse, *iijs. v d*.

Item, to dyuerse of hys seruauntes for theyr wages, *lijs. viij d*.

Item, to the brewer for xiiij banelles ale, *xxxixs*.

Item, for xiiij banelles bere, *xxijs. x d*.

Item, for sesternes, *xxxiijs. iiij d*.

Item, to Hugh Wynde for money by hym payde for dyuerse and many
parcelles, *cvijs. v d. ob*.

Item, to Agnes Forster for the borde of hyr doughtyr, *xls*.

Item, to dyuerse personys of hys oune assignement, for restitucyons,
xiiijli.

summa, dcxli. xviijs. v d.

Funerall expenses.

Payde to prestes and clerkes and for ryngyng of belles for his leystow,
stone, lynyn and wollyn clothes, bred, ale, wyne, wex, vetayll, spyces
and other necessaryes, and youyn in almes, *lxxli. vjs. viij d*.

summa, lxxli. vjs. viij d.

Probate of the testament.

Item, payde for probate of the testament, with all thynges that longen
therto,

summa,

These byn the bequestes of Robert Morton, gentelman ; that is to say :

Furst, to a preste to syng for hym x yeres, *lxvjli. xiijs. iiij d*.

Item, to the parson to pray for hym, *vjs. viij d*.

Item, to masteresse Sterys,¹ *xxs*.

Item, to Hugh Weynde, *xxs*.

Item, to Symon Forster, *xiijs. iiij d*.

Item, to Richard Key, *xiijs. iiij d*.

Item, to Thomas Macham, *xiijs. iiij d*.

Item, to John Cooke, *xiijs. iiij d*.

¹ This bequest is not mentioned in the will.

Item, to Johane Angger, xiijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, to Felyce Smyth, xiijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, to Elyn Wolfe, xiijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, to John of the kechyn, xiijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, to the chyrchewardeyns, *xxs*.
 Item, to the scryuener, *xxs*.
 Item, to Alyce Cornewale, otherwyse callyd Alyce Styherst, *xxs*.
*summa, lxxviij*li*. vjs. viij*d*.*

Item, to John Forster, squyer, a standyng cuppe, couered, of syluer gylt.
 Item, to my Lord of Caunterbury, a standyng cuppe, couered, of syluer gylt.
 Item, to my Lord of Worceter, a standyng cuppe, couered, of syluer gylt.
 Item, to Henry Assheborn, a standyng cuppe, couered, of syluer gylt."

GLOSSARY.

A lmary, a safe.
aundyrons, ornamental irons on each side of the hearth, with small rests to support the ends of the logs.
banker, cloth or covering of tapestry for a bench or seat.
bawdekyn, rich stuff of silk interwoven with threads of gold.
bed bordes, probably the carved ends of the bedstead.
berys or *pelow berys*, pillow-cases.
bokyng clothe,
bord-alyssaunder, cloth of Alexandria.
bregandyrs, body-armour of small plates, covered with cloth or leather.
bultyng-pipe, a strainer.
chase velyn, a javelin (?).
cobyrons, irons for supporting the spit.
codround = quadrant, in squares.
cope, a covering.
corporas, the cloth placed under the consecrated elements in the Mass.
costers, pieces of tapestry for the sides of tables, altars, beds, etc.
costryng or *costering*, carpet or hanging.
counter, counting-house.
counterpoynt, counterpane.
cowcher, covering for a couch.
dagswayne, rough coverlet for beds, tables, or floors.
doppys, round ornaments (?).
doublet, military jacket.
fechew pollys, fur of the stoat.
forser, cabinet or casket.
foynes, fur of polecat.
frctor chafyr, a dry (or frying) chafing-dish, as opposed to a water-chafer.
frontelles, hangings for front of the altar.
gardnapys, table-napkins.
grayle, gradual, or music-book for the Mass.
hachementes, hangings stained with armorial bearings.
hangle, hook fixed in the chimney, for slinging pots.
haunce, a chair or stool (?).
a Jhesus, the letters I.H.S. embroidered (?).

- laton*, mixed metal resembling brass.
lavour, washing-trough.
lay metal, mixed metal like tin or pewter (?).
layer, vessel for holding water.
lechyng-knife, slicing-knife.
leystow, burial.
martrons, marten's fur.
maser, large bowl.
mylynges, edgings.
mynkes, weasel's fur.
nutte, cocoa-nut cup.
pageaunt, hanging or coverlet with scenes.
painted cloth, a substitute for tapestry.
pane, hide of fur.
pavyse, large shield.
paxbrede, small tablet having a representation of the crucifixion, presented at the Mass to be kissed by the faithful.
pele, a shovel.
plomty, feathery.
portewe, a breviary.
possenet, a little pot.
pryket, a taper.
querne, a hand-mill.
ragmersshe silk,
ray, striped.
rennyng bed, moveable bed.
rydell, a curtain.
sacring-bell, small bell rung in the Mass.
say, fine serge or woollen cloth.
selor, *selure*, or *celor*, canopy of a bed, the tester being the part behind the head.
sengyll, single, simple.
shankes, fur from the legs of animals.
skelet, saucepan with a long handle.
sperat dettes, good (or hopeful) debts.
spervyour or *sparver*, canopy or wooden frame above a bed.
standart chest, large press for plate or linen.
superaltare, a consecrated slab for covering an altar, or used as a portable altar.
tapet, a hanging cloth of any kind.
tartron, a kind of silk or cashmere.
withdraught, a closet.
wrethyn, twisted.
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ON ROMAN VESSELS POPULARLY CALLED AMPHORÆ.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

SCAN the whole catalogue of Roman vessels and you will find no name so frequently heard, so often written, and so persistingly misused as that of *amphora*. Every *diota* which is exhumed, whatever be its size, form, or material, is dubbed an *amphora*, even by authors of credit and erudition, from whom something better might fairly be expected, and it is with a view of calling attention to this fact, to strive to correct a popular error, and establish a more truthful nomenclature that the following observations are submitted. Hitherto the title of *amphora* has been applied not only in an unauthorised way, but indiscriminately to the *cadus*, *orca*, *lagenæ*, and *seria*: and to show the broad distinctions between these five vessels, it will be necessary to take them *seriatim*, and briefly describe their several characteristics, beginning with the one whose name is most familiar with us—the *amphora*.

The *amphora* was a vessel of Grecian origin, deriving its title from the words *amphi* on both sides, and *phero* to carry, being made with a strong handle on either side, reaching from the neck to the shoulder, which permitted it to be conveniently borne between two persons, or suspended from a pole, as exhibited on a terra-cotta *signum* of a *taberna* or wine shop discovered at Pompeii. The form of the Grecian *amphora* may be seen on the coins of the Isle of Chios, and the contour of the Roman vessel is well known to us through ancient paintings and sculptures, and numerous existing examples in public and private collections. The *amphora* may be defined as a lofty bottle, with a rather small mouth, long narrow neck, and slender body, decreasing in size from the shoulder to the base, which is pointed, to enable the vessel to be planted upright in the sandy or earthy bottom of the cellar, *amphoræ* having been chiefly employed for the storage of wine, the smallness of their girth, as compared to their altitude, rendering them well adapted for the purpose of containing a large bulk in a small compass. A number

of amphoræ and other large earthen vessels of more or less allied form were discovered in 1789 in a *cella vinaria* beneath the walls of Rome. And several remarkably fine examples are preserved in the British Museum, one of them, found in 1772 in the baths of Titus, measuring 3 ft. 9¼ ins. in height.

But very few genuine amphoræ have come to light in England. Lysons¹ has engraved one with an unusually ovate body, which was discovered in a sand-pit on Wavendon Heath, Buckinghamshire. And a fine typical example, 3 feet in height, was exhumed at Lindsell, in Essex, and is delineated in our *Journal*.² Traces of amphoræ are very rare amid the relics of Roman London. I have the handle of one which was dug up at the Steelyard, Upper Thames Street, in 1864, which is nearly 8 ins. in height, with an average breadth of 2½ ins., and with three faint, carelessly-made flutings on its front. In the Guildhall Museum is the lower half of the body of an amphora, found in excavating for the New Royal Exchange in 1841; the upper part of a similar vessel, found opposite Union Street, Bishopsgate Street, in 1843, and an entire example, which was brought to light with five or six others, standing in a row in Clement's Lane, Lombard Street.

It may be well to note that, as a measure of capacity, the Greek or Attic amphora held three Roman *urnæ*, equal to about ten gallons five pints and a half English wine measure. The Roman or Italic amphora contained but two *urnæ*, or about seven gallons one pint English. From the size of some of the examples discovered abroad, it would seem that half as well as whole amphoræ were wrought of terra-cotta.

The *cadus*, like the amphora, was of Greek origin. It has already received attention in this *Journal*,³ but our story would be incomplete were it omitted in this place. It may, therefore, be briefly stated that this earthen vessel bore a certain resemblance to a boy's top—hence the expression of Pliny,⁴ *turbines cadorum*, that it was made both with and without handles, sometimes a pair of *ansæ* being furnished, at others only a single one; and that its rather narrow mouth was secured with a bung or *obturatorium*, as it is termed by Pliny.⁵ The *cadus* varied con-

¹ *Magna Britannia*, i, p. 24.

² i, p. 269.

³ xxviii, p. 79.

⁴ xxvii, 5.

⁵ xvi, 13.

siderably in size, but never reached the dimensions of the larger amphoræ, and from some unknown reason the potter seems to have taken less pains in its manufacture than he bestowed on the other vessels here enumerated. A slender variety of *cadus*, with *ansæ* at the shoulders, is engraved in this *Journal*,¹ and an example of the broader and commoner kind, without handles, is described in a subsequent volume.² Both specimens were exhumed in London, the first (which contained sand for the service of the *athletæ*) in Stoney Street, Southwark, the second in Queen Victoria Street. Virgil³ and Martial⁴ mention the use of *cadi* for wine, and their employment for oil, honey, dried fruit, salted fish, meats, &c., is indicated by Martial⁵ and Pliny.⁶

Somewhat nigh in general aspect to the amphora, yet differing from it sufficiently to constitute a distinct object, was the *orca*, a fictile vessel of Grecian origin, described as having a short full body with pointed base, long slender neck, reminding us of a dice box, and small mouth. Though of considerable capacity, it was less than the amphora, and produced in at least two sizes, for Cato⁷ speaks of its diminutive *orcula*. *Orcæ* were put to a goodly variety of purposes. One was for the preservation of the fish called the *mæna*, as we learn from Persius.⁸ Horace⁹ refers to a Byzantian *orca* as the receptacle of pickled fish; and Columella¹⁰ and Pliny¹¹ speak of *orcæ* being used for dried figs; and Varro¹² of their employment for oil and wine. Among the numerous vessels found in the *cella vinaria* before spoken of, were some whose contour met all the requirements of the *orca*, but I am unable to refer to any example discovered in England. The *orca* seems to be a rather rare type of vessel, and yet, according to Persius,¹³ it was used in a childish game, being set upright in the ground, and, boys standing at a certain distance off, strove to cast nuts into its mouth—a sport resembling the Grecian *tropa*, alluded to by Pollux,¹⁴ and to which Ovid refers in his *Nux*.

The *lagena* of the Romans and *lagenos* of the Greeks is a gourd-shaped jar, bearing some resemblance to the amphora, but its neck is shorter, and its body more inflated,

¹ xxiv, p. 311.² xxviii, p. 79.³ *Æn.*, i, 195.⁴ iv, 66, 8.⁵ *Sat.* iii, 48.⁶ i, 44, 9, 56, 10.⁷ xv, 21; xviii, 73.⁸ *Re Rustica*, 117.⁹ *Sat.* iii, 76.¹⁰ *Onomasticon*, ix, 7, 203.⁹ *Sat.* ii, 4, 66.¹⁰ *Re Rustica*, xii, 15, 2.¹¹ xv, 21.¹² *Re Rustica*, i, 13, 6.

and, instead of terminating in a point, rests upon a discoid base, and its handles are generally more bowed than is the case with those of amphoræ. Lagenæ occur from 6 ins. to 18 ins. in height, and their form is well shown in our *Journal*,¹ by examples found at Colchester, Newbury, Berkshire, and Carlisle. Remains of lagenæ have been found in abundance in London, and one fine and perfect specimen, 15 ins. high and 33 ins. in circumference, was discovered, with a quantity of other fictile vessels, in a wood-lined pit in Moorgate Street, and is now in the British Museum.²

Most of the lagenæ are very well made, and the paste is frequently of a finer quality than that of the other vessels under consideration, and their smooth surfaces are at times covered with a reddish or a buff coating, which has an almost glazy aspect, but not near so bright as the varnish of the Samian ware. Though chiefly employed for wine, the lagenæ were occasionally used for the preservation of fruit, etc., as we learn from Horace³ and Columella.⁴ Phædrus,⁵ in the fable of the fox and the stork, makes the latter place a tall *lagena* before Reynard, in revenge for having been served with food in a shallow *patina*, when invited to a repast by his vulpine friend.

We have now arrived at the last of the five vessels to be described, namely the *seria*, which Columella⁶ indicates was larger than the amphora, but, as Persius⁷ speaks of the miser Vectidius making an offering of wine to the gods out of a *seriola*, it would seem to have existed in two sizes. What is fairly presumed to be the *seria* has a broad thick-lipped expanded mouth, short neck, from which spring a pair of strong stout handles; the body varying in contour from pyriform to globose, and not unfrequently having a stumpy point or knob at the bottom, to assist in steadying the ponderous vessel when placed on the earthy floor of the cellar. Of the several vessels enumerated in the commencement of this paper, the *seria* is the most bulky and rotund in make, and were it treated with a stopper fashioned like a human head, it might, with propriety, be compared in general aspect to a Chinese tumbling toy.

Count Caylus⁸ has delineated a *seria* of vast dimensions,

¹ ii, p. 44; v, p. 135; xvi, p. 34; xx, p. 84.

² For a notice of this find, see *Journal*, xxxi, p. 470.

³ xii, 45.

⁴ i, 26.

⁵ xii, 28, 1.

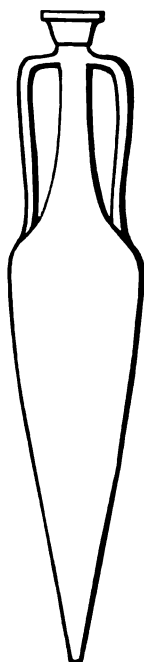
⁶ *Sat.* ii, 8, 41.

⁷ *Sat.* iv, 29.

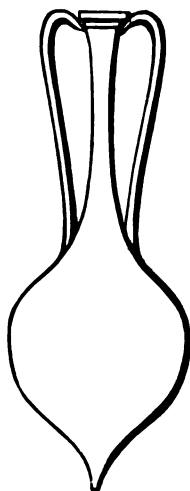
⁸ *Recueil d'Antiquités*, iv, Pl. 58.



CADUS.



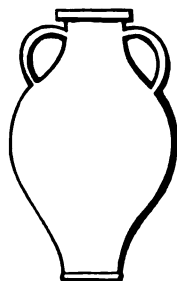
AMPHORA.



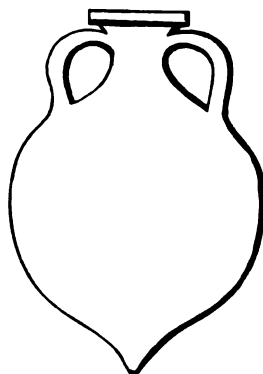
ORCA.



CADUS.



LAGENA.



SERIA.

TYPICAL FORMS OF ROMAN VESSELS.

being no less than 5 ft. 6 ins. in height, 5 ft. in diameter, and 4 ins. in thickness, and capable of holding nearly six hogsheads of fluid. This earthen giant was found in Italy. A seria 30 ins. in height was recovered from the Bay of Actium, and presented to the museum of the United Service Institution, at the sale of which, in 1861, it passed into the Forman collection. There is a noble example of the seria in the British Museum, which was exhumed near Lothbury, and which measures 28 ins. in height and 21 ins. in diameter.

Numerous fragments of large seriæ have been discovered in different parts of London. I have the well-finished mouth of one found in Bishopsgate Street, October 24, 1865, which is full $9\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in diameter, outside measure. And the handle of another example, exhumed in Little St. Thomas Apostle, December 1848, which weighs $1\frac{3}{4}$ lb., and the thickest part of which is 7 ins. in circumference.

I have described in our *Journal*¹ a portion of a large seria displaying the sigil of OLMEN, which was discovered behind the Guildhall in 1861, and which deserves special notice, from the circumstance of its being incised with the words MVIIIS VINI.

The seria is mentioned by Columella² and Varro³ as having been employed for wine and oil. And Persius⁴ wishes that his rake would find a seria filled with silver, from which we may infer that money was occasionally buried for protection in such vessels. Seriæ seem to have been extensively used for mortuary purposes. One was discovered in the tomb of the Gallo-Roman female artist at St. Medard des Prés (Vendée), and is engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁵ Evidence of the conversion of seriæ into tombs or cists comes to us from various parts of England. Kent furnishes some curious instances of the practice. In 1793 at Wickhambreux was exhumed a seria of red terra-cotta 24 ins. high and 22 ins. in diameter, with the name VICTORIN upon the greatest swell of the body, and in which were deposited two small earthen pots, one being ornamented with a white pattern, and containing calcined bones. A print of the vessel is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,⁶ and the knobby base of the seria is in my own collection.

¹ xvii, p. 325.

² xii, 18, 5.

³ *Re Rustica*, iii, 2, 8.

⁴ *Sat.* ii, 11.

⁵ July, 1850, p. 29.

⁶ June, 1794, p. 501.

In the British Museum is a globose *seria* capable of holding about six gallons, which was discovered in 1801, with sepulchral *reliquiæ* at Southfleet, and in which were burnt bones and a portion of a small glass bottle. A full account of this find is furnished in the *Archæologia*.¹ In the Charles Museum at Maidstone is a *seria* found in a Roman cemetery near that town, which contained a good sized glass vessel filled with calcined bones. In Leicester, at Barrow-on-Soar, were discovered in 1867 some highly interesting sepulchral remains, and among them a *seria* 2 ft. 6 ins. in height, about 2 ft. in diameter, and with a capacity of fifteen gallons. It was filled with charred wood, mingled with which were many iron nails. A good account of this find may be seen in our *Journal*.² At Lincoln was discovered a huge globose *seria*, like that brought to light at Southfleet, in which was placed an *olla* 9 ins. high. Both of these relics are engraved in the *Archæologia*.³ In Buckinghamshire, in the Roman cemetery at Angleway, near Cop Hill, Long Crendon, in 1824 was exhumed the upper portion of a large *seria* with burnt bones, etc., of which a figure is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁴

Essex is as demonstrative regarding the use of *seriæ* for cists as are other counties. On the opening of one of the Bartlow tumuli at Ashdon, a *seria* was met with containing the sweepings of the *bustum* or ground whereon the corpse was consumed. This is figured in the *Archæologia*,⁵ where it is stated to be 22½ ins. in height. Our *Journal*⁶ gives an account of the finding at Colchester in 1845 of a *seria* employed as a receptacle for a cinerary urn, etc., the upper part having been broken off to admit the contents and then replaced. And a similar discovery near the same spot occurred in 1846, of which record is also made in this *Journal*.⁷

A globose *seria* 24 ins. high and about 20 ins. in diameter, with a blunt point or knob at the base, was discovered, with a quantity of birds' bones, at Chesterford, of which a record appears in our *Journal*.⁸

London, like the provinces, shows how the Romans utilised *seriæ* for the interment of the ashes of the dead. In 1835 was exhumed in the Dissenters' burial-ground,

¹ xiv, 37, 221.² xii, p. 109.³ xxvi, Pl. 33.⁷ ii, p. 275.² xxiii, p. 214.⁴ June, 1831, p. 580.⁵ i, p. 238.⁸ iii, p. 175.

Deveril Street, New Kent Road, a *seria* about 5 ft. in circumference, within which was an urn of calcined bones. In 1856 there was found in Whitechapel a very globose *seria* with pointed base, $22\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter, the upper part of which was removed to admit an *olla* containing fragments of calcined bones. This find is delineated in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.¹ A bulky *seria*, like the one last mentioned, was discovered with a square oaken *arca* or box in Bloomfield Street, Moorfields, and is now in the Baily collection.

The few well-marked instances here cited of the adaptation of *seriæ* to sepulchral purposes are sufficient proofs of the practice both in town and country; and the only further remarks needed in connection with these huge terra-cotta vessels, is that their handles are not unfrequently impressed with the oblong sigil of the potter. In the *Nenia Britannica*² is a great *ansa* with the stamp of LARVS, and I have one, found in St. Clement's Lane in 1865, which has the name in the genitive case, SATVRNI.

If space permitted, a goodly list of makers of *seriæ* might here be appended, but it is high time to bring this already too lengthy paper to a close, and I will add but a few lines to it. No one who casts his eyes on the plate of typical forms of Roman vessels can fail of being struck by their marked diversity of contour, or question the propriety of distinguishing each by a different name. But to pronounce with certitude which is an *amphora*, which is a *cadus*, an *orca*, a *lagena*, and a *seria*, is a task attended by some difficulty; but it is hoped that the proposed nomenclature is as close an approximation to truth as can well be attained, founded as it is on a careful consideration of brief passages and incidental expressions in the works of classic authors, and a critical examination of numerous ancient vessels exhumed in England and on the Continent.

¹ April, 1836, p. 371.

² Pl. XXVIII.

KING ARTHUR AND KNIGHTS OF THE ROUND TABLE.

BY T. CHAGOE, ESQ., F.R.G.S.

“ALAS! for the tender grace of a day that is dead.” This it is that impels the antiquary to linger with fond regard through the musty windings of some lone aisle. It is the wizard of the forgotten past that holds him spell-bound at the foot of its time-worn sculpture—whether it may be the son of fair Rosamond, the armour-cased hero of the long sword, recumbent at Sarum, or the mailed and broken knight and the mutilated virgin of Tintern Abbey. And may we not add that a portion of the same charm invests the straggling battlements in sore decay that crown King Arthur’s Crag. And shall we lend ourselves for one moment to the belief that he whose exploits have been sung by the bards of the north and the sweet minstrels of the south, by the troubadours of Italy and the Scalds of Scandinavia, had no tangible existence, but grew a shadowy myth out of the impalpable haze of time?

Why! as Whitaker justly remarks, the very fables themselves “confute the misjudging critic, and the reasoner’s own arguments really turn against himself, and demonstrate the point they were intended to disprove”. So many glorious stories, and so widely spread: could they have arisen from nothing? But what are these fables?

About the year 1100, Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a learned man, and fond of antiquarian research, in travelling through France, found in Armorica an ancient chronicle, written in the British language, entitled *The History of the Kings of Britain*. Bringing this to England, he put it into the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Welsh Benedictine monk, some time Bishop of St. Asaph, “an elegant writer of Latin, and admirably skilled in the British tongue”.

Now Geoffrey translated this chronicle with great fidelity, though he managed to add a little here and a little there, but the date of the original romance cannot be fixed. Geoffrey’s incredible story of the famous British king is well known; he makes him the son of the winsome Iperna, wife of Gorlois,

Duke of Cornwall, describes his conquests at home and abroad, in which some truth is mingled with much fable, as the contemporaneous history of neighbouring nations will prove. He minutely describes the glorious coronation at old Caerleon, "where by an anachronism not uncommon to romance, Charlemagne's twelve peers are said to be present!"

According to this romance, Arthur ends his career with three victories over the combined forces of Modred and the Saxons—the first in Kent, the second near Winchester, and the third on the river Camlan, where he gloriously fell; and this battle at least history supports.

The fabulous history of Arthur long retained its popularity in France as well as in England, and was among the earliest books printed in both countries. The first English translation of the story was from the press of Caxton in 1485.

So much for the monk's translation; it is very pretty in its details, but in the present instance we can do without it, and yet find a very good case for Arthur; for, as Chancellor Bacon said, "There is truth enough in his history to make him famous, omitting what is fabulous". History makes our hero son of "the warrior Gorlois", the same who held Tintagel Castle by the Cornish sea. He seemed to have been born in the last quarter of the fifth century; to have commenced his military career at a very early age, and under the auspices of the great Ambrosius, he certainly fought his first battles, and obtained his first victories in the North.

The weak and vicious Vortigern, erst Prince of Damnonia, had long ere this staked his country's weal, and bartered the patriot's ties for the silken bonds of the fair Saxon Rowena. As a condition of that marriage, Kent was settled in sovereignty on her stubborn and treacherous kinsman Hengist, and Thong Castle was built in the heart of the land; and, as a consequence of that unfortunate alliance, the Britons became extremely discontented. Ambrosius landed at Totnes from Armorica in 458, and a dreadful civil war ensued between the rival kings, which lasted seven years. All this time the Saxon was taking root in the island, so that when Vortigern was burnt in his castle, or, as some said, poisoned by his handsome wife about the year 475, Ambrosius had quite enough to do to stem the torrent of the invaders with young Arthur's help. After fighting for an incredible

number of years the combined powers of Saxons, Picts, and Scots, Ambrosius fell full of glory and wounds at the battle of Cerdic's-ford in 508. Arthur then became dictator or Pendragon of the British hosts, and "quelled the heathen hordes" in many a hard fought field, notably on the banks of the Douglas, in Lancashire; under the walls of Lincoln; and in that great battle of Mount Badon, near Bath, in 511, where Cerdic was utterly routed, and his battalions driven off the field with much slaughter. Here Arthur was fabled to have killed 470 of the foe with his good sword Excalibur. At last Arthur's victories became so great and so constant that a fair prospect dawned for Britain; but alas! civil war again broke forth, and history agreed with romance in telling that Arthur fell at the fatal battle of Camlan in 542, no other than Slaughter Bridge, near Camelford, furiously fighting his faithless nephew Modred. And from Tintagel he was carried by sea to Glastonbury, the apple orchard or valley of Avallonia, where he died and was buried.

"Then rose the King, and moved his host by night,
And ever pushed Sir Modred league by league
Back to the sunset bound of Lyonesse.

And there that day, when the great light of heaven
Burn'd at his lowest in the rolling year,
On the waste sand, by the waste sea they closed.

Then Modred smote his liege
Hard on that helm which many a heathen sword
Had beaten thin, while Arthur at one blow,
Striking the last stroke with Excalibur,
Slew him, and all but slain himself, he fell.
So all day long the noise of battle roll'd
Among the mountains by the winter sea,
Until King Arthur's Table, man by man,
Had fallen in Lyonesse about their lord."

It was said that Tennyson had immortalised the old story. We do not agree thereto, for the story was immortal before, and we cannot help thinking that the great poet has fallen short of the subject. A writer's ideas—his mental pictures, will ever be plain to his readers, in proportion as they are plain to himself. In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* the outlines are clearly struck and well defined; the pilgrims, as it were, stand out before you in high relief. In Milton's great work there is much poetic shadow, but there is nothing indistinct. Shakespeare's men and women live over again

as we read, and Sir Walter Scott's characters can never die ; but we confess to a haziness, like a December fog rolling through the vast recesses of Westminster Abbey, pervading the laureate's Arthurian poem from end to end. Of course, standing out from this fog, like the glories of the old abbey, there are beautiful passages, such as—

“Waked at dead of night, I heard a sound
As of a silver horn from o'er the hills.”

Upon the beautiful fiction of the coming again of Arthur, it might be remarked that he was held to be something more than a king. By the aged Llomarch, a writer actually contemporary with him, and some time resident at his court, he was called “the holy father of the British heroes ;” and, strange to say, this belief concerning their great men has been common to all nations. Witness Thomas the Rhymer, of Scotland, “still alleged to live in the land of faëry, and is expected to return at some great convulsion of society”, and the belief of the Mahomedans respecting their twelfth Imaum. Arthur was fabled to have been carried away to fairy-land to be healed of his wounds ; and it was long believed by the British people, instilled into them by the Welsh bards, that he would return “to avenge the land”.

Whittaker believed the early state of the Britons not to have been so utterly unpolished as the Roman writers insinuated, and is commonly believed. It is well known that the followers of Cæsar were taught how to make butter in Britain, and the conquerors of the world were not too high and mighty to learn from these poor barbarians the true compass of a chariot wheel ! Perhaps we could not improve upon St. Neot's windows to-day, and the antique brooch of flagree gold fished out of the lone Irish bog, was beyond the touch and finish of the best jeweller in Bond Street. Then may there not have been a sort of rude magnificence, a kind of barbaric pomp and splendour at King Arthur's court, whether it might be at Camelot or Caerleon, or—

“In that flat meadow by the shore of Usk.”

But, however that may be, this prince was commander-in-chief at the battle of Llongborth, on the authority of Llywarch Hen, the Welsh bard, who fought there, and composed an elegy on the death of his friend Geraint ap

Erbin, who fell in it. One of Arthur's great actions was incidentally recorded by Thaliessen, and all his actions were particularly recited by Nennius, a British historian and abbot of Bangor, who flourished about 620, according to Whitaker, who remarks, "If some accounts be spurious, others are as certainly genuine.....the general actions of the chief are mentioned by his own historian, with a modesty and conciseness that is no bad argument of the truth, and with particulars of time and place, that is good evidence of the facts. They are noted by men whom the death of their hero had exempted from all temptation to flattery; they are recited by persons whom a proximity to the times had precluded from all possibility of mistake; and they are attested by the best historical authority—writers who lived contemporary with him, and who conversed with his warriors". Nor, according to sound authority, need we entirely surrender those warriors, the Knights of the Round Table, to the romances of the middle ages.

Whitaker, a profound historian, holds decidedly that Arthur did establish a military order; that it was the first that had ever been instituted in this island, and that it had since been imitated in all the countries of Europe. It was the first spirit of chivalry that had ever appeared in those nations, that honourable gallantry of soul that has made Arthur and his warriors the subject of romantic history over all the west. Then we may to some extent still rejoice in the favourites of our young days, Sir Launcelot du Lake, Sir Percivale the Pure, Sir Bedivere the Bold, "first made and latest left of all the knights".

From the latest theories involving persistent progression, it would almost appear that this is the age, and that we are the people; but the fact is, this great world has been ever revolving, and the flood of human intelligence has revolved with it, now preponderating here and now there; one empire has risen from the ashes of another, and its children have fondly fancied because they were the latest found they were the greatest born; but then 'tis only a fancy. Canon Kingsley has said, "History is largely a lie", not to mention the Scotch poet—

"Some books are lies fra' end to end,
And some great lies were never penned."

Grievous mistakes have been made. It seems after all

that the Christians, not the Turks, burnt the noble library, and that the crescent is innocent of such a burning crime, so long imputed. Swartz and Friar Bacon may have been the modern inventors of gunpowder, but in the Gentoo code there is a clause prohibiting its use, written thousands of years before Swartz and Bacon were born. With the Goths and the Vandals from the pure north came down that chivalrous bearing towards the gentler sex, and diffused itself over all the southern provinces, and, according to that erudite scholar Thomas Warton, "It is to this period and to this people that we must refer the origin of gallantry in Europe". The Romans never introduced these sentiments into their European provinces, but unfairly and ungenerously secluded their women, as their best writers will attest. And according to the same authority, the histories of Arthur and Charlemagne, the very foundations of all Western romance, written respectively by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Bishop Turpin, did not emanate from Armorica or Wales, but were leavened from the Moors of Spain. No paper on Arthur could be completed without one line respecting "Guinevere", the fairest woman in the island, and the subject of so many ballads. We are told that she was bred in the family of Duke Cadur in Cornwall, and it appears from all accounts, both the grave and the gay, that she caused a deal of trouble. It is recorded that Arthur (not so wise as the Feramorz of Lalla Rookh) sent that flower of chivalry, Sir Lancelot, to fetch her home, and it being in the most beautiful month of the year, he as a very natural consequence stole her gentle heart away. Others say, and perhaps with more truth, that Modred considered Guinevere as the fairest jewel in the diadem which he coveted, and so there were wars to the dreadful end, for the sake of this lady.

We will conclude with a strictly historical paragraph. Henry II, first of the Plantagenet line, being in the last year of his reign at Pembroke, and hearing there a Welsh bard singing to his harp the story of Arthur, concluding with an account of his death and burial in the churchyard of Glastonbury between two pyramids, the king instantly gave orders that the matter should be inquired into, and the body dug up. This was done as the king directed, and at the depth of some feet was found a vast stone, whereon was fastened a leaden cross, with this inscription on the inside,

"*Hic jacet sepultus inclytus Rex Arturius in insula Avalonia*". Digging still lower they found the king's body in the trunk of a tree, his beautiful queen lying by him, with long flowing hair, in colour bright as gold, which, however, sunk into dust when touched. . The king's bones were very large sized, and in his skull there were ten wounds or more, all healed excepting that of which he died. This discovery was made in the year 1189, as Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, who saw these bones. There was also a table containing this story set up in the monastery at Glastonbury, and the leaden cross, with the inscription, remained there till the dissolution of the monasteries, when it was seen by that great antiquary and veracious historian Leland.

We might add that Leland's notes upon the ruins of Tintagel Castle do not accord with the notion that the castle was built by the King of the Romans, nor so late by hundreds of years. Thus my remarks upon King Arthur are concluded, and in following them so far in the presence of grave and reverend seniors, I have felt a diffidence beyond the power of language to tell. I have no citadel to retire to, no seal from Arthur's court, not even a fragment of the Round Table, but my belief is firm, and whichever way the tide of war may roll, I will stand by my outworks to the last gasp.

THE SAXON ARCHES OF BRITFORD CHURCH, NEAR SALISBURY, WILTS.

BY C. H. TALBOT, ESQ.

THE greater part of the following notes on the Saxon arches in Britford Church, formed the substance of a letter written to the editor of the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* on the 30th of January of the present year, which is supplemented by a notice of the character of the mortar joints, to which I had not at first paid sufficient attention. I have endeavoured in this communication to avoid theory as far as possible, and confine myself to a simple description of the work.

There are in all three arches, whereof two are situated in the north and south walls of the nave, close to its east end. While they remained walled up, they long ago attracted attention, as they were visible externally, and were described as Saxon by Rickman. The third arch is in the south wall of the nave, near the west end; but this does not remain in anything like the same state of preservation as the two former, and was only discovered when the church was restored. Its remains now form internally part of the south doorway of the nave.

The two arches opposite each other at the east end of the nave were not doorways nor transept arches, but I think the church originally had aisles into which they opened. There is a general similarity between the two, but, at the same time, so much difference as to make me conclude that one was erected before the other. I think it probable that the work went on very slowly, and that the style changed as it proceeded. The south archway must be the earlier. An illustration of it is given at page 79 of Parker's edition of Rickman, published in 1862. Its arch is, as is there stated, turned with the flat tiles called Roman bricks, and is the only arch of the three so constructed. There is one feature common to both arches. Two flat pilasters are affixed to the face of each jamb, four in all. In the case of the south arch, these are perfectly plain, and are fixed in a

peculiar manner. There is a large flat stone as a base to the jamb, and another such stone as impost of the width of the brick arch. These project from the face of the wall, and the pilasters are let into mortices cut in the base and impost. It is therefore clear that these pilasters cannot have been added after the arch was in position.¹ In the illustration in Parker's *Rickman* the edge of the pilasters is shown, and they appear to have imposts of their own distinct from the rest of the jambs, but this is not the case. The divisions in the imposts are not joints, but cracks, due to the settlement of the jambs, which caused the resistance of the pilasters to break the impost. A narrow strip of stone, projecting like a hood moulding, ran round the arch, and was continued down to the ground, forming a limit to the ornament of the archway, the width of the arch itself having apparently determined the design. The included portion of the jamb, being constructed mainly of stone, was decorated by three bricks projecting, but with less projection than the base, impost, and limiting strip. These are hardly indicated in the illustration above mentioned. The soffit of the arch is ornamented with three squares of stone, which do not project. These appear to have been built with the arch, and not inserted. We have thus in this arch a rude attempt at decoration, by contrast of colour and form. This system of decoration is greatly developed in the north arch. In its case the pilasters are not let into mortices, but held up by the strength of the mortar and the pressure on the impost. They have base mouldings, above which those on the east jamb are elaborately ornamented with carving, representing apparently a vine. The arch is constructed with rectangular pieces of stone and red tiles in a very remarkable manner, the latter forming the back of sunk panels, and also being disposed in a cruciform pattern amongst the stone. Two of the lowest stones of the arch are formed like corbels, for some use which I do not understand. These tiles and stones, set with their broad surfaces in a direction tangential to the curve of the arch, appear to form its whole thickness. Immediately round it runs, as before, a narrow strip of stone, projecting like a hood

¹ The arch itself has been pronounced Roman; that is, earlier than these pilasters. If this were so, it would follow that it must have been moved bodily, and placed upon the jambs.

moulding, which cannot add to the strength, as it is only slightly let into the wall. This strip continues down the jamb, close to the edge of the pilaster, and in this case the impost necessarily bonds beyond it into the wall. The faces of the jambs are ornamented by the introduction of squares of stone, filling at intervals the space between the pilasters. This necessarily leaves a series of sunk panels, which are backed with red tiles. The stones are carved with the vine and interlacing bands. On the west jamb the only carving that occurs is on one of these square stones, showing plainly that the carving was all executed after the work was built, and was never finished. Two stones at the bottom of the jambs are puzzling. They have the form of bases of pilasters. Possibly they may be insertions, but this is very doubtful.

The third arch differed very much from the other two. There are indications of the design of its north side. As far as I can judge, it was entirely of stone, the arch being formed of a thin course of stones. On the face of the jamb there are remains of a projecting pilaster, worked on the same stones as the rest of the jamb. Its angle is finished with a slight hollow, which runs down, and at the base is curved outwards till it becomes horizontal. The rest of the pilaster is cut away, but I presume it was symmetrical. There is a groove in the soffit of the arch, apparently for the insertion of a sub-arch, corresponding with this pilaster. This was probably for the purpose of keeping the arch stones in their places. The work has been so cut about as to make it difficult to recover the original design. This archway had at some period been converted into a doorway, when a cut was made in the jamb for dropping in a bar. At a later date it was walled up, and was re-opened at the late restoration.

I think it probable that there may have existed formerly a fourth arch, opposite to this one, near the west end of the north wall, and that four may have been the whole number. The church must have had a chancel of some kind, possibly an apse. It is not unlikely that the nave and aisles of this early church may have remained comparatively unaltered till the great conversion of the church in the fourteenth century, when the present tower (exclusive of the upper part, which is modern), transepts, and chancel were built

and the nave altered, and that then the aisles of the early church were removed.

In the two south arches, but not in the north arch, are marks where iron bars have been fixed in the masonry, the insertion of which was not part of the original work. This seems to show that at one time the south aisle was shut off by a grating or grille. Further, as to the character of the mortar. In the south archway the tile arch has very wide joints of pink mortar, made with pounded brick. It so happens that on the jambs, both inside and out, where the joints are tolerably wide, a good deal of the mortar has been picked out or fallen out, and in what remains I could only in one place trace a slight indication of pounded brick ; but the examination has been rendered difficult, owing to the fact that the whole inner or north side of the archway has been washed over with some pink colour, probably in mediæval times. However, this colouring is confined to that side, and, at a point beneath the arch, where the impost is broken away, I observed, by the red stain on that part of the pilaster which has been laid bare by the fracture, that it was fixed into the mortice in the impost with the same pink mortar, the lower edge of the stain corresponding exactly with the under side of the broken impost. This joint is a very close one. In the north arch all the joints are very close, and I observed there generally the same pink colour of the mortar, and also small fragments of broken brick. In the third arch I could not detect the original mortar at all.

BAALISM AND THE TEMPLES OF BAAL.

BY THE REV. CANON BIDGWAY, B.D., F.S.A.

BAALISM, under divers names, has existed from the very earliest times of man. It has been the great antagonistic form of worship to that of the true God. It is the result of human speculation forming its inductions from the phenomena around it, as opposed to that which emanates from above and is the result of revelation. It is the natural as contrasted with the supernatural. It probably began with the earliest descendants of Cain, who, going away from the divine presence, collected together, built themselves fortified cities,¹ invented weapons of warfare² and instruments to minister to bodily pleasure.³ Self-reliant, they trusted to their own skill and vigour for success,⁴ gave their energies to mature their physical strength and increase their personal attractions.⁵ From the Fall to the Deluge, the two races, "sons of God", descendants of Shem, and "sons of men", the family of Cain, grew up side by side; the former guarding, the latter gradually losing, revelation, till by intermarriage the evil overcame the good. There is a theory, strongly supported by eminent commentators, that the "daughters of men" were the offspring of a pre-existent race, sprung from a source independent of, and anterior to, Adam. If this be true, the natural religion would have its origin with them, and be less hostile than if it sprang from Cain.

The same self-reliant independence reappeared in Canaan, the son of Ham, whose descendants early separated themselves from the parent stock, journeyed southward and westward, and became noted for their violence, love of conquest (under Nimrod⁶), and for their commercial enterprise in the cities of the Vale of Siddim and on the plains of Phœnicia.⁷

¹ Gen. iv, 17.

² Ib. 22.

³ Ib. 21.

⁴ Ib. 23.

⁵ Ib. 22. The sister of Tubal Cain, *Naamah* ("the beauty"), is the only female descendant mentioned by name in the genealogy from Adam to Noah. Cp. also vi, 2.

⁶ Gen. x, 8-10.

⁷ Ib. 19.

In the Semitic branch the true faith was never lost, and the continuance of revelation is attested by the repeated introduction of the divine name into that of members of that family, while in the Hamite line it does not occur. Thus Noah,¹ Japheth, Abraham, and Sarah, receive it, as do Joseph and the mother of Moses. So it may be traced through Joshua and the good kings of the house of David, and especially through the prophets, down to John the Baptist.

These two great conflicting elements meet in Syria; for when Abram, by divine command, first sets his foot there, "the Canaanite is already in the land".² He occupies the rich plains of Siddim and the five opulent cities, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Zoar; he fills the fertile valleys of Philistia and their five corresponding cities, Ashdod, Askelon, Gaza, Gath, and Ekron; he is the great maritime power which holds possession of the sea of the Gentiles, and sits supreme on the rock of Tyre and in the haven of Sidon. When Abram enters that land, he is sent to bring the truth to all the families of the earth. To him is given the possession of the Canaanites, and on his seed is imposed the task of executing the divine vengeance on the apostate descendants of Ham. The covenant is sealed by Jehovah with His apostle at the first altar erected to His honour in the pass of Shechem, which henceforth became, for some centuries, the centre of the worship of Jehovah.

To the Canaanites is due the introduction of the worship of Baal; and from the immigration of Abram the conflict begins between the sons of God and the sons of men (the worshippers of Jehovah and the devotees of Baal), until the evil mingling with the good, the former again prevails, and the descendants of the faithful are, for their unfaithfulness, sent back to the heathen land whence their ancestor came, and sacred history is rolled back thirteen hundred years to begin again in a new immigration under Zerubbabel and Ezra, who inaugurate a new epoch. The worship of Baal was the culture of the god of nature. It took the universe as it saw it, and evolved its own religion out of its own unaided intellect, speculating upon the phenomena around it. Looking at the spontaneous growth of the products of the earth, it found two prime causes of propagation,

¹ Gen. v, 29.

² Gen. xii, 6.

viz., the sun and the earth. The germ of reproduction lay in the latter, who was consequently regarded as the universal mother. She gave birth to all vegetation ; from her womb came all mineral products, and from her exuberant bosom the nourishment of all animal life. Hence she was personified as a mother abounding in nourishment for her multitudinous offspring ; her breasts multifold, teeming with superabundant food, her neck adorned with beauteous flowers and jewelled with cereal beads, while two triple mineral staves supported her arms. Such was the female deity of Baalism, Astarte or Ashtaroth, and such were Diana of the Ephesians and Cybele of the Phrygians.

Applying the same ideas to the reproduction of animal life, a door was opened to the greatest licentiousness. Under the plea of culture of the goddess mother, propagation of animal life became a religious duty, the gratification of lust a virtue which itself was deified ; temples were erected to her service, and devoted to those secret mysteries which have been buried in oblivion from the utter dishonour which would overwhelm him who had the shamelessness to record them.¹

The male deity in this mythological system was the sun, whose light and heat are essential to the production of vegetable and animal life. Pouring forth his life-giving power upon the earth, drawing out its germs into new life at the return of each season, he became the representative of the generative principle in nature.

The worship of these two deities under the names of the Baalim, or Baal and Astarte, springing from the Canaanites, gradually spread over all countries and colonies of the Syro-Arabian nations, and to all those with whom that great maritime power, Phœnicia, entered into any close mercantile relations. Thus it pervaded Syria and Arabia, penetrated eastward to Babylon and Persia. Baal is the On of Egypt, and Astarte the Isis, while to the same source may be even traced the Samian Juno and the Paphian Venus. The name of Baal, attached to places all over Syria, attests the prevalence of his culture there as in many other countries. Even our own is not free. The Druids incorporated his worship into theirs. The caverns of Derbyshire are supposed by

¹ See the record of it in a mild form under the influence of Athaliah, Ahab's daughter. 2 Chron. xxi, 6, 11, 13.

antiquaries to have been devoted to these secret mysteries ; and upon those lofty hills and table-grounds we find in majestic array the mystic circles (emblems of the sun) and massy temples dedicated to Baal, which the local names attest, such as Bolsover, Ballidon [Baal Don, Hill of Baal],¹ Baldon in the neighbourhood of Oxford, Balderstone in Lancashire, Baldersby in Yorkshire, and Balcombe in Sussex.

As the sun is the great procreative power in nature, and the day-time the period when his fecundating influence is exercised upon the earth, and as night is the period of production and growth, the moon became associated with Astarte, as presiding over the birth of the earth's offspring : hence in the figures of that goddess a crescent crowns her head, and a sickle is the sceptre of her sway. The prolific exuberance of her bosom, teeming with a multitude of breasts, as displayed in one form in the statue of Diana, is sometimes changed into that of a cow, until at length the three ideas are mingled into one,—a *woman* having a *cow's* head with *crescent* horns is Astarte, while Baal is represented as a bull, or a man with a bull's head, and the symbol of a star. It is to this fact that we must attribute the worship of the Egyptian Apis, and the wrath of Jehovah at the fabrication of the molten calf in the wilderness, and of the two calves by Jeroboam, which first opened the door to the culture of Baalism, and "made Israel to sin". Such forms are frequently to be found on coins ; but I know not of any existing statues of Astarte. They were generally of wood (erroneously translated "grove" in the A. V.), and they are called in the Bible "standing images",² i.e., having no feet, but with square pedestal terminations, like the Greek Hermes.

In later times, when the East became subject to the Roman power, which sought to combine its own mythology with that retained by its eastern subjects, the "goddess of the earth", with her associate the Moon, became *triformis*, as Proserpina, Luna, Diana, and by the Romans was confused with Juno as Queen of Heaven. Lucian describes the Syrian goddess of his day as she is to be seen on the coins of Severus, as a regal figure, fully draped, sitting upon a

¹ *Archæological Journal*, 1874, p. 65.

² Lev. xxvi, 1; Deut. xvi, 22.

lion, with sceptre in one hand, thunderbolts in the other, and rays issuing from her head. Just such a figure, in marble, seated upon a throne, with a lion by her side, I saw at Baalbec, called by the natives "The Queen".

These historical notices will enable us to better realise the conflict between Jehovah and Baal as depicted in the Sacred Writings, and to understand the position which these heathen temples occupy in the life of mankind.

The connection between the worship of nature and the laxity of morals which ensued is fully evidenced by the sensual depravity of the Canaanites of Sodom and Gomorrah, and by the records of heathenism in Greece and Egypt.¹ When the knowledge of Jehovah was so nearly extinct amongst the descendants of Abraham in Egypt that Moses had to ask God for His name, the revelation was renewed to him in two ways, viz., by word and by sight; "the invisible things of Him are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made."² While announcing Himself to be the source and origin of all existence—the Creator of nature—He presented to Moses' natural eyes the phenomenon of a Light superior to that of the sun, which flamed but did not consume. A similar symbol of His supreme glory accompanied them as their guide and light throughout their forty years' pilgrimage; and again it hovered over the Mercy-Seal (the throne of Jehovah) in Solomon's Temple.

When, under the favouring influence of the Phœnician Queen of Ahab (herself the daughter of the high priest of Baal), Baalism became established in Israel, God vindicated Himself by handing over the country to the exclusive power of their two gods—the sun and the earth—to produce animal and vegetable life by their own natural laws, while He remained passive and withheld the refreshing rain which, by St. Paul in his address to the Lycaonians, is especially adduced as the ever-abiding witness of the Supreme Governor of nature.³ The whole point of Elijah's appeal on Mount Carmel⁴ to the answer by fire, under the terrible power of that eastern sun which for three years had dried up all life, lay in this struggle between the God of nature and the God of revelation; between a faith in natural laws, and that in

¹ Cp. Eph. v, 11, 12; Rom. vi, 19; i, 22-32; 1 Pet. ii, 11.

² Rom. i, 20.

³ Acts xiv, 17.

⁴ Elijah's name means "My God is Jehovah".

their primary cause,—the ceaselessly energizing Ruler of the universe.

Baalism was not the rude, childish heathenism of ignorant savages in the infancy of their minds, fired with the marvellous legends of imagination. It was a *philosophy* evolved by the most enlightened intelligence of deep students of science. It had its university at Heliopolis in Egypt, with its professors learned in every kind of literature, its regularly constituted hierarchy, its vast communities of male and female recluses, and a most gorgeous ritual. Kings and princes vied with each other in doing it honour, so that even Alexander the Great would pour into its treasury the rich spoils of India if he might but inscribe his own name over its portals. The richest maritime power in the world, to whose markets flowed the produce of all lands, was its devoted worshipper. Arts were stimulated to enrich its temples, and attained their perfection in the emulation which this religious enthusiasm engendered, so that the most exquisite works of sculpture and architecture that now exist were formed for its embellishment.

But there was a third god of equal rank with Baal and Astarte, viz., Dagon, or the fish-god of the Canaanites of Philistia. He was the personification of the prime origin of all existing matter,—that vast, chaotic abyss out of which arose the harmonious mass which we call the universe. This trinity of primary natural deities, or first causes, is traceable in the Assyrian tablets recently deciphered by the late Mr. George Smith. The first existence is there called "Mummu Tiamatu", i.e., "sea-water" or "sea-chaos", which accords with the record in Genesis i, 2, where the pre-existent chaotic deep is called תְּהוֹם, *Tehoum*. Berosus gives a Grecized form of the word, *Thalath*, which is evidently the original of *θάλαττα*, "the sea". From this primary "deep", brooded over by an impregnating power (the רִיחַ, *Ruach*, or "spirit" of Gen. i, 2), were produced dry land and heavenly bodies, of which the chief was the sun, who in his turn became the quickening power, or male deity, acting upon the female earth, from whose prolific womb all animal and vegetable offspring issues.¹

¹ Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 62. Translation of tablet 1 :—
 "When above were not raised the heavens ; and below, on the earth, a plant had not grown up ; the abyss also had not broken open their boundaries ; the

The Canaanite religious creed may thus be formulated : In the beginning existed Tehoum, the vast, chaotic abyss, out of which issued, first, the whole planetary system with the sun at its head, and secondly, the earth. The wind or spirit still continued to pervade the whole, exercising a beneficial influence as an accessory ; but the great deities are three, acting in concert, viz., the sun, the earth, and the sea. From these primary elements of nature all existences arose, and are perpetuated ; by them the universe is framed and reproduced ; by them we "live and move and have our being", and there is no other deity besides them.

It is in contradiction to this creed that, in the revelation made to Moses in the burning bush, Jehovah declares himself to be the only self-existent Being, "I am that I am",—"ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν";¹ and in the words of the first commandment, "I the Lord alone *am*, and there is none else, no God, beside me."² And again, that the second commandment forbids the worship of the heavenly bodies above, of the earth beneath, and the waters of the depth below ;³ and in the third, the application of the Sacred Name to false gods, or of the address of the true God by the appellation of the false. Hence, in the captivity, God, through His prophet Hosea, says to His own people, "Thou shalt call me Ishi, and shalt call me no more Baali."⁴ The subsequent theological meaning attached to these commandments, especially since the wider signification given them by Christ, does not affect their primary protest against the prevailing infidelity they were framed to anathematize.

To this same prevalent false mythology may also be attributed the part the great fish is made to discharge in sight of the Phœnician sailors and inhabitants of that coast, at

chaos (or water) Tiamat was the producing mother of the whole of them." Berosus says : "There was a time in which there existed nothing but darkness and an abyss of waters, wherein resided most hideous beings, which were produced of a twofold principle The person who presided over them was a woman named Omoroca, which in the Chaldean language is *Thalath*, in Greek *Thalassa*. All things being in this situation, Belus came and cut the woman asunder, and of one half of her he formed the earth, and of the other half the heavens." (Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, pp. 40, 41.)

¹ Exod. iii, 14 ; Septuagint translation.

² Deut. iv, 35, 36 ; Isaiah, xlv, 5-8.

³ See Amos, iv, 13, where Jehovah is the creator of "the wind or spirit", and v, 8, where He is the maker of day and night, the stars and the sea, and is contrasted with the star-god in v, 26.

⁴ Hosea ii, 16.

God's bidding, in the rescue of Jonah ; and, again, the submission of the Red Sea to the rod of Moses.

Wherever Canaanite influence extended, thither was their creed carried, and no religion anterior to Christianity seems to have had so wide-spread a sway. We have already seen how, starting from Assyria, it ruled through Babylonia, set up a powerful centre in Egypt, whence it passed to Philistia, and Phœnicia on the coast, and the five cities of the plain below Jordan. From Egypt it was conveyed by colonists to Greece ; and by Phœnicians planted at Carthage (in their settlements at Tartessus in Spain), and in Britain, from whence it spread to Gaul. The various marks of its existence are—I, the nomenclature of places (Baal and its compounds) ; II, the existence of circles or foundations of colossal stones ; III, the symbols of the olive, the horse, the star or Maltese cross ; IV, the practice of human sacrifice.

I. The nomenclature, as I have already shown, widely pervades the whole world known to the ancients. It is found attached to innumerable sites in Syria and the East ; and under the Greek form, *ἥλιος*, in many parts of Egypt and the Archipelago ; while history is full of persons bearing the sacred name of Baal or Bel, from Jezebel of Ahab's court to the Isabel of our own day.¹

II. The circles of stones are to be found as widely spread as the nomenclature. The desert of Sinai (Major Wilson tells us) is full of "Druidical stones and burial-places". The gigantic blocks used in the foundations are very similar in size in the temples of Jerusalem, Baalbec, Palmyra, the Parthenon, the Sphinx at El-Gezireh, and the circle at Stonehenge.

There are certain peculiarities of construction common to three of the greatest temples of antiquity, which seem to point to some connection or rivalry between them. These three are the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, that of the Sun at Baalbec, and the Parthenon at Athens. Each stands on an elevated site more or less artificially raised on vast Cyclopean structures. Each consists of a *ναός* and shrine, the proportions of which are almost identical, and the dimensions of each nearly so. Each has the same orientation.

The elevated platform on which Solomon erected his

¹ Eth-Baal is "Baal with him"; Jezebel, or Isabel, is probably only the female form ("Aitz-Bel") of the same name.

Temple was due to the sanctity of the *peak* of Mount Moriah, doubly consecrated by the offering of Isaac and the staying of the destroying angel by David's prayer. This peak remains unhewn to the present day, but originally it was barely large enough for the erection even of a single altar upon its surface. Solomon, therefore, levelled a platform up to it upon most massive foundations, some 180 feet high, isolated it from the range by a deep trench, and so made it a "sacred mount". These massive foundations are still to be seen at "The Jews' Wailing-Place" on the south-west, and on the eastern side of the enclosure of the Hareem. The same artificial elevation occurs under very similar physical conditions at Athens, where the narrow superficial area of the rock of the Acropolis is enlarged by similar additions; but the temples at Baalbec rise out of the valley between the two ranges of the Lebanon, from the lowest level, close to the water-course. They stand on a platform elevated about 300 feet above the plain, entirely constructed on colossal blocks of masonry and gigantic vaults. For the artificial elevations at Jerusalem there were two sufficient reasons,—one purely local (the previous hallowed associations connected with so unpromising a site); the other, a religious idea prevalent throughout the Mosaic theology, taken from the foundation of the Israelite church on the carefully fenced Mount of Sinai,—that religion comes from above, that its worship is one of elevation, its God enthroned in heaven, its worship in "high places", its preachers "on the mountain tops". But no such local reasons or religious association attached to the worship of Minerva or of mother earth, whose temples would have been more aptly placed in luxurious plains, like that of Diana at Ephesus, Theseus and even Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and those at Pæstum.

The first germ of Baalism amongst the rulers of the Israelite nation appears towards the end of Solomon's reign, when "he went after Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians".¹ This suggests a clue to the foundation of Baalbec. Solomon is said to have "built cities for his store, and cities for his chariots, and cities for his horsemen, and the *desire* of Solomon which he desired to build in Jerusalem and *in Lebanon*."² "*The desire of Solomon to build in Jerusalem*" was certainly the Temple,—the one ardent wish of his heart

¹ I Kings xi, 5.

² I Kings ix, 19.

and that of his father David. The materials for that building came from Lebanon, where eighty thousand men worked in the quarries,¹ and the quarried stones were conveyed to the coast by seventy thousand labourers, whence they were shipped by Hiram, King of Tyre, in floats to Jaffa. It is *probable*, therefore, that he built a temple also "in Lebanon", near the quarries.² It is certain he built "Tadmor (Palmyra) in the wilderness", whose temples greatly resemble those of Baalbec; and "Baalath", is mentioned in the same verse with Tadmor as one of the cities built by him.³ Closely adjoining the temples of Baalbec are extensive quarries of the same limestone as that used in the Temple at Jerusalem, where there still remains at least one huge block half quarried, identical in size and shape with those used in the oldest foundations of the Baalbec temples, and bearing strong resemblance to those at Jerusalem. There is every reason to suppose that Solomon's Temple was the earliest of the three; and the others, in that case, might be copied more or less from it.

I have said that the worship of Baal was in antagonistic rivalry to that of Jehovah. It may be well to see how this rivalry entered both into ritual and into the deeper matters of religious veneration, and how there was a studious, determined copying of the true worship, so as to seduce the unwary from the faith. From the notices of Baalism in the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament we find the following important particulars in which this resemblance prevailed:—1, temples were erected to Baal (1 Kings xvi, 32); 2, very numerous altars were raised on the sacred spots of Palestine, even within the Temple grounds, and in high places; 3, priests in great numbers were classified in orders (1 Kings xviii, 19), as David had arranged his priests of the Lord; 4, incense was offered upon his altar (Hos. ii, 13); 5, burnt offerings were sacrificed (II Kings x, 19); 6, the worshippers were vested, like the Jews, in their talliths, as the symbol of membership (II Kings x, 22). But even more deeply still did they imitate the true faith; for, as Jehovah had vouchsafed to give His own sacred name to those of his servants who were conspicuous for their zeal, as to Abraham, Sarah, Joshua; and as this mark of faithfulness to the true religion was

¹ 1 Kings v, 13-18.

² See 1 Kings vii, 2-6.

³ 1 Kings ix, 18.

subsequently conferred by pious parents upon their children, the same custom was adopted by the Phœnician worshippers of Baal; and just as we find the holy letters "Jah" inserted into the names of the sons of the house of David, Adoni-jah, Isa-jah, Hezek-jah, Jos-jah, so there occur amongst the regal families of the Baalites, Eth-baal and Jezebel of Sidon; Adher-bal, Asdru-bal, Hanni-bal, in the Phœnician colony of Carthage.

But let us now turn to the temples. That at Jerusalem had its entrance at the east end, and its shrine or inner recess (the holy of holies, which symbolised the special habitation of Jehovah) at the west.

1. ORIENTATION.—From the time of Adam universal tradition attests that all races of mankind in the earliest ages worshipped with their faces *eastward*. Thus the very names of the four cardinal points are, in Hebrew, taken from a man's position when thus facing. The east is *kedem*, i.e., *en face*, in front; the west is *achar*, i.e., behind, to the rear; the north, *smol*, i.e., to the left; the south, *teman*, i.e., to the right hand. So in the Arabic catena it is said, "From Adam till Abraham's time, which was a space of 3,328 years, they worshipped towards the east".¹ And this was not confined to one branch only of the Adamic family, but it was the custom of the whole race. Porphyry (*de nympharum antro*) says, "To the gods we attribute the Eastern parts," and these parts are called by Barro *deorum sedes*, "the abode of the gods". So, too, omens on the left hand, i.e., the eastern side, were regarded as more propitious than those on the right, because coming from the direct presence of deity.

The more ancient Greek temples fronted the west, and the altars and statues were so placed that those who worshipped towards them had their faces *eastward*;² but in later ages the statues were so placed as to look towards the east, and hence the worshippers faced westwards, their backs being to the entrance.³ The earliest example of this change of orientation is to be found in Solomon's temple. According to Jewish belief, Jerusalem was the centre of the earth. Theologically, it was the centre of true worship, the one

¹ Cat. Arab. MS. C. 35 in Genes.

² Clemens Alex. Strom. 7. Hyginus de Agr. Limit. con. lib. i.

³ Porphyry de Nymph. Antro.

only spot where the Supreme Being had sanctioned a figurative localisation of His presence in worship. Hence the Jews in the holy city turned their faces towards the temple, the whole body of worshippers within the sacred precincts being arranged in successive tiers of platforms, one above the other, but extending on all four sides of the area, the faces of all turned inwards to the centre, but the back of each towards one or another of the cardinal points, according to the platform on which the individual happened to stand. Away from Jerusalem the Jew said his daily devotions towards the holy city. From this arose that later phase of orientation towards some local shrine, rather than the ethereal region from which the daily return of light arises; and we have the worship of the Mahommedan towards Mecca, and of the western Christian towards the altar, irrespective of its position.

To Solomon, or more probably to the earlier ritual of the Mosaic church, this revolution is to be ascribed. During the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, the movable tabernacle was the typical presence of God to the Israelites. Wherever the pillar of cloud stood still the ark was set down, and the tabernacle pitched over it. The sun in the heavens was no longer the guide of their journey or the symbol of their life. He produced not the material food which came to them miraculously every morning. All was supernatural to them, nothing natural. They had to thank nature for no blessings, but the supernatural God, whose presence was visibly represented constantly in their midst. Hence the old association of worship towards the source of natural light and life faded away before the mysterious symbol of supernatural light and life that guided their path and ruled their destinies. So their devotions were no longer towards the *east*, but towards a *centre*, which was most fully carried out by the worshippers kneeling *all round* Solomon's temple, and by the change of orientation, so emphatically laid down in Solomon's dedication prayer: "Toward their land and toward the city which Thou hast chosen, and toward the house which I have built for Thy name."¹

The ark in Solomon's temple was at its western extremity, in an inner chamber--the holy of holies, carefully separated off from the outer chamber by a thick veil. This inner

¹ II Chron. vi, 38.

shrine was the sacred presence-chamber of God Himself, who figuratively sat enthroned between the cherubim on the mercy seat. Into this most sacred chamber no one was allowed to enter, except the high priest, and he only on one day in the year—viz., the great day of atonement, when he came, as it were, to render an account of his people, and pay the penalty due to their and his transgression of the law. At the entrance to this holy of holies, but outside it, stood the altar of incense, on which was daily offered the symbol of the people's prayers, and outside the holy place of the priests was the court of the people, in whose centre stood the altar on which was offered their sacrifices for sin, and between the two a cleansing laver.

From the time of the grand inauguration of Solomon's temple, and the great development by it of the ritual of worship, we find a corresponding change in that of heathenism. It was a great religious revival throughout the civilised world, and it brought in a ritual revolution. From this time there sprang up gigantic temples, like the Parthenon at Athens, that of Diana at Ephesus, of Apollo at Delphi, of Jupiter Ammon in Libya, all of which came from the Canaanites. Each of these temples had its inner adytum, its outer *vaós*, with a *βαμός* and a laver for purification and lustration, its vestibule for worshippers, in which was the general altar of sacrifices. But, especially the orientation was changed, and the temples were so arranged that their *entrances* were to the east, their shrines at the west end.

This change seems to have been due to the Mosaic ritual, since no explanation of it can be found in heathen mythology. Some have erroneously attributed the eastern entrance of the temples of Baal to the desire of the worshippers that the sun should, at his rising, shine through the open doors, and illumine the shrine of the god at the western end. A careful investigation of the temple at Baalbec will show that the eastern entrance is most studiously protected by successive rows of pillars, so disposed as purposely to exclude the rays of the sun from penetrating within its threshold, and the theory is wholly inapplicable to the temples of the female deities, which also are similarly orientated.

According to Levitical law, the sacrifices were offered towards the tabernacle, and the worship was towards the

ark, irrespective of the points of the compass. But on the day of atonement, when the high priest made his annual entry into the holy of holies to offer the figurative expiation of sin, he was directed to "take of the blood of the bullock", which had been sacrificed westward, "and sprinkle it with his finger upon the mercy-seat *eastward*", and so with the blood of the goat.¹ This offering was typical of the sacrifice of His blood, "whose name is *THE EAST*". Therefore, in offering it, the high priest sprinkled it on that side of the mercy-seat whence he expected the salvation to come, and in so doing turned his face from the ark, looking through faith with confident appeal to the east, whence the real atonement for sin was expected to arise.

The worshippers of all false systems were carried away by emulation of the advance in ritual made by the gorgeous ceremonial of Solomon at the inauguration of his temple, one of the seven wonders of the world. They copied its grandeur in its imposing elevation, magnificent colossal structure, costliness of material. It became the great model they tried to imitate and surpass. Its form and orientation they could imitate, but of its symbolism they were ignorant. The revolution it effected of making a sentimental or theological idea the centre of orientation instead of a fact of nature, has influenced all subsequent religious systems, and has lasted to our own times.

2. DIMENSIONS.—Another striking feature of similarity is the size and proportions of the three great temples. The temple of Solomon consisted, as has been said, of two parts enclosed within walls and covered by a roof—viz., the holy place or sanctuary and the holy of holies. This was somewhat enlarged in the second temple, the width being increased more than the length. "Mr. Wilkins thinks the temples of Greece show so great a similarity in the distribution and proportion of their parts as to warrant the conclusion that they were studiously copied from some one great model—which model he conceives to have been the second temple of Jerusalem".² The internal measurements of the two parts of Ezra's temple and of the Parthenon are, so far as we know, almost identical, and the arrangements also; while the length of the cella of these two is exactly the same as that of the recently discovered foundations of Diana at Ephesus,

¹ Lev. xvi, 14.

² Knight's *British Museum*, vol. i, p. 70.

almost to an inch (105 feet). Each had its *βέβηλος τόπος* or "profane place", its *ιερόν*, in which the usual service was performed, with its *περιρραντήριον* or laver at the further extremity filled with holy water, like the brazen sea in Solomon's temple, its outer vestibule or *πρόπυλον* at the eastern entrance, and its *ἄδυτος* or inner shrine at the western end. In most cases these various chambers were separated from one another by a screen, veil, or partition. At Athens alone there was no internal communication between the general temple and the sacred shrine, the entrance to which was on the western side.

3. ELEVATED PLATFORMS.—But another point of resemblance between these sacred fanes is in the artificial colossal substructure supporting the platform on which they stood. The three to which especial attention is drawn are all, as before remarked, elevated upon massive mural foundations, raised with infinite labour and expense. For such an enterprise at Jerusalem we have sufficient grounds of a physical and theological nature, and a somewhat similar excuse at least at Athens; but at Baalbec it is wholly inexplicable, except for the purpose of imitation of some model.

The foundations of the Athenian Acropolis extend to a depth of more than nineteen layers below the surface, each consisting of enormous blocks of marble, the uppermost row being 21 inches thick, and each subsequent layer increasing in thickness, till the last is imbedded in the solid rock. A precisely similar plan is found to have been pursued with the foundations of the area of Solomon's sacred enclosure, the huge blocks (some 67 ft. long) lying layer above layer upon the original rock of the mountain base. But most stupendous of all are those of Baalbec, which rise from the lowest water level. The oldest and now disused foundations are formed of colossal limestone blocks, nine of which are 31 ft. long by 13 ft. high and $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, supported by others, 67 ft. in length by 14 ft. in height and 9 ft. in thickness, raised 20 ft. from the plain.¹

This same fancy seems to have followed Baalism wherever it went, even to the Druidical circles in our own and adjacent countries. It is probable that Solomon obtained the

¹ In the adjoining quarry at Baalbec is still to be seen a gigantic stone not quite finished quarrying. It is 75 feet long by 14 by 14, and is calculated to weigh more than 1,100 tons.

idea from the Phœnician architect supplied to him by Hiram, King of Tyre.¹

The Symbols.—Various legends have been invented to account for the olive as the sacred emblem of Athene (Minerva) and the city called after her name, Athens. The olive was by no means common in Greece, but it was the symbol of Judea, its capital and temple, as is proved by its familiar appearance on Jewish coins and sepulchral lamps. The temple of Jerusalem was raised high on the summit of a mountain, whose sides were thickly clad with olive groves, whence Gethsemane got its name,² as, too, was (and is to a considerable extent) all Syria. It was then, doubtless, from the Phœnician coloniser of Athens, Cadmus, that she received her national symbol, while the horse, another of her devices, ascribed to Neptune (whose temple was associated with that of Athene upon the Acropolis), which is the cipher of Egypt, bears testimony to the alliance with the original colonists of a subsequent band of settlers, brethren by race under the second founder, Cecrops. It is to this same source we must trace the sacred symbol of the white horse (which is to be found cut in the chalk hills of Berkshire and elsewhere), the flag of the Norsemen who invaded this country, and incorporated it with the lion of Astarte as supporters of that white cross in our royal arms, which came to us from the same parentage.

Mr. Thomas Morgan, in vol. xxix of the *Archæological Journal* (p. 138-172), has connected the erection of cromlechs and stone circles with Odinism, which came to us through Scandinavia from the far east. He traces the origin of that religion to Zoroaster, described in the Edda as one of the seventy-two builders of the Tower of Babel. He also tells us that so powerful was that "ancient religion" at one time, that "we read of 80,000 Magi, with their head archimagus, assembling at *Balek*, in Khorasan, to settle the standard of orthodoxy"³ This form of Baalism spread amongst the savage nations of the north, and its eastern origin and assimilation to Judaism are both fully attested by Mr. Morgan's paper.

¹ Similar colossal stones are found in the substructures of the Temple of the Sphinx adjoining the Egyptian Pyramids.

² "Oil-Press."

³ *Archæological Journal*, xxix, p. 143. I had not seen this paper when I wrote the previous pages of mine; but it is satisfactory to find such valuable corroboration of the view I have taken.

The Edda (Fab. 43) mentions a great hero, bearing the sacred name Balldur, who was killed within the *τέμενος*, a sanctuary so holy that even the gods themselves were powerless to avenge the slaughter. He was the reputed ancestor of the Saxon race, and Baldersby in Yorkshire is supposed to be called after him. To this remnant of Baal's nomenclature we may add the paradise of *Walhalla*, the constant occurrence of *Bal* or *Wald* as the name of a mount, not a valley (e.g., Ting-bal or Wald), of *Wael*, like the Arabic *wely*, for the tomb of heroes; the association in Divine worship of *Bel* with Odin, and finally the name Druid (by which the priests were known in Europe), supposed by many to be only the Roman form of the Anglo-Saxon *dryhten*, lord or master, exactly identical with "Baal", as used by Hosea,¹ while both Cicero² and Cæsar³ associate Druidism with the Eastern Magi or Persian rites.

But the Druidical remains in this country have all the same colossal type, and the same circular form, acknowledged to be in honour of the sun, for whose worship they were built. Near Winterborne Abbas are nine stone circles; in Nottinghamshire is another group;⁴ in Cornwall very many, described by Dr. Borlase, with holocaust altars on the highest places of Gullval. Others are to be found in Gloucestershire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire; many in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Anglesey, while in the Orkneys are three famous rings, whose stones vary from 14 ft. to 19 ft. long; but largest of all are those of the temple at Avebury, consisting of one hundred and eighty-eight stones, and containing an area of more than twenty-eight acres, and that of Stonehenge, with its stones from 16 ft. to 20 ft. long and 4 ft. broad.

4. HUMAN SACRIFICES.—All these various phases of Baalism seem to have retained the tradition that the highest sacrifice would be that of a human victim, and in cases of last resort did not scruple to use it. We read that the King of Moab, who had learnt Baalism from the Canaanites, being hard pressed by Israel, "took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall."⁵ This was one of the charges against him which cut him off from all hope of pardon;⁶ and similarly the making their sons to pass through the fire to Moloch, the

¹ ii, 16.

² *De Divinatione*, i, 41.

³ *E.J. Gal.*, vi.

⁴ See *Journal*, viii, p. 85.

⁵ II Kings iii, 27.

⁶ *Amos* ii, 1.

“star-god”, their lord, was in God’s sight the extremity of Israel’s wickedness.¹ Baal fires, I am informed, are still lighted in some parts of Ireland ; as they certainly are at Safed in Palestine, and accompanied by some rites too abominable for any European, who has obtained the information on the spot, to publish. But, as under the older dispensation, its pernicious and seductive influence overcame that of the better faith, which it too generally supplanted, so in this latter dispensation it has succumbed to the power of Christianity. With the one perfect human sacrifice its revolting immolations ceased ; its worship of the sun paled before the miracle of the resurrection ; its sensualism was uprooted by the example of purity and self-denial set by Christ and His immediate followers ; until at length the circle of stones forming the temples of Baal became the round churches dedicated to the rising of the Sun of Righteousness.

¹ Amos v, 26.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAXON CHURCH OF BOARHUNT, IN HAMPSHIRE.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

IN the last edition of Rickman's well known work, lists of the churches then known to contain remains of Saxon architecture were included by Mr. Parker. In the Hampshire list therein given is included the name of Boarhunt Church. Respecting it, so little, apparently, was then known, that neither in letter-press nor in the index to the volume is any further reference found. It was, therefore, with some little surprise (while rambling by a circuitous route back to Porchester station last autumn, after a somewhat fruitless expedition in search of architectural remains at Southwick) that here I came across a church of unmistakably Saxon date, remaining in a state more than usually perfect, and possessing decorative and structural peculiarities, unlike any I had before observed in erections of a date anterior to 1066. The commencement of a change also in the style *itself* was here so revealed (though without any apparent trace of Norman influence), that an approximation to the date of its erection seemed easy of attainment. The value of a prize so unusual, together with its moderate size, induced the resolve that, if spared, I would obtain careful drawings of the whole for the use of our Society, whose labours have done, and are doing, so much to illustrate this branch of native art.

The general appearance of the church may be gathered from the accompanying drawings: (the plan, further, giving information relative to chapels introduced in a curious fashion into the east end of the nave during the early part of the thirteenth century. From the circumstance that these no farther affect the Saxon building than rendering necessary thereupon the removal of the internal west wall, to obtain the absorption of the space contained in the remarkable apartment there existing into the nave, instead of the amount thus abstracted, renders it unnecessary further to inquire into their history.) From information kindly placed at my disposal by the Rev. W. J. Birkbeck, vicar of South-

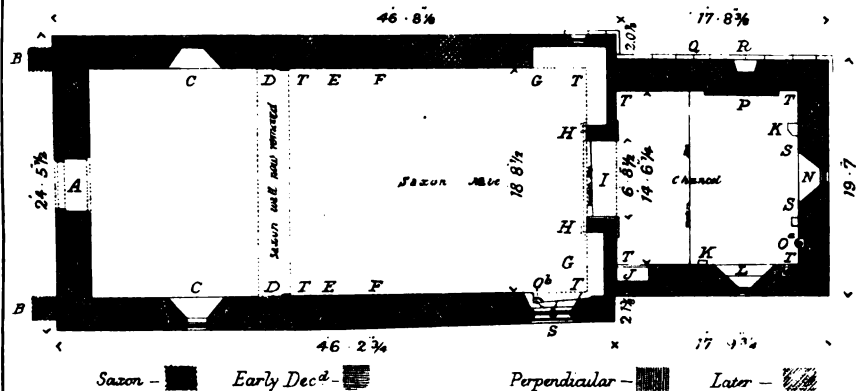
wick, I learn that some thirty-five years ago the church had fallen into a state of great decay : at which time the late Mr. Thistlethwayte, proprietor of both Southwick and this place, had a very substantial repair executed.

The parish church of Southwick, since that priory was dissolved, has been a "peculiar donative", to which this ancient church and parish belong ;¹ now sunk, alas! into the very low estate of being to Southwick but a chapelry, divested even of the right to elect churchwardens of their own.² Internally the repair changed little of consequence. To the open rafters of the then existing roofs plastering was added, the nave being seated with fair low and open deal seats : the four old oak seats he mentions, however, were removed. Whether the then existing levels of chancel floor received alteration, I know not, but that part inside the communion-railing was laid with encaustic tiles. Under either an existing west gallery, or one then added, a vestry was formed within the west wall—which wall received outwardly the assistance of two fresh buttresses, necessary for its safety. Externally,

¹ The famous William of Wykeham founded chantries at Southwick with obituary services for the souls of his father and mother, there interred. These he endowed with lands, among which is enumerated the manor of "Boarhunt", purchased from Luke de Ponynges and Isabel his wife. The statutes for these chantries are dated Oct. 2, 1369. To this fact, and its connection with the priory of Southwick, the parish owes its at present very secondary existence.

² "All my inquiries as to the history of Boarhunt have been in vain. Mr. Thistlethwayte, the patron, has still in his possession the deeds of the old abbey (Southwick priory), but they require a professed antiquary to decipher them. Until within the last thirty-five years the church was in a state of extreme neglect. The floor was of earth, the tiles were to be seen from the inside, and were peopled by jackdaws. There was a heap of brickbats in the corner, on which the sexton stood to ring the single bell, which soon after was stolen from a wooden bell-cot that then stood on the roof. There were no pews on one side, and only four on the other, of very ancient date, and so uncomfortable that no one could sit in them with any comfort. The congregation consisted of some six or eight persons, and the churchyard was unenclosed and trodden down. From this state of neglect the church was rescued by the late Mr. Thistlethwayte ; and, considering that nothing was known of its value as an architectural curiosity, it was most fortunate that the restoration was so conservative. I am told that the workmen then employed actually broke their tools against the old roughcast and mortar. To this fact, and to its previous time of neglect, I think we may attribute its preservation as an almost perfect Saxon church. It may add to the interest of the place to mention that, joined with Southwick, it is extra-parochial and extra-episcopal, being a Peculiar Donative. The patron inherits all the immunities possessed by the ancient abbots of Southwick. Boarhunt has no churchwardens, though Southwick has. Its population is 271 ; the greater part living a mile and a half from the church, in the direction of Dickham, in a new settlement that has sprung up since the disforestation of the forest of Bere." (Letter of Rev. W. J. Birbeck.)

BOARHUNT CHURCH, HANTS.



Outline of Saxon
South Door,
Boarhunt Church.



Saxon Window of Chancel
Boarhunt Ch.



Mellbury Budd Ch.
Dorsetshire.



Saxon Window
Diddlebury Ch. Salop.



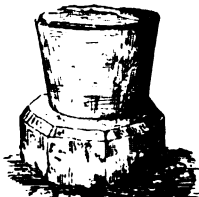
Corbel inserted when
pilaster to Chancel Arch
was cut away.



Font, Boarhunt Ch.
Hampshire



Slab of Saxon Window
found at Bath,
Somersetshire.



Font, Chatterblade Ch.
Somersetshire.

the whole of this wall and those of the chancel, excepting only the triangle of its gable, were carefully refaced with flints ("garretted"), most durably executed, but scarcely harmonising with the old work. No "intromission" at this time fortunately took place with the ancient stonework. The gable walls, over which the tiling had probably extended, were now raised above the roofs, and received Bath stone step-weathered copings,—an alteration, the weight of which has since produced considerable injury, especially in the chancel-arch wall, which, besides its proper opening, had been further weakened by the remarkable cutting away and removal, to form the recesses for chapel altars. The settlement here is so considerable in extent that, should no removal of this extra weight take place, the addition of fresh buttresses will shortly be required. The particular stone used by its Saxon builders for all quoins and dressings was that excellent and very durable material obtained from the Isle of Wight, and (*now*) termed "Quarr Abbey stone", procured originally for this very purpose, and no other; the most careful search failing to discover the slightest trace of any prior use of a single stone from an earlier building. Neither could be discovered in the walls any fragment of Roman brick,—articles not uncommon in old church walls in this neighbourhood. At the same time, the unusual existence and free use of *internal* bonding quoins in all nook angles, wherever intended to be seen or exposed to view, both out and inside, gave evidence of the possession of abundant pecuniary resources at command of the builders; enabling them to procure with ease, from a distance (which necessitated considerable land and sea carriage), an unlimited supply of material to whatever extent they might desire. A fact the beautiful character of the workmanship further corroborates; for here certainly no "axe work" whatever is found, the execution all being the work of the chisel, as at the present day. On several of the stones the tool-marks are remaining in so perfect a state as to enable the width of the chisel-blade to be ascertained. Several of the ashlar stones in the walls of the Saxon Chapel, Bradford, still retain on their fronts the banker-marks of the masons. They are not thus seen at Boarhunt; but as the Saxon Chapel at Bradford was erected most probably between the years 973 and 975, and Boarhunt some fifty

or fifty-five years later, the fashion of position may have altered to the beds of the stone, where in this case they would, no doubt, be found. They are similarly absent from the beautiful ashlar work existing at Diddlebury Church in Salop, though there also the marks of the chisel (but one with a narrower blade) equally remain notable.

The use of "long and short work" has so come to be treated as a necessity of Saxon construction, that to many minds a difficulty will arise when told that at Boarhunt no such thing anywhere exists, as will be seen on the drawings. To those entering into the subject a much more remarkable peculiarity presents itself, in the unusual presence of the nook-angle quoins bonding the receding angles, a feature found in late Norman and Early English work. The corners in which these bonders are found are marked by the letters "T**I" on the plan, whereon it is also seen that they do not occur in any angle of the remarkable apartment originally existing at the west end of the building.¹ To whatever use this was put, we are, from this circumstance, enabled to ascertain that its interior was not intended to be exposed to view in like manner to those of the nave and chancel. On the removal of the internal west wall taking place, the points of junction with the side walls were cut clean down, so that at present their marks and the half-bond stones are distinctly seen in the side walls. The returning quoins of the exterior angles, where the chancel and nave walls meet (excepting only where, on the south side, a priest's door has been inserted), remain perfect. The chancel internally had been plastered with an excellent hard white plaster, mixed up with fine flint sand, whose particles, somewhat less than one-eighth in size, often appear in its smooth surface. This plaster follows the outline of the quoins, finishing up to, but not over, them. In mixture and quality it closely resembles Roman, but is of course white, there being no pounded tile, which the fine flint grit sand here replaces. On this plaster no trace of any original colouring could be discovered (the reverse of what was the case at Stone Church, near Faversham). Much of this plaster remains in an excellent state, after the lapse of some 850 years. (It might be worth the master and

¹ Did not some similarly divided-off space exist in the nave of the church of Dover Castle prior to its *second* Saxon rebuilding?

BOARNHUNT CHURCH, HANTS.



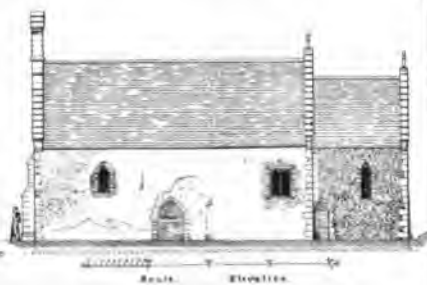
Sketch from the North East.



Section thro' Chancel.

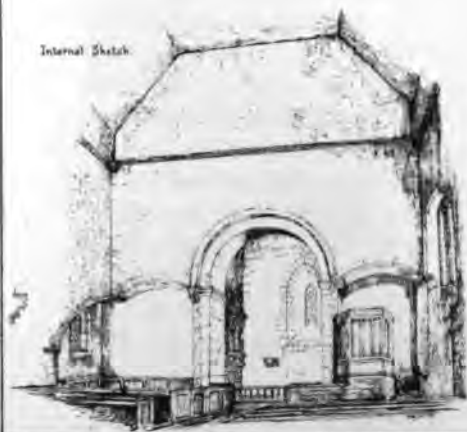


West Elevation.



East Elevation.

Internal Sketch.



Section thro' Nave.



wardens of the Plasterers' Company of to-day to pay it a visit, and attend Divine service in state.) Close to the present floor the damp from the accumulated earth outside had rendered necessary the repair of a portion in cement (which, by the way, is again falling off), thus rendering it impossible to discover whether traces of any wooden communion-railing exist, similarly to the evidence discovered of that fact at Stone-juxta-Faversham. In the chancel, level with the side-walls, ample traces remain where not only on the gables the wall-plastering finished, but where it had also been solidly filled in betwixt the wall and the beams of the flat wooden ceiling of Saxon date, above which line only the smoothing up of the ordinary walling mortar of the gable takes place. The jointings of the internal and external stonework, as in all good Saxon quoins or ashlar, so far as I have ever seen, were remarkable for their closeness, so as to be fairly termed "fine-jointed" stonework, in direct contrast to even the best *early* Norman masonry. At the Saxon chapel at Bradford the ashlar joints are on the whole fine jointing, while into those of the ashlar of Diddlebury Church, in Salop, I remember unsuccessfully endeavouring to insert the blade of my penknife. In both which cases, unfortunately, I omitted the precaution of accurately measuring a set of the several thicknesses; for while it is with very great diffidence that one ventures to break into any theory laid down by an archaeological authority so renowned as Mr. J. H. Parker,—and more especially after having so long and often sat at the feet of that able master, to enjoy the delightful flood of information he pours in so wonderful a tide on a great variety of antiquarian subjects,—nevertheless it must be admitted that there is on the above question a still more stern and severe master and authority, who, while erecting no theories itself, yet often obliges one to stand, it may be most uncomfortably, by while it ruthlessly demolishes *many very pretty* ones,—namely, the two-feet rule. So far as the question of Saxon jointing went, I had not been wise enough to seek its aid at Diddlebury or Bradford, but have done so here,—therefore putting Mr. Parker's theory to the proof with a result that may be seen by the accompanying list of thicknesses :

found in these buildings: this also is square on plan, but projecting less than the string, and instead of being built of a few long stones, consists of many small ones (no doubt a mark of lateness in date). No corresponding rib seems to have been found below; and if any ornamentation of this sort existed on the west gable of nave (?), the refacing has entirely removed all outward traces.

The feature of most interest externally is a much enriched Saxon window in the north wall of chancel, that side on which lay the manor-house, and probably the village, if any existed in those early times (for local tradition asserts that the present name was obtained from the fact of the last wild boar in England having been there killed). This fine window is in a very perfect state, but internally blocked, save a small bit of the top, by an unusually fine classic monument, erected in 1577.¹ No other trace of an early light opening, save this, can be seen anywhere throughout the church; to which this, therefore, almost appears to have been the only window in Saxon times; in the whole length of the north wall of the nave the evidence being conclusive that none had there existed; quite unlike what is found in the later erection at Bosham, into the Saxon of which a strong Norman influence manifests its presence. The use of the pierced mid-wall slab at Boarhunt is still retained, and both outside and in elaborately ornamented. (See sketch.) The application of a pilaster rib round the light opening in a similar way, but entirely unornamented, is seen on the mid-wall slab from a window which *did* exist in the old church of Mellbury Bubb, near Horchester (or Holy Well), in Dorsetshire.

Both in the slabs of the Boarhunt window, in the last mentioned, and in that at Diddlebury, marks, and even portions of the iron hinges belonging to their wooden shutters, remain. (See sketch of Diddlebury window.) This shutter, however, in the Boarhunt case could scarcely have been coeval with the first erection of the window, as the rebate to receive it is cut into and partially destroys the splay of the light opening. To this window special interest attaches, from its not only giving tolerable evidence of its

¹ The artist of this probably was the Theodore Bernardi who has left so many of his designs at and in the neighbourhood of Chichester.

own late date, but of the approaching change that would most certainly have taken place in Saxon architecture, even had no Norman invasion introduced a new style. The great peculiarity of these windows up to this period had been that whatever width might exist at the springing line of their arches, as respected the outline on plane of wall-face or any other lines (inclusive of even the light opening), the whole would spread out and *increase in width* as they reached the sill of the window, and in other openings also,—a fashion retained, I believe, often in Irish buildings to a much later period. Now here at Boarhunt it will be seen that a change in this very feature has commenced, for on the plane of the wall-face the outline of the window opening presents a perfectly *equal* width on springing or base lines, just as would be found in the next style ; but when we recede to the plane of the mid-wall light slab, the old Saxon traditional shape is everywhere followed, and the whole lines and mouldings, as well as opening, spread outwards before reaching the sill ; thus agreeing exactly with the Mellbury Bubb mid-wall slab, now or lately preserved in the Rectory garden, and with one found during excavations made on the site of the Grand Hotel at Bath, conjectured to have belonged to the Saxon Church of St. Mary-de-Stalls in that city, prior to its rebuilding by Bishop Reginald Fitz-Josceline (1174-1191). See sketch, wherein some slight variety of the light opening will be found.

All these examples present us, as at Boarhunt, with the one feature of the mid-wall slab, pierced in a variety of ways, but ever with its light plane placed centrally in relation to the wall's general thickness ; while at Bosham we have only, like Harold, to enter its rapidly changing late Saxon work to see this old mid-wall slab abandoned for the new plan of advancing the glass plane to the external wall-face, and in the proportions of whose chancel and tower arches are well seen the results of the foreign influence then so rapidly extending and extinguishing that totally separate change which had commenced in the Saxon style itself, as in Boarhunt Church, where no longer the lofty height or narrow width of work of the age of 970 exists, but still possessing the usual pilaster strip on each side—an article vanished from Bosham. This strip passes over the summit of arch to form a label moulding. Across these pilaster

slips passed, as usual, the impost, here rudely moulded, and returning some way along the east face in chancel, though there of course the pilasters are wanting. On the nave side, at the formation of the chapels, these pilasters were cut away below the impost, no doubt to allow the screens to fit home to the jamb face. But no difficulty even now remains in obtaining their width, the rough face being smoothed up with plaster.

From the sketch and elevation it will be seen how much the arch has sunk in height and increased in width, though not, perhaps, to the proportions of its strongly Normanized brethren at Bosham. The jambs possess plinths, with a plain splay at top returning on chancel side, leading to a suspicion that here the old Saxon method of having a *descent* from the nave of one or two steps down into the chancel, may also have begun to be abandoned (a descent found to have existed at Bradford, Dover Castle Church, and Stone-juxta-Faversham), and that the floors of both nave and chancel may have been level. This general custom may have been a peculiar mark of the Saxon nation, for in the south-west, among the pleasant hills and vales of Somerset and Dorset, a very similar arrangement holds good to the latest age. So that if at the Saxon chapel of Bradford the chancel floor is down one step, it has only in buildings of the importance and date of the old abbey of Bath or the cathedral of Wells reached the same amount upward. On the plaster below the sill of the east window of the chancel traces remain of what may have been the reredos of the Saxon altar. The font is tub-shaped, and very similar to one now existing in the small church of Chester Blade, in Somersetshire.

To those desiring to study such a page in the history of Saxon art as seldom can be turned over, I would earnestly advise them to visit this building, and, after carefully inspecting its peculiarities, to at once proceed on to Bosham, perhaps taking Warblington Tower, a short walk from Havant Station, on their way between. Scarcely anywhere is it possible to obtain a more instructive demonstration of the eve of a change in the Saxon style itself, prior to any perversion by the introduction of that foreign influence destined so soon to replace and destroy it, than here can be gathered from the contrast of these two churches. The one

late *in*, and the other of the *last* age of the native style. No doubt the first, in its art, reflecting the stern but able government of the triumphant Canute, who, having crushed out effectually all attempts at revolt in England, could leave native art to thrive in quiet, whilst the restless spirits, who might have disturbed it, were keeping guard or finding more active amusement at Gundul's game off the Hellgaa. The second fairly representing the good intentioned but weak reign of the Confessor, continually afflicted as it was by home disturbances and foreign flatterers, neither of whom he was gifted with moral strength sufficient to effectually repress; a condition not ill illustrated by the doubtful and Normanized character of the mouldings of so much of the Saxon erection as remains at Bosham; part, no doubt, of that very church which Harold in the needlework record is seen entering; and may thus not inaptly shadow forth the sad and doubtful fate impending not only over the man who may have been its erector, but over the architecture of the nation as well, whose "Doomsday", alas! the invader was so soon to compile.

I trust some of our members may be induced to give the Association proper illustrations of the remains of this building, of much curious value architecturally, and of so much interest, from both its date and historical celebrity; as to render it well worth enshrining in the pages of our *Journal*. The evidence of the date of Boarhunt church, and the rapid dawn of an approaching change in it, may be gathered from the following points:—1. The generally reduced height of building. 2. The presence of the nook-angle bonding quoins. 3. Openings being of equal width top and bottom. 4. The chancel floor raised to probably same height as nave, and not, as in the older Saxon, sunk below it. 5. The increased width of chancel arch and its reduced height. 6. The non-presence of "long and short" work. Its strong retention of old Saxon feeling is seen in—1. The determined retention of the perforated mid-wall light slab. 2. The increased widths of light opening and in all the mouldings belonging to it, from springing line downward to sill. 3. In the *comparatively* thin walls of the building. 4. The fineness of wall jointing, and the peculiarity of its joints, as in old Saxon, increasing in width as the joint recedes from the angle of quoin inwards in wall. 5. The pilasters on

each side of arch passing round to form a label. 6. The square step external plinth to walls. 7. The horizontal stone string across gable, and the rib rising therefrom.

REFERENCES TO THE LETTERS ON PLAN OF
BOARHUNT CHURCH.

A. The present west and only door of entry to the church, the other three being built up. The whole of its dressings are modern, and of Bath stone, executed thirty-five years ago. Whether an earlier door existed in the west wall I have not been able to discover.

B.B. Buttresses built at same date to support west wall.

C.C. Windows of Early Decorated date inserted when the western apartment was thrown into the nave, for which arrangement the present spacing out of these was arranged. Had former windows been spaced to its centre line they ought therefore to have left traces—(none exist). Over the west gallery a single pointed light remains, but whether old or not cannot be ascertained.

D.D. Points whence, on both sides, traces of the cutting clean down remain, and the thickness of the old interior west wall can be obtained. Where its eastern face intersected with the side walls the bond quoins still remain in both walls, but none existed on the western face.

E.E. North and south doors of Early Decorated date, inserted when this space was thrown into nave. For which purpose the stonework of the old Saxon doors was drawn, a position thus further west adopted, and the old stonework reworked up for new jambs, doors, and windows.

F.F. Position of the old Saxon doors here. Their alteration executed possibly at the parish cost. By reference to south side elevation it will be seen that sufficient traces remain to show that the south door had been a fine arch, and perhaps a carved tympanum. It may have been of two orders. On the rough-cast, above the latest, or inserted, north door, traces exist marking a wooden porch of considerable size.

G.G. Chapels formed at east end of nave, sham transeptwise. Part of the space required obtained by cutting into both the chancel arch and side walls of the Saxon building. Both chapels, though not precisely erected at

the same time, are of Early Decorated date. The small available amount of space in the first nave was so reduced by subtracting the space required for these, that the deficiency had been replaced by the removal of the internal west wall and intake of the vacant space beyond, to light which the new windows were inserted, and, to facilitate use, the doors removed further west.

H.H. Position of the old square pilasters belonging to the face of the chancel arch, removed, most likely, to enable the screens of the chapels to fit up to the wall face. The space, skimmed over with plaster, from whence they were cut away, is so marked as to enable their widths to be easily obtained.

1. The chancel-arch of one square order. The pilasters had, as usual, continued round, and formed a label to arch; rudely moulded imposts crossed these pilasters, returning some way along their eastern or chancel face. The jambs of the arch had plinths, with a plain splay at top. The width of the arch in clear is 6 ft. 8½ ins. Its height, from present floor to springing, is 9 ft., and from floor to under side of arch, about 12 ft. 7 ins. It will thus be seen to be very much changed from the proportion of the early Saxon arches, both as respects height and width.

J. Priest's door, probably inserted at the same time as the erection of the chapels took place. It is now built up.

K.K.K. Corbels for figures, all inserted about the same period. All, I suspect, marking the sites of small altars for obituary services: things with which, strangely enough, some of our most beautiful buildings were astonishingly lumbered up.

L. Window of same date as corbels inserted in south wall of chancel. The materials of its jambs seem to be Sussex sandstone. The old Saxon plastering, here very perfect, may distinctly be seen to be cut away in lowering the inside of the wall to receive its flat stone sill. No trace whatever of any earlier window is discoverable on this side.

M. Locker, same date as window; once possessed a wood shelf and door.

N. East window of one small pointed light: its jambs externally are of new Bath stone. The internal ones are old, and of chalk: no earlier light can here be traced. (At Bradford there never was any east window.) This window is now

filled with good modern glass, but designed in a somewhat later style than the date of the window.

o. A piscina, dating possibly later than L and M, but not much. The front of the basin moulded: the recess has had a wooden door added at a later period (since removed).

p. An interesting example of an early classic monument, dated 1577, unfortunately so placed as to block up nearly the whole of the interior of the Saxon light in north wall, leaving but a very small part of it open above the cornice, yet enough to show the ornament existing on the inner face of the mid-wall slab to be very similar to that existing on its outside.

q. Part of the external square step plinth to building, as at Bradford chapel. At Diddlebury the plinth is composed of three of these square steps.

r. The Saxon window in north wall of chancel, constructed in the usual old manner, with a perforated mid-wall slab; in this case more than usually ornamented—outwardly by a double twisted and enriched cable pilaster, and internally by a somewhat similar one. The light opening of the slab, together with the lines of the mouldings and surrounding ornaments, follow the ancient plan of spreading wider from the springing line of arch down to the sill: but in the outline of the window, on the wall face plane, this is abandoned, and the dimensions across, at springing or at base lines, are of precisely the same width—curious and interesting evidence of the change so closely impending (though as yet no Norman influences had made themselves manifest), and of that change which also makes itself felt in the altered proportions of the chancel arch.

s. A late Tudor two-light window inserted in the south wall of nave to give light to pulpit, probably in post-Reformation times. It replaces the old window of the south chapel. Reasoning by the analogy of what existed at Bradford, if any Saxon light was found in nave, it should have been at this place (certainly nothing of the sort was found in the north wall).

t.t.t.t.t.t.t.t.t.t. Nook angles, possessing bonding quoins. These are invariably as well finished as the ordinary angle quoins. I do not remember any trace of such a thing at Dover Castle church or Brixworth, nor do they appear at Bosham. These bonders were, as it will be seen on the

plan, *entirely wanting* in the angles of the curious western apartment. Sir Gilbert Scott has kindly informed me that the jointing of the stonework of the fragments of the central tower at Westminster (part of the church of the Confessor) are marked by what would be rather *fine* than *wide* jointing. These I have not seen myself, but he tells me they remain below the present floor.

The number of churches in Sussex and Hampshire, either wholly Saxon or retaining considerable portions of that style, are much more numerous than might have been expected to be found in a district where stone could only be obtained from a considerable distance. The difficulty may, however, be capable of explanation in this wise, that in stone counties its very abundance facilitated, nay, even tempted, their destruction, so as to rebuild in a later style and fashion, while here the very want of stone tended to preserve those which had, at an early period, been so built, especially when remote from the vicinity of any centre of active industry.

ON SOME MEDALS AND SEALS OF THE CROMWELL FAMILY.

BY HENRY W. HENFREY, ESQ.

WHILE engaged in collecting materials for my recently published work on the *Medallic History of Oliver Cromwell*, there came in my way several unpublished or little known medals and seals of various members of the Protector's family, but as the subject of my book was limited to the medals, coins, and seals of Oliver Cromwell only, I have not there described the medals and seals of his relations. For this reason I beg to offer to the Association the following paper, which contains notices of several curious and interesting seals and medals of various relatives of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell. As most of the pieces are hitherto unpublished, I hope that the illustrations and descriptions of them will be of some little interest to the members.

MEDAL OF MRS. ELIZABETH CROMWELL.

Elizabeth, the wife of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, was married to him on the 22nd August, 1620, in St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate, London, where the entry in the register may still be seen. She was daughter of Sir James Bouchier, Knight, of Tower Hill, London, and of Felsted, in Essex, "a civic gentleman".¹ After the Restoration, Mrs. Cromwell lived with her son-in-law, Mr. Claypole, at Norborough, near Market Deeping, in Northamptonshire. Here she died, and on the 19th November, 1665, was buried in the church of Norborough.²

In the last century Mr. Thomas Hollis had "an impression in wax of a medal of Elizabeth Cromwell, the Protector's wife".³ I am inclined to think, however, that this may have been the medallist's original wax model for the medal, and not an *impression* from it. I do not know what

¹ T. Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, popular edition, 1871, vol. i, p. 40; and the Rev. M. Noble's *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*, 3rd edit., 1787, vol. i, p. 123.

² Carlyle, iii, p. 125; Noble, i, pp. 129, 358.

³ *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 1780, p. 821, Appendix.

became of this wax model, or whether it is now in existence; but there is a medal in the British Museum, very rare, and perhaps unique, which may be thus described. It is made of lead, and cast. In shape it is circular, measuring one inch and four-tenths in diameter. The obverse bears a profile bust to the left, draped; a wreath and strings of pearls on the head, and a pearl necklace round the neck. Legend: ELIZABETH. WIFE. OF. O : C : L : P : (Elizabeth, wife of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector). The date, "1641", below the bust. The reverse has simply the following inscription in five lines:—ELIZEBETH (*sic*) DAUGHTER OF SR. JAMES BOUCHER, 1641. (See Plate 25, No. 1.)

This medal is of very rough workmanship, and it is impossible to say by what artist it was executed, whether by Abraham or Thomas Simon, or what other medallist. The date, "1641", is a little perplexing, because Oliver was not Protector until the 16th December, 1653, and it must therefore have been made subsequent to the latter date. I would venture to suggest that 1641 was the year when the artist modelled the wax portrait from the life; and that when a medal of the Protectress was made, some time afterwards, the medallist placed upon it the date when the portrait was originally taken.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

Richard, the third son of Oliver Cromwell, was, however, the eldest son living when his father was made Protector. Richard was born at Huntingdon on the 4th October, 1626.¹ On the 1st May, 1649, he married Dorothy, eldest daughter of Richard Maijor or Mayor, Esq., of Hursley, Hants.² He was Protector from his father's death, 3rd September, 1658, to the 25th May, 1659, when he resigned.³ He died at Cheshunt on the 12th July, 1712, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.⁴

I have found in the British Museum three different types of the small private seals which were used by Richard Cromwell, but all the impressions of these seals, except one,

¹ Carlyle, i, p. 60; Noble, i, pp. 158, 352.

² Carlyle, ii, p. 96; Noble, i, pp. 188, 359.

³ Contemporary Printed Letter of Resignation, *penes me*.

⁴ Noble, i, p. 176.

are on letters of an earlier date than his succession to the Protectorate.

Private Seal, No. I.—This seal is oval, size, three-quarters by six-tenths of an inch to the line which forms the border. The device is a square-topped shield, with six quarterings, surmounted by an esquire's helmet, with mantling around. On the helmet is the crest, out of a wreath a single-tailed demi-lion rampant, holding a fleur-de-lis in his dexter gamb. In the centre of the shield is a crescent, for difference. (His father also used this, as the difference of the second son's house.) This seal is very neatly engraved.

In examining the arms, however, we find that several of the quarterings have been wrongly represented, and that all have been reversed : those that should be on the dexter side of the shield are placed on the sinister side, and *vice versa*. The following is the way in which the arms are engraved on seal No. I. 1st (should be 3rd), a bar between three fleurs-de-lis. The bar ought to be a chevron, as explained below. 2nd, three lozenges, but should be three spear heads. 3rd (should be 1st), a lion rampant. 4th (should be 6th), a chevron between three mullets ; but should be on a chevron a mullet. 5th, a lion rampant. 6th (should be 4th), three bars, or perhaps barry of eight ; but should be three chevrons. The whole device of the seal is surrounded by a plain border-line. (See Plate 25, No. 2.)

This seal very closely resembles the private seal of Oliver Cromwell, No. IV ;¹ and the erroneous representation of the arms is apparently copied from it by the seal engraver. There is no doubt that on both these seals the arms are incorrectly blazoned, because several other Cromwellian seals give them quite correctly, as follows (but the colours not expressed) :—1st, *sable*, a lion rampant *argent*, for Cromwell ; 2nd, *sable*, three spear-heads *argent*, for Caradoc Vreichfras ; 3rd, *sable*, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis *argent*, for Collwyn ap Tangno, Lord of Efionydd ; 4th, *gules*, three chevrons *argent*, for Jestyn ap Gwrgant, Prince of Glamorgan ; 5th, *argent*, a lion rampant *sable*, for Madoc ap Meredith, the last Prince of Powys ; 6th, *or*, on a chevron *sable*, a mullet *argent*, for Murfyn.

The following is a list of the original manuscripts in the British Museum which bear impressions of Richard's Private

¹ See my *Numismata Cromwelliana*, p. 181, and Plate vi, No. 5.

Seal No. I:—Letter of Richard Cromwell, dated Hursley, 27th November, 1655, to his brother, Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland; Lansdowne MSS., No. 821, f. 114. Letter from the same to the same, dated Whitehall, 1st January, 1655(-6); same MS., f. 112. Letter from the same to the same, dated Whitehall, 7th March, 1656(-7); same MS., f. 116. Letter from the same to the same, dated Hampton Court, 6th July, 1657; same MS., f. 132. Letter from the same to the same, dated Whitehall, 8th July, 1657; same MS., f. 134. All the above-named impressions of this seal are in red sealing-wax, except that on the letter of the 1st January, 1655(-6), which is in golden brown wax.

Private Seal, No. II.—Very similar to No. I, but of coarser workmanship, and slightly wider, its dimensions being eight-tenths by thirteen-twentieths of an inch, to the beaded edging. The demi-lion of the crest does not hold a fleur-de-lis in his gamb; the mantling is of a different design, and in the second quarter of the shield there are three spear-heads, instead of the three lozenges, as on No. I. (See Plate 25, No. 3.) Impressions of seal No. II may be seen on the following original letters of Richard Cromwell, all in the British Museum, and all addressed to his brother Henry. Letter dated Hursley, 14th June, 1656; Lansdowne MSS., No. 821, f. 120. Letter of the same date; same MS., f. 122. Letter dated 3rd August, 1657; same MS., f. 146. Letter dated Whitehall, 10th March, 1657(-8); same MS., f. 124. Letter dated Whitehall, 26th April, 1658; same MS., f. 140. Letter dated Whitehall, 2nd June, 1658; same MS., f. 142. Letter dated Whitehall, 30th November, 1658, and signed "RICHARD P."; Lansdowne MSS., No. 1,236, f. 120. The above-named impressions are all in red sealing-wax.

Private Seal, No. III.—A smaller seal than the two others, nearly circular, size half an inch by nine-twentieths of an inch to the cabled border. The device is a plain square-topped shield, without crest, helmet, or mantling. The arms are engraved quite correctly on this seal, as follows:—1st and 6th, a lion rampant, for Cromwell; 2nd, three spear-heads; 3rd, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis; 4th, three chevrons; 5th, a lion rampant, for Powys. [For a description of the colours see above, under seal No. I.]

The crescent difference is omitted on this seal. A border of a rope or cable pattern surrounds the shield. (See Plate 25, No. 4.) I have only met with two impressions of this seal, both being in the British Museum, in the Lansdowne MSS., No. 821. A good one in red sealing-wax is on f. 136 of this manuscript, on a letter from Richard Cromwell to his brother Henry, dated Whitehall, 10th July, 1657. A bad impression, over paper, is on f. 150, on a letter from the same to the same, dated Hampton Court, 12th August, 1658.

The three seals just described do not appear to be the work of Thomas Simon, who was the most celebrated medallist and seal engraver of that period. The great seal of Richard as Protector has been so often published that it does not seem necessary to include it in this little paper. The three small private seals, however, have never been published before.

HENRY CROMWELL.

Henry was the fourth, but second surviving son of Oliver Cromwell. He was born at Huntingdon on the 20th January, 1627-8. He went, like his brother Richard, to Felsted School, in Essex; but he was in the Parliament's army at the early age of sixteen. In 1647 he became Captain, and was Colonel in 1649, and with his father in Ireland.¹ He was made Major-General of the Forces in Ireland in the middle of the year 1655, and took up his appointment in September of that year, the Lord Deputy Fleetwood sailing for England on the 6th September. Henry Cromwell therefore, was actual governor of Ireland until the 21st November, 1657, when Oliver gave him a commission as Lord Deputy, and he was sworn in on the 24th November.² When Richard Cromwell became Protector, he gave his brother Henry a new patent as Lord Deputy of Ireland, dated the 6th October, 1658, under the great seal. The original document and seal, very well preserved, are now in the care of F. Prescott, Esq., of Oxford Square, London.

On the 7th June, 1659, the parliament voted Henry Cromwell's recall, and on the 6th July he gave an account to the Council of State of the condition of affairs in Ireland.³

¹ Carlyle, i, p. 60; Noble, i, pp. 197, 352.

² Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vi, p. 632; Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. iv.

³ Whitelock's *Memorials*, edit. 1732, pp. 680, 681.

In 1660 he retired to his estate of Spinney Abbey, near Soham, in Cambridgeshire, where he spent the remainder of his life in country pursuits, and died on the 23rd March, 1673-4. He is buried in Wicken Church.¹ Henry Cromwell married (probably in 1655) Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Francis Russell, Bart., of Chippenham, in Cambridgeshire. By her he had several children, who, with their mother, survived him. Mrs. Cromwell died on the 7th April, 1687, aged 52.²

Medal of Henry Cromwell.—There is a very rare unfinished medal of Henry Cromwell, which was apparently executed by Abraham Simon. It is of very rough workmanship, especially on the reverse, and is cast, not struck. This medal is oval, with a loop for suspension, and measures 1·14 by ·9 in. (not including the loop). On the *obverse* is a bust of Henry Cromwell, nearly full-face, bareheaded, with long hair down to his shoulders. He wears armour, with a very large plain falling collar, and a scarf across the breast. The initials of the artist, "A. S.," are in relief on the truncation of the right shoulder. There is no legend on this side, which is surrounded by a wreathed border with four roses in it at equal intervals. The *reverse* simply bears the following inscription in four lines:—HEN. CROMWELL GUB. HIB. 1654. (Henricus Cromwell Gubernator Hiberniæ, 1654.) Around this side is also a wreath, but with two roses only. (See Plate 25, No. 5.) I have seen only two specimens of this medal, both cast in lead. The first and better preserved example is in the British Museum, from the late Mr. Edward Hawkins's collection. The second specimen is in the Museum of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, to which it was presented by Mr. C. J. Shoppee. I have heard that there were two examples in silver of this medal formerly known. One, which was gilt, was in the celebrated collection of Samuel Tyssen, and was sold in lot 210, second day of his sale, 13th April, 1802. Mr. Overall, the obliging librarian at the Guildhall, showed me a print, "published July 1, 1796, by J. Thane", which represents Henry Cromwell's portrait, taken from the medal in Tyssen's collection. I am unable to state where the two silver specimens of this medal now are.

¹ Noble, i, pp. 211, 213.

² Noble, i, pp. 218, 219.



1



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1



2



4



3



5



7



5



11



12



13



9



6



10

As has been stated above, Henry Cromwell was not named Governor of Ireland until a much later date than 1654, so that the inscription on the reverse of this medal is as perplexing as that on Mrs. Cromwell's (the Protectress's) medal. Perhaps the difficulty may be explained in the same way—viz., by supposing that the medal was made in 1657 or 1658, but that the wax portrait used was originally modelled from the life in 1654, in which year Henry was in England.

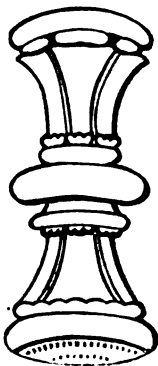
Private Seal of Henry Cromwell.—On his private letters he used a small oval seal, size eight-tenths by thirteen-twentieths of an inch. It bears a shield with the arms of Henry and his wife impaled; crest and helmet above, with elaborate mantling around. The arms of Cromwell, on the dexter side of the shield, are—*sable*, a lion rampant *argent*. The wife's arms, on the sinister side, are—*argent*, a lion rampant *gules*, on a chief *sable*, three roses *argent*, for Russell. (The colours are not expressed on the seal.) The crest is that of Cromwell, and is exactly like that used by the Protector Oliver, on two of his official signets¹—viz., out of a wreath a demi-lion rampant, double-tailed, holding a spear upright in his paws. The helmet is in profile, but with open bars. (See Plate 25, No. 6.) There is a good impression of this seal on a letter from Henry Cromwell to ——— dated Ashtone, 14th October 1656.² Another impression is on a letter from the same to his father, dated Dublin, 5th June, 1657; same MS., f. 184; but it is nearly all broken away.

Official Seal of Henry Cromwell.—This is a large official seal intended for Henry's use as Lord Deputy of Ireland. I have never heard of any impressions of this seal, but the following description is taken from the original matrix, which has been preserved by Henry's descendants, the Cromwell-Russells, and was kindly shown to me by permission of Mr. Prescott of Oxford Square. The matrix or die is of steel (see woodcut next page). It is 3·5 inches high, and measures 1·6 by 1·4 inches across the lower (engraved) face, which is oval in shape. The design is well engraved, but it is clearly not the work of Thomas Simon. In the centre is an ornamented shield bearing the Cromwell arms

¹ See *Numismata Cromwelliana*, Plate vi, Nos. 9, 10.

² Additional MS., No. 4157, f. 110. British Museum.

in six quarterings, with a small crescent for difference in the centre, Henry being the second surviving son. Above the shield is a barred and front-faced royal helmet, Henry being Viceroy, with mantling around. Out of the wreath on the helmet issues the crest, a demilion rampant, double-tailed, and holding a spear. Surrounding the armorial bearings, and divided from it by a line, is the legend, SIGIL(lum) HENRICI CROMWELL HIBERNIÆ DEPUTATI (the seal of Henry Cromwell, the Deputy of Ireland). A plain line forms the border. (See Plate, No. 7.) The quarterings of the arms on this seal are as follow: 1st, a lion rampant; 2nd, three spear-heads; 3rd, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis; 4th, three chevrons; 5th, a lion rampant; 6th, on a chevron a mullet. For the colours and names, see above, p. 383; but the colours are not expressed on the seal.



However, the celebrated engraver George Vertue, in his book on the *Works of Thomas Simon* (London, 1753, Plate xxxi), engraves a quite different seal of Henry Cromwell as Deputy of Ireland. It is circular instead of oval, and is 1·35 inches in diameter. In the centre is an ornamented shield surmounted by the crest, helmet, and mantling, exactly as on the seal last described; but the arms on the shield are not in six quarters. Instead of that we find the impaled arms of Henry Cromwell and his wife, as on the *private* seal of Henry (No. 6 in the Plate to this article). The legend on the seal engraved by Vertue is the same as that on the Deputy's seal last described (No. 7 in the Plate). I have never been able to discover any impression of the seal represented by Vertue. Noble says that the original of it was in the possession of Mr. William Cromwell, a grandson of Henry the Lord Lieutenant;¹ but I am inclined to think that the seal which Mr. W. Cromwell had is the one now in the possession of his representatives, viz., the official seal (the matrix) in the care of Mr. Prescott.

Seal of Elizabeth, Wife of Henry Cromwell.—In the British Museum² is an original letter to the Lord Deputy, Henry Cromwell, from his wife, signed "E. Cromwell", and dated "Sept. the 28", but no year given. This letter is

¹ Noble, i, p. 218.

² Lansdowne MS. 821, f. 110.

sealed, in black wax, with a beautiful little oval seal, which from its style appears to have been executed by the celebrated Thomas Simon. The impression is nearly perfect; size, about five-eighths of an inch by half an inch; and bears a pointed shield with the arms, a bar between three pheons. Around are a line and wreath for border. (See Plate 25, No. 8.) I have not been able to identify the coat of arms on this seal, and it is not to be found in Papworth's *Ordinary*. As already stated above, Mrs. Henry Cromwell was the daughter of Sir Francis Russell; but the arms of the Russell family are very different. Neither do these arms appear to belong to the Cromwell family in any way. I have only met with the single impression of this seal above mentioned.

MR. AND MRS. CLAYPOLE.

Elizabeth, the second daughter of Oliver Cromwell, was born at Huntingdon, but the exact date is unknown. She was baptized on the 2nd of July 1629. She married, in 1645-6, John Claypole, eldest son and heir of John Claypole, Esq., of Norborough in Northamptonshire.¹ When Oliver had become Protector he made his son-in-law, Claypole, Master of the Horse and one of his Lords of the Bedchamber, etc. Mr. Claypole was also a member of Oliver's first Parliament, and was created one of his house of peers in 1657.² Mrs. Claypole, who is often called Cromwell's favourite daughter, died at Hampton Court on the 6th August 1658, four weeks only before her father's death.³ She was buried in Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, on the 10th August.

During Richard Cromwell's protectorate, Mr. Claypole retained his appointments as Master of the Horse, etc., but after Richard's resignation of power he retired to his country estate of Norborough. Here, as has been mentioned above, he gave an asylum to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Cromwell, until her death. Mr. Claypole, on the 21st March 1670, married a second wife, Blanch, widow of Lancelot Staveley, a merchant of London.⁴ In 1678, during the excitement occasioned by the supposed Popish plots, Mr. Claypole

¹ Noble, i, p. 136; ii, p. 375.

² Noble, ii, pp. 376, 377.

³ Noble, i, p. 137.

⁴ Noble, ii, p. 379.

was apprehended and sent to the Tower on a groundless suspicion of his being the head of a republican plot against the King; but after a few months, no evidence appearing against him, he was discharged.¹ From this time until his death he lived in London, in the Middle Temple, where he died on the 26th June 1638. Although he had four children by his first wife, Elizabeth Cromwell, none of them survived him, but all died young and unmarried.²

Medal of Mr. Claypole.—This is an oval medal, of silver, with a loop for suspension, and it measures 1·1 inch by ·85 inch, not including the loop. The design is on one side only, and presents a profile bust of Mr. Claypole to the left. He is bare-headed, and with his hair long; he wears a plain falling collar and a closely buttoned coat, with a scarf over his shoulder. There is no inscription nor any artist's initials on this medal. It is very rare. (See Plate 25, No. 9.) The above description and illustration are taken from one of two original specimens in the British Museum. This medal is cast and chased, and is probably the work of Abraham or Thomas Simon. That it is a *contemporary* medal seems likely, from the fact that medals or "effigies" of Mr. and Mrs. Claypole are mentioned in a list of works executed by A. and T. Simon; which list is a very old one, and appears correct in most particulars.³ G. Vertue gives a very fair engraving of it on Plate XXI of his *Works of T. Simon* (London, 1753), and a similar engraving is in the *Medallist History of England* (1790), Plate xxv, No. 3.

Medals of Mrs. Claypole. No. I.—The original medal of Mrs. Claypole was also probably executed by either Thomas or Abraham Simon. It is an oval medal of silver, cast and chased; size, 1·3 by 1·2 inches. It has a design on one side only, viz., the bust of Mrs. Claypole in profile to the right, in a low dress. She wears no headdress, and her hair is simply tied by a riband; a pearl necklace round her neck. There is no legend or border to this medal, and the reverse is quite plain. (See Plate 25, No. 10.) There is an original silver specimen of this medal in the British Museum. It is, however, very rare. Noble states that

¹ Noble, ii, p. 380.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 381-385.

³ See "A list of Effigies executed by Abraham and Thomas Simon, made out by Mr. Pennington, Cheese-factor of London, and given to Mr. George Copland, Engraver, who gave it obligingly to me, Oct. 2, 1759.—T. H.", in the Appendix, p. 812, of the *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, London, 1780.

Mr. Theobald in 1728 showed the Society of Antiquaries a medal in *gold* of Mrs. Claypole, modelled by Abraham and finished by Thomas Simon, whose initials were on it.¹ This medal was probably nearly similar to the silver one in the British Museum, although the latter does not bear the artist's initials. An engraving of Simon's medal (by G. King) forms a vignette on the title to "The third Panegyric Englished", between pp. 114, 115, of the Rev. F. Peck's *Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell*, 4to, London, 1740. It is here, however, erroneously named the "Lady Falconberg". George Vertue, on Plate XXI of his *Works of Thomas Simon* (4to, London, 1753), engraves the same medal, but represents it as circular instead of slightly oval, and omits the piece of Mrs. Claypole's dress on her right shoulder. A similar illustration is in the *Medallic History of England*, 1790, Plate xxv, No. 2.

No. II.—As the original medal of Mrs. Claypole by Simon had become very scarce even in the last century, it was copied by a more modern medallist, as we are told by Noble.² These more recent medals, which seem to have been made about 1770-80, are well executed and *struck*. One in silver and another in copper are in the British Museum. They are close copies of the original medal, and are of the same size, except that an ornamental border is added on all round; so that, including the embossed border of laurel-leaves and roses, the newer medals measure 2 inches by 1·6 inches. The reverse is quite plain.

It is here necessary to warn the collector that very carefully *cast* copies of medal No. II, both in silver and copper, abound in the market. They should not be mistaken for the original ones, which are all *struck* from dies.

No. III.—A third medal of Mrs. Claypole was engraved by an English medallist, James Kirk, about the year 1775. It was struck in silver and copper, and is not rare. It is circular; size, 1·35 inches in diameter; and bears, obverse, bust of Mrs. Claypole to the right, exactly copied from Simon's medal (No. I). The words KIRK FEC. are in small letters at the sides of the bust. Reverse, a wreath formed of two laurel-branches tied together encloses the following inscription, ANN CLEYPOL DAUGHTER OF OLIVER CROMWELL. The Christian name, of course, ought to be *Elizabeth*.

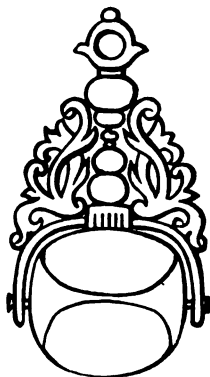
¹ Noble, i, p. 142.

² Ibid.

SEAL OF OLIVER CROMWELL, ESQ., SON OF THE
PROTECTOR RICHARD.

This Oliver Cromwell was the son of Richard, and was born at Hursley on the 11th July 1656, during his grandfather's protectorate. On the death of his mother (Dorothy, daughter of Richard Maijor) he succeeded to the manor of Marden or Merdon, which includes Hursley, in Hampshire.¹ He never married. He died on the 11th May 1705, and was buried in the chancel of Hursley Church.²

There is a very interesting steel signet which belonged to and was made for this Mr. Oliver Cromwell, now in the care of Mr. Prescott of Oxford Square. It is a revolving, triangular seal having three engraved faces, and is mounted in ornamental steel open-work (see wood-cut). There is a black shagreen case with steel rivets to keep the seal in. Mr. A. W. Franks of the British Museum, having compared this seal with others of similar fabric in the Museum, told me that he thinks that it was made about the year 1680. The three sides are very minutely and skilfully engraved, but not by Thomas Simon, who died in 1665. The maker is quite unknown. Impressions of the three sides of this seal are represented on the Plate, Nos. 11, 12, and 13. They are each $\cdot 8$ by $\cdot 7$ inches in diameter. One side bears an elaborate interlaced cipher or monogram, which contains all the letters of the name of the owner, Oliver Cromwell. A second side bears his arms, crest, and motto, thus represented : a large, square-topped shield bearing six quarterings, viz.,—1st, a lion rampant, for Cromwell ; 2nd, three spear-heads ; 3rd, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis ; 4th, three chevrons ; 5th, a lion rampant ; 6th, on a chevron a mullet.³ Above the shield is an esquire's helmet with mantling around. Upon the helmet is the Cromwell crest : out of a wreath, a demi-lion rampant, single-tailed, holding in his dexter gamb a gem-ring. Below



¹ It is now the seat of Sir William Heathcote, Bart.

² Noble, i. pp. 189, 191.

³ These are the same arms as his grandfather, the Protector Oliver, used. For full description, with the colours named, see above, p. 383.

the shield, on a scroll, is the motto, *PAX QVÆRITVR BELLO*. This was the favourite motto of the owner's grandfather, the Protector Oliver, on all of whose coins it appears.

With reference to the crest of the Cromwells, the Rev. Mark Noble, on page 11, vol. i, of his *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell* (third edition, 1787), relates an anecdote to the effect that the more ancient way of bearing it was with a javelin or spear in the demi-lion's gamb, but that, in 1540, King Henry VIII was so pleased with Sir Richard Cromwell's skill in a tournament, that he presented a diamond ring to him, bidding him ever afterwards bear such a one in the fore-gamb of the demi-lion in his crest. This Sir Richard Cromwell was great-grandfather of the Protector Oliver. The latter, on his seals, appears to have used in his crest sometimes a javelin, sometimes a ring, and sometimes a fleur-de-lis. (See the illustrations on Plate VI of my *Numismata Cromwelliana*.) On the third side of this seal is a very elaborate shield of arms, divided into four grand quarters, which are again sub-divided, so that there are ten different quarterings on the shield, each given twice. The first and fourth grand quarters are simply the Cromwell arms in six quarterings, as on another side of the seal; but the second and third grand quarters are the arms of Maijor. The second grand quarter (which is similar to the third) bears quarterly of four—1st, *gules*, an anchor *argent*, on a chief *or*, three roses of the first for MAIJOR; 2nd, — on a chevron between three trefoils slipped — as many bezants, for —; 3rd, *gules*, a saltire¹ between four lions' heads erased *or*, for KINGSWELL; 4th, — a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis — for —. No colours are expressed on the seal. The second and fourth quarters of the Maijor arms are probably the coats of families with which the Maijors were allied by marriage, but I have been unable to discover either their names or the proper colours. I find, however, in Papworth's *Ordinary* the two following coats-of-arms, which both resemble the second quarter. 1. ROWE. *Argent*, on a chevron between three trefoils slipped *azure* as many bezants. 2. UNDERHILL, co. Warwick. *Argent*, on a chevron *sable*, between three trefoils slipped *vert* as many bezants. With regard

¹ On the seal the saltire is only the thickness of a line, looking more like *party per saltire*.

ON THE KAPNTĒ OR KELTIC HORN.

BY DR. J. S. PHENÉ, F.S.A.

"THE house, for it could not be termed a castle, was only two stories high, low and massively built, with doors and windows forming the heavy round arch which is usually called Saxon. The walls were mantled with various creeping plants which had crept along them undisturbed; grass grew up to the very threshold, at which hung a buffalo's horn suspended by a brass chain."—*The Betrothed*.

"EVELIN" was debating on "Damian's recent wounds and the distracted state of the country, when she was interrupted by the shrill sound of trumpets blown before the gate of the castle." Such are Sir Walter's word-pictures of the Keltic horn as adapted to the usages of our Saxon and Norman ancestors,—the actual horn of nature, and the cornet of art. But we must not suppose that the one indicated a peculiarly barbarous, nor the other a peculiarly civilised condition of these two people.

The trumpets used in the procession round Jericho were rams' horns. Ancient in usage as they must even in that day have been, it is probable that their metallic sister with a softer sound already existed with the Keltæ, for even in the wilderness Moses made two silver trumpets; and the highly finished works of art of this class found in the peat-bogs in Ireland attest that, while for ordinary purposes the natural horn was, no doubt, still the more usual instrument, the princely (perhaps sacred) one was, as in the case of the royal Norman summons to the Castle of the Garde Doloureuse, the metallic trumpet.

With the ancients, everything that attracted their special observation was sacred; and everything that became an object of special study or labour, either by brain or hands, was considered worthy to be, and hence was, an object of dedication to some or one of their deities. We shall, therefore, be prepared to find a mystic idea connected with the horn, or, as it was called by the Greek writers, sometimes the *κάρνον*, as in Hesychius; sometimes the *κάρνυξ*, as in Diodorus; the horn of the Keltæ. As the crescent, it was the emblem of Astarte; as the ram's horn, of Jupiter Ammon.

With the Hebrews we find the "feast of trumpets". It is by no means clear what originated this festival, the opinions are various ; but some Rabbins contend that it was to commemorate the deliverance of Isaac, in whose stead a *ram* was sacrificed by Abraham. It was, however, in some way connected with the new moon ceremonies. These not being mentioned in Leviticus as solemn feasts, and being referred to doubtfully in some parts of the sacred writings, may not improbably have crept in from the customs of the surrounding countries ; as, for instance, from the *local* tradition of Abraham and Isaac, and having in themselves nothing reprehensible, being dedicated by the Hebrews to the Deity, very probably illustrate some of the customs of the Canaanites and Syrians, who worshipped the moon.

One thing is curious, Peter Della Valle assures us that, to this day, it is customary, on making great journeys into the Sahara, to begin the journeys at the time of the new moon ; and we find the Shunamite woman, when about to start on her journey, addressed by her husband with surprise in these words : "It is neither new moon nor Sabbath". The moon, as Astarte, was the presiding goddess of the Phœnicians, was indicative of the ship or vessel, and was emblemed almost exclusively by her horns.

I shall preface my next sentence with this explanation. With all due reverence for the more serious subject, there can be no harm in comparing the ideas and feelings of people and nations living in the same age and in the same country, and that, by the parallel I am about to make, I simply illustrate, but by no means level the greater subject to the less.

We find the horn used to indicate rays, as, on the head of Astarte—an expression even applied to the god of the Hebrews, to whom Habakkuk gives also other descriptions, clearly appropriated to the Apollo of the Greeks. "He came from Teman and from Mount Paran ; his glory covered the heavens, the earth was full of his praise, and his brightness was as the light ; *he had horns coming out of his hand*, before him went the pestilence, and burning coals went forth at his feet." In these ideas we appear to have the exact figures from which the Greeks represented their Apollo, the Karneios of the Spartans, whose feast, the *κάρνεια*, was instituted to avert the pestilence which went before

him ; the "horns coming out of his hand" are clearly the arrows or rays of the far-darting Phœbus, and of the Assyrian Asshur, while the "burning coals" which "went forth at his feet" are as clearly the figures of that ordeal his votaries underwent, who turned the poetical figure of the Hebrew praise into a physical trial, so beautifully described by Virgil.

"Summe Deûm, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
Pascitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem,
Cultores multâ premimus vestigia prunâ."

Thus rendered by Dryden—

"O patron of Soracte's high abodes,
Phœbus, the ruling power among the gods
Whom first we serve, whole woods of unctuous pine
Burn on thy heap, and to thy glory shine.
By thee protected, with our naked soles
Through flames unsinged we pass, and tread the kindled coals."

Another translator gives the words more literally, and therefore more true to the meaning : "Through the midst of the flames we thy votaries, relying on our piety, walk over a length of burning coals." The two features here agree exactly—the sacred Mount of Paran and that of Soracte ; the one personage covering the heavens with glory, the other described as the ruling power among the gods, under the title of Phœbus. Of the one, "the earth was full of his praise," of the other it is said, "whom first we serve," while the burning coals going forth at his feet is the exact walking barefoot through the burning coals of the ordeal. The Greeks, while intensely sensitive to the sublime and beautiful, admitted they did not know, perhaps did not care to explain, whence they borrowed the attributes of their deities. But there are features here which are out of the usual range of metaphor, and the sublimity of the mental is lost by the Greeks and Syrians in the physical.

In the prophet it is described as a time of judgment, and it is only reasonable to think, among the other references to the worship of the heathen nations round, that, as "the sun and moon stood still in their habitation", these being the gods of the Gentile people, and emblemed by their statues in the temples, the "burning coals at the feet" referred to the same custom in the valley of Hinnom as was used by other nations in this ordeal.

But the Karneian Apollo was worshipped with special music, and *καρνέιοι νόμοι* by the Keltic priests, and with them the *κάρνυξ* was their grand instrument, and would most certainly have been used in the musical festival *κάρνεια*. With him the pestilence was identified with the python. Here we have another strong resemblance in the plague of serpents, and its suspension, just as Apollo stayed the pestilence, or, in other words, slew the python. Callimachus, indeed, identified this title of Apollo with the actual horn of the Kelts.

I have referred to the Keltic priests here because this festival was well established in other places besides Sparta ; in places in short where the Keltic ceremonies were as well known and practised as the Greek, which indeed differed less in fact than in variation, according to the rites of the deity worshipped. Some writers even attribute the institution to the Keltæ, as from them Apollo is said to have derived this title.

All this leads us at once to the Dracontia of Brittany and Cornwall ; for Cornwall in its former boundaries of course included Dartmoor. I have gone so fully into this subject in my paper on Brittany, read before this Association in May last, that it is unnecessary to repeat my observations. I would draw your attention, however, to some points in connection with them. While the Dracontium of Karnac, indeed, as it seems to me, of *καρνέιος*, represents apparently the great heathen deity of the Keltæ, the python, those of ancient Cornwall, represent apparently, in common with some in Scotland, the models or *plans* of our Christian churches of to-day. Taking those of Dartmoor, Ardlamont, and Lews, we find avenues of columns, sometimes with transepts, sometimes with lateral circular recesses, as at Merivale, sometimes terminated by larger circles, as in not a few instances. Were not these the originals of our grand *ecclesiæ*, which merely repeat and elaborate them by superstructural architecture ? At Lews a circular area receives the four portions of the cross, as at St. Paul's Cathedral. At Merivale we find apparently the lateral cathedral chapels ; and in many instances, of which a circle on Dartmoor is one, there is the circular chamber to the west or the north, leading to the avenue, with its more sacred directions of the east or south, the directions of the rise and greatest eleva-

tion of the sun,—the counterparts in plan of several churches of the Templars, who were drawn from the oldest families in the land ; who brought with them into and retained in their Christianity an intense love for the *clachan* of Britain, the stone circle in short, the *galgal* of Armorica, and the *gilgal* of Phœnicia. If it be thought that because these things are so widely separated by time it is absurd to illustrate their connection, or that I am digressing by referring to constructions while on the subject of the *κάρνυξ*, I would point out that they are intimately associated, the very summons at the castle gates, with which I commenced, being merely the retention of the custom of the Hebrews, who sounded their trumpets on the opening of the gates of the temple to summon the Levites and officers to their posts, not dissimilar in intent to the summons to Jericho. It is not improbable that the splendid Keltic horns found in Ireland, Scotland, etc., were sacred horns, used in ceremonies connected with their religious temples.

The Hebrews not being an inventive people, which the Keltæ were, the probability of originality of these instruments is, I think, in favour of the latter. Nations coeval in antiquity with the Keltæ, as the Calmuck mountaineers, in common with the Helvetii, use horns of great length, ten feet or more ; and in the case of the Calmucks, for sacred music and by the priests alone. The horn was in equal esteem by the Syrians, and is to this day retained by some oriental tribes as an article of ornamental attire for the female headdress, but in a straight form, and as a single horn. The horns of iron made by the false prophet were clearly to indicate that he claimed to be inspired by the goddess of the Canaanites ; and the subtle wisdom of Mahomet was no more clearly displayed than in the adoption of the former emblem of the Sabeian worship, the double horn or crescent, as a badge to be worn above the forehead, on the turban of the prophet and his descendants.

When applicable, the horn was used to designate places, as promontories and crescent bays, which then became sacred, as the Golden Horn at Constantinople, Cornu-Wales, etc.; and it has been retained by the Helvetii to this day, to distinguish pointed peaks of mountains, as the Matterhorn, Eggishorn, etc. Some of the mountains so called, however, are not pointed, and it seems to me the name has

been applied from the higher mountains catching the horns or rays of the rising sun. It is worth consideration whether the district of Cornwall was not named Belerium by the Latins and certain writers in Greek, as the Sicilian, in reference to the Beltain, sun, or Baal worship; and whether the "Cornu", though apparently more modern, does not represent the old popular feeling of Astarteian worship.

But I must conclude by bringing the matter a little nearer home. Your esteemed countryman,—I use the word specially in a local sense now, as it will, no doubt, be claimed in a national sense by others both now and hereafter,—Professor Robert Hunt, F.R.S., has done me the honour, for the sake of our old friendship, to give me some manuscript additions to his interesting book, the *Romances and Drolls of the West of England*, and amongst these I find a reference to the Furrey Dance, or festival to commemorate the getting rid of a real dragon at Helstone. But the Furrey Dance is, as Professor Hunt explains, a corruption of the Flora Dance, a dance in honour of Flora. The ceremony is, or used to be, enlivened by the blowing of horns and so forth. Now on reference to my paper in the *Journal* of this Association, read at the Congress at Wolverhampton in 1872, it will be seen that Dr. Bloxam of Oxford informed me, in response to some inquiries, that the horn-blowing and chanting on the church tower of Magdalen College, Oxford, was also in honour of Flora; so that we have the Keltic horn in full vigour even to-day at Oxford, and perhaps not yet discontinued at Helstone; while the church tower, whether we take the Brittany legends or those of Cornwall, and I believe a little searching would show of Oxford too, has always been the favourite resort of the demon dragons which, like those in the Golden Legend, attacked the Cathedral in Strasbourg when Lucifer and the powers of the air were endeavouring to pull down the cross. But it is apparent that the coming of Flora was the driving away of the dark demon of winter, and the restoration of nature to a state of rejoicing and song. While the Keltic horn at all times appears as a mystic weapon, from the time when used in the attack on Jericho, it was the messenger of evil to the bad and of rejoicing to the good; it has even announced the doom of the one, and been a cornucopia of blessing and abundance to the other.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

The Llangollen Congress.—*The British Architect* for August 24 contains the following interesting forecast of the Congress just concluded at Llangollen: "Whatever may have been the motive for selecting Llangollen as the scene of the thirty-fourth meeting of the British Archæological Association, there can be no doubt as to the happiness of the choice. Few places can offer, within a moderate circuit, such varied charms of scenery, antiquity, history, and tradition. There is Llangollen itself, the busy, quaint little town with its bridge—an enlargement of a fourteenth century structure regarded as one of the seven wonders of Wales,—its ancient church, and its still more ancient fortress perched on the high crest of Dinas Brân. Here, since the dim past of the British period, this mountain-fort has lorded it over the vale below, where the Dee rolls along its turbulent and noisy stream. The dismantled ruin with its steep ascent is a striking memorial of the dark ages, and in its present fallen state an evidence of the peace and security of a more law-abiding era. Yet Castell Dinas Brân, frowning darkly on its mountain height, has its tender associations; for here, in the fourteenth century, lived the lovely Myfanwy Fechan, who enthralled the heart of the bard who has immortalised her beauty and accomplishments. Imagination can still conjure up the vision of the 'lovely flower of Trevor's race' as she appeared when Howel first saw the little lady clad in her scarlet robes of state. The bright ringlets of Myfanwy are only remembered now by the glowing praises of the despised lover. If Love has scaled the rocky heights of Crow Castle, Friendship has rendered sacred the vale below and that low-roofed cot where the two ladies in their quaint costumes

'Abode so long :

Sisters in love, a love allowed to climb,

Even on this earth, above the reach of time.'

Friendship is democratic. The two noble ladies who in mutual amity

and antipathy of the marriage state made their home at Plas Newydd, now sleep in the same grave as their faithful servitor.

"From Llangollen there is easy access to many places of interest. There is Gresford, formerly known as Croes-fordd, the Road of the Cross. It has memorials of Templars and of the Trevors, and font and stained glass, said to be the spoil of Basingwerk Abbey. Near the village is an ancient camp; and the birthplace of Samuel Warren will have attractions for those who remember the literary ability of *Ten Thousand a Year*. There is Wrexham with its fine ancient church (recently restored), its peal of bells from the famous foundry of the Rudhalls, and still more famous epitaph,—

‘Here lies five babes and children dear,
Three at Oswestry and two here.’

"The archæologists will be able to visit Offa's Dyke, the ancient boundary which marked off the kingdom of Mercia from its Welsh assailants. The poet who has sung in (so far) enduring numbers the Worthiness of Wales, says:

‘There is a famous thing,
Cal'ed Offa's Dyke, that reacheth farre in length;
All kind of ware the Danes might thether bring.
It was free ground, and cal'ed the Britaine's strength.
Wat's Dyke likewise about the same was set,
Betweene which two bothe Danes and Britaines met,
And trafficke still; but passing boundes by sleight,
The one did take the other pris'ner streight.’

"Chirk Castle, with memories reaching to the early parts of the eleventh century, must once have been a strong and powerful fortress, but was greatly shattered by the battering it received from the soldiers of Cromwell. In 1595 it was the property of Sir Thomas Myddleton, brother of the famous Sir Hugh, the projector of the New River. Not only is the exterior interesting, recalling, as it does, by its massive strength, the martial days of Wales, but the interior also, which has received the impress of the genius of Pugin, and contains many pictures and relics. From the summit the eye commands a view of seventeen counties, whilst close by is the valley of the Ceiriog, where Owen Gwynedd inflicted defeat upon the invading forces of Henry II.

"The picturesque ruins of Valle Crucis will attract many visitors, who will look with interest upon all that now remains of the magnificent pile, founded at the commencement of the thirteenth century by Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor, the lord of Dinas Brân. The Cistercian monks did not neglect beauty of situation in their choice of site. The Vale of the Cross, with the monastery nestling in it, must have been in the middle ages a little oasis of peace, amidst the turbulence of the secular

world by which it was surrounded. The abbey is now sadly shorn of its ancient glory, but enough remains to give some intimation of its former estate. The plan can be dimly made out of the ancient structure.

"The Corwen district is intimately connected with the name of the heroic Glendower, the site of whose ancient home is one of the visits planned by the Association. Glendower's seat, Glendower's sword, Glendower's retreat, on every side the patriotic memory of Wales recalls the traditionary fame of her chieftain. The church of Corwen and the British fortress of Gaer will also receive attention, as well as the chapel of Rug, once elaborately ornamented and associated with the race of Fechan, who have given so many notabilities to the principality. Dolgelly has its traditionary parliament house, in which Glendower signed his treaty with the King of France. Bala—the Lake of Beauty—has acquired a new and classic interest from its association with the name of Tennyson, who is said to have first sung those songs of Arthur and Guinivere, of Galahad and Elaine, by its shores. The manor house of Rhywaeodg, Palé, the church of Llanderfel, and the pre-historic stone circle of Tyfos will also be visited.

"From Llangollen also the archæologists will make an excursion to the Vale of Clwyd, where they may say with Drayton—

‘Those hills whose hoary heads seem in the clouds to dwell,
Of aged become young enamoured with the smell
Of odouriferous flowers on thy most precious lap.’

The route will be through the beautiful Glendwŷfyrdwy, catching glimpses of Telford's mountain road and of the places associated with the name of Owen Glendower, to Corwen, and thence to Denbigh, Llanrhaiadr, and Derwen.

"Denbigh itself has much of interest. Dominating over the centre of the vale, the castle standing on a limestone-covered acclivity, must, in its days of strength, have bid defiance to those who would injure the busy town which clustered beneath its shadow. It was here that Llewellyn held council with the chieftains who were doomed to defeat at the hands of Edward I. It was a halting-place of Charles I, and was gallantly defended in his interest by Colonel Salusbury. The strong construction of the walls would strike dismay into the heart of a "jerry" builder. The lover of folk-lore may speculate upon its goblin well, and on the unfinished chapel, which the fairies prevented Robert Dudley, the favourite of Elizabeth, from finishing.

"We have not even now gone through all the programme which the archæologists have set before them. There can be no doubt as to its variety and attraction. If fine weather be granted them, they will add

to the store of learning, and in after days look back with pleasure to their brief sojourn in a district where

‘The sunlight falls on castle walls
And snowy summits old in story ;
The long light shakes across the lakes,
And the wild cataract leaps in glory.’”

Archæologia Adelensis: A History of the Parish of Adel, in Yorkshire.

By Henry Trail Simpson, M.A., late rector of Adel.—The object of the writer is to impart information and obtain criticism on a subject of deep interest to all lovers of antiquity. The various relics of times gone by with which the neighbourhood of Leeds still abounds, testifying to an existence of some 3,000 or 4,000 years, have been almost accidentally brought before the notice of the writer of the work in question, who is of opinion that he owes it a duty to the public to lay the matter before them. His statements are not merely theoretical, but founded on fact; on objects still existing and to be seen, which therefore can be referred to and opinion formed as to their origin, design, and value. He hopes, therefore, to meet with support in the endeavour to make his views known.

The various modes of worship, as practised all over the known world in the earliest ages, here by their remains exist to attest their former presence amongst the races then inhabiting the British Islands. The ancient British sculptured rocks, especially of Northumberland, so ably illustrated by Mr. George Tate, here receive their elucidation, as do the cup and other rock marks—so long a question with the archæologist. The true meaning of the phallic worship (to this day largely practised in the East) is set forth; the origin of the solar worship is defined; the existence of the serpent worship (once universal) is also attested; the fire worship and the sacrificial worship of Baal want nothing but living votaries to prove their reality. Remnants of these and other important vestiges of heathen worship and manners are still extant, and when coupled with the singular and beautiful little Norman church of Adel, replete with choice sculpture, and rare and curious symbolism of the age A.D. 1130, transferring us from the dark ages of the heathen (corrupters of revealed religion, though bearing its traces) to the brighter age of Christianity, elucidating that religion; whilst apparently adverse to it, the full halo of pure religion seems to encircle us, and to testify to the wisdom and goodness of that Supreme Being who in His providence ordereth all things for our good. Some curiously sculptured stones, of great antiquity and monumental character, discovered by the author a few years ago at the foundations of Adel Church, and about which there is much dispute, are noticed in the *Archæological Journal*, p. 77, No. 105. 1870.

Collection Carauda. Paris: MM. Champion, Dumoulin, and Leroux.—Fifty coloured plates, in folio, illustrating the prehistoric, Gaulish, Roman, and Frankish epochs, as revealed by sepulchral discoveries at Carauda, convey alike much valuable information for the archæological student and credit to the discernment and liberality of the explorers, MM. Frederic and Moreau. The Necropolis of Carauda, which has yielded to the researches of these gentlemen such an abundant harvest, is situated in the territory of Cierges, at ten kilomètres from the town of Fère-en-Tardenois (Aisne). It contained 2,600 sepultures, which are classified as 300 Gaulish, 100 Gallo-Roman, and 2,200 Frankish or Merovingian. On a future occasion we hope to be able to convey some idea of the peculiarities of this important work; at present we can only announce and recommend it.

Excavations at Carnac, Brittany. By James Miln. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1877.—Of this work *The Times* says: “Excavations near Carnac would lead us to expect some new facts about those mysterious landmarks of prehistoric times, the menhirs and dolmens with which the sterile Breton coast south of Auray is studded for miles. The recent investigations, however, which form the subject of the volume before us, are almost entirely limited to certain mounds in a district called the Bossenno, lying immediately to the south of the long undulating line of menhirs which passes north of Carnac towards the river Crach. The Bossenno, which the author derives from the Breton *bossen*, a mound or heap, is a name applied to a cluster of mounds occupying an area estimated at 6,578 yards. Seven of these mounds were carefully excavated by Mr. Miln, and disclosed the remains of buildings which are clearly of the late Gallo-Roman period.

“One of these, constructed with great care and finer materials than the others, the author considers to be an example of what Columella calls the *villa urbana*, or residence of the landowner. It communicated with a set of baths and a small building which, from the number of little terra-cotta votive figures found in it, may have been a *lararium*, or private chapel. Another building, constructed of coarser materials, may have been a *villa agraria*, such as labourers dwelt in; and near it were the remains of a blacksmith’s shop, in which the fireplace with cinders and scoræ, the trough alongside it, and quantities of iron, still remain. In the group of buildings of which this blacksmith’s shop formed a part was a bullock’s iron shoe having three square-headed nails on each side. The evidence of this shoe and of the bones of oxen found in the other mounds shows that the ancient breed of oxen in this part of France was a small one, probably of the same family as the contemporary *bos longifrons* of our British ancestors. All this group of habitations laid bare by the excavation of these mounds were

surrounded by an irregular *enceinte* formed by a talus of earth, within which were found, in places, remains of a wall 5 feet high, and as many broad, built with large undressed stones. The building supposed to be the *villa urbana* was of rectangular form, measuring 62 feet by 47 feet, and containing three large apartments, flanked by a corridor on one side, and some small rooms, probably bedchambers (*cubicula*) on the other. The external walls, 24 inches thick, were very solidly built of small square blocks with layers of tile at intervals. Under the best apartment was a hypocaust covered with layers of cement 6 inches thick, which formed the floor of the room above. Many fragments of painted stucco showed that all these rooms had been decorated in the usual Roman taste. In the baths attached to this villa, one of the apartments (supposed to be the *frigidarium*) was decorated with patterns wrought by embedding small shells in the painted stucco. The design of a ceiling thus ornamented resembles that of contemporary Roman mosaic pavement. At Pompeii may be seen examples of this application of shells as an ornament.

"The antiquities found in these buildings were for the most part those which constantly recur in the exploration of Roman sites in this country. As usual, we have Samian ware distinguished by the preservation of its glaze, its general fineness of fabric, and the classical reminiscences which appear in its designs; pseudo-Samian ware, probably the work of Gallo-Roman potters unacquainted with the secret of the celebrated red glaze; and native ware of a much ruder fabric. There were also a few remains of glass vessels and beads for necklaces, among which are noted some fragments of window-glass. In the supposed *lararium* were many little terra-cotta figures representing a nude Venus or a draped goddess seated in a basket-chair, and suckling sometimes one, sometimes two infants. This latter type, corresponding with the *Gaia Kourotrophos* of Greek mythology, occurs sometimes in Roman sites in England. The only other object worthy to rank as a work of art was a small bronze bull, probably votive. The other metallic objects were not remarkable. With implements in iron, in bronze, and bone, some few of stone were found.

"The corn was ground in handmills of granite and conglomerate. As usual in Roman sites, immense quantities of oyster and other shells of edible molluscs showed a marked preference for this kind of food. The Armorican coast was then, as now, celebrated for its oysters. With these shells were found the bones of oxen, sheep, red deer, rabbits and hares, and boars' tusks. The tooth of a bear had been ingeniously constructed into a whistle. Hunting and fishing probably formed the principal occupation of the inhabitants; and the variety of dogs kept is shown by the footprints of these quadrupeds still visible on many of the bricks, and which range in scale from a great hound to

a lapdog. The coins found in the Bossenno belong to the period (nearly two centuries) between the reign of Marcus Aurelius and the death of Magnentius, A.D. 353. It was in the latter part of the fourth century, according to history, that the towns and villages of Gaul were constantly burnt and pillaged by the invasions of barbarians by sea and land. It was then that the inhabitants, to protect themselves from these inroads, surrounded their dwelling-places with walls and *enceintes*, such as may still be seen round the Bossenno. The houses excavated by Mr. Miln had been evidently consumed by fire; and he supposes their destruction to have occurred early in the fifth century, when Armorica revolted from the Romans. As no Christian emblems were found on this site, it seems probable that the inhabitants were still pagans at the time when their village was destroyed.

"Such is the evidence of Gallo-Romano civilisation which the author of the volume before us has collected with scrupulous care, and arranged in a very clear and intelligible form. The illustrations, executed by French artists with a refinement and accuracy which our publishers would do well to emulate, largely contribute to the value and interest of the work. We hope that the author will continue his Armorican researches, and endeavour by further excavation to fix the age of the menhirs and dolmens in relation to the Gallo-Roman villages. It would seem, from some slight tentative diggings which were made by Mr. Miln at the foot of several of the smaller menhirs in the Bossenno, that their base was propped up with rough stones, and that underneath them were fragments of Samian pottery, and under the pottery a rich black soil. He states that in recent years cinerary vases, ashes, and charcoal, have been found under a few of the menhirs, from which it may be inferred that some of them have been sepulchral monuments."

Roman Villa at Preston.—A discovery of an interesting nature to archæologists has been made at Preston, the northern suburb of Brighton, in the remains of a Roman villa. These were brought to light during the progress of excavations for building purposes, and were found at a depth of between 2 ft. and 3 ft. from the surface. They consist principally of a quantity of Mosaic pavement, several large portions of which have been preserved intact; many fragments of pottery, of good workmanship, and a number of bronze and copper coins, not yet classified. A small vase of reddish colour was found unbroken.

The excavations are being proceeded with very carefully, and as they are not finished, the area occupied by the place is not yet determined. The foundations of the walls already laid bare show that it was of considerable extent; the walls themselves have been

preserved in all their brightness. Some months ago, whilst similar works were going on within about fifty yards of the site in question, a bronze coin, *circa* A.D. 160, was picked up; and it is hoped that, as the present works proceed, further relics will be unearthed. The site is within a mile or two of a well known Roman fortified place, Hollingbury Camp, one of the circle of camps formed to guard the harbour of Portus Adurni, now known as Aldrington.

St. Alban's Abbey.—For some time past workmen have been busily engaged in excavating the floor of the nave, and around the bases of the great piers of the south arcade; these latter spaces have been filled with concrete, as a preparatory measure to the erection of the ponderous trusses and shoring with which it is intended to lift off the roof. We understand that at the junction of the Early English work of Abbot Trumpton with that of the Decorated of Abbots Hugh de Eversden and Richard Wallingford, the roof will be severed, and, by means of powerful screws, the western portion, about 120 ft. long, lifted off the walls. The next proceeding, after centring all the arches with massive timbers, will be the critical one of forcing the whole mass of Trumpton's work, the triforium and clerestory, with all its beautiful arcades, to an upright position. As this wall now leans over 2 ft. 4 ins. towards the south, and is upwards of 80 ft. in height, much anxiety is manifested as to the success of the undertaking. Iron ties from north to south will be inserted in two tiers through the spandrils, with coupling screws in the middle, as were so successfully used in repairing the great central tower; the three tiers of raking shores already in position will be added to considerably, and four hydraulic rams will be used simultaneously with powerful screw-jacks and other mechanical appliances to move the great mass. Raking shores will be applied inside the building at every vantage point, and two enormous horizontal trusses, the whole area of the section of the nave under repair, will be placed at the heights of 30 ft. and 50 ft. respectively, in order to regulate the distance to which the arcading is to be forced. Every precaution is being taken to render the bold undertaking a successful one.

After the wall has assumed its upright position, the roof will be lowered on it in its proper place, and meanwhile four flying buttresses will be constructed to keep up the work so moved. These buttresses will be very massive, the abutments above ground projecting no less than 9 ft. from the south wall, with, of course, foundations far beyond. In excavating for the westernmost of these, the workmen have unearthed the foundations of one of the great western towers, which was begun to be built by Abbot John de Cella about A.D. 1209. The whole of the five western bays of the south aisle are to be groined, as of old, the former groining having been destroyed, and the roof of this aisle is to assume

its ancient high pitch. After these works are completed, the next section to undergo repair will be the four bays of the nave next eastward. The piers here of Hugh de Eversden, which were erected after the great fall of this portion of the abbey in 1323, show signs of weakness, being split vertically in many places. At present, as a precautionary measure, and with the view of preventing danger from any possible additional weight being thrown on them, it is intended to grip them with trussed balks, strongly bolted together.

With all these works, the restoration of the dilapidated western front must not be lost sight of. Here were once to be seen three grand porches, the like of which, for architectural beauty, were not to be found in the kingdom. The great central porch is in fair preservation, and with some repair will again be secure; but the two flanking porches, now hidden from the public by the hideous blocking up of their fronts, are in a sad state of dilapidation and decay. Any one who will picture these three beautiful porches, with crocketed pediments and finials, flanked by two grand towers; the two noble Early English turrets, now cut off level with the top of the walls, and not seen, standing proudly above the roof; the high-pitched gable of the nave, now sadly and undignifiedly cut down—if his imagination have been assisted by a visit to Wells Cathedral, or some other similar English and Continental great churches—will be able to realise what a thing of grandeur the western front of St. Alban's Abbey must have been.

Cleopatra's Needle.—Perhaps one of the most interesting undertakings with regard to the preservation of archæological remains that has been set on foot of late years, is the removal of the fallen obelisk, called by some "Cleopatra's Needle", from its site on the sea-shore of Alexandria to the banks of the Thames. There have been of late many public notices of the history and condition of this ancient relic, and we are promised by Dr. Samuel Birch, Keeper of the Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, a paper upon this monument, for future insertion in the pages of our *Journal*. With reference to the attempted removal in 1801-1802, an article embodying a very remarkable document will be found printed in the *Athenæum* of 22 Sept. 1877, whereby it appears that an entirely different method of carriage was at that time contemplated. This plan would probably have been successful had it not been prevented from completion by some of the military authorities of the day. On the abandonment of the projected transport, a metal plate was deposited between the stones of the pedestal with a suitable inscription, the reading on which was unknown, or hardly known, until a copy was found by the writer of the article mentioned above, among the MSS. of the British Museum. As

this inscription is of consequence in the history of the Needle, we reproduce it here for the benefit of our members :

“ In the Year of the Christian *Æra*
1798

The Republic of France

Landed on the Shores of Egypt an Army of 40,000 men
Commanded by their most able and successful General
Buonparte

The Conduct of the Generals and the Valor of the Troops
Effected the Entire Subjugation of that Country
But under Divine Providence it was reserved for the British Nation
To annihilate their Ambitious Designs
Their Fleet was Attacked Defeated and Destroyed
In Aboukir Bay

By a British Fleet of Equal Force
Commanded by Admiral Lord Nelson
Their intended Conquest of Syria
Was counteracted at Acre
By a most Gallant Resistance

Under Commodore Sir Sydney Smith
And Egypt was rescued from their Dominion
By a British Army inferior in Numbers But
Commanded by General Sir Ralph Abercromby
Who landed at Aboukir on the 8th of March, 1801
Defeated the French on several Occasions
Particularly in a most Decisive Action near Alexandria
On the 21st of that Month

When they were driven from the Field
And Forced to shelter themselves
In their Garrisons of Cairo and Alexandria
Which places subsequently surrendered
By Capitulation

To Record to future Ages these Events
And to commemorate the Loss sustained
By the Death of

Sir Ralph Abercromby
Who was Mortally Wounded
On that memorable Day

Is the design of this Inscription
Which was Deposited here In the Year of Christ 1802—
By the British Army on their Evacuating this Country
And restoring it to the Turkish Empire—”.

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TRACES OF THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF DAMNONIA OUTSIDE CORNWALL.

BY THOMAS KERSLAKE.

CORNWALL is so rich in the material and visible objects of antiquarian interest, that a less substantial but scarcely less obvious archaic peculiarity, which indeed would alone be enough to give eminence to almost any county, has scarcely yet been asked what it has to tell us. This is the almost undisturbed inheritance of the hagiology of its earliest Christian inhabitants, as preserved in those ancient unwritten records, the dedications of its churches. In this it continues almost unrivalled by either of the others of those Celtic parts of the kingdom that retained their distinct language down to recent times.

Among above two hundred remaining dedications of ancient churches in Cornwall, about three-fourths are national or Celtic, and the names are of so local a character that if met with in any other part of England they would have an uncommon sound which would excite special inquiry. This large majority are undoubtedly more ancient than the smaller number that are common to all Christendom and have come into this province by later influences. They were chiefly intended to honour the memory of some benefactor who was obvious to the people of his neighbourhood by some substantial and manifest act, such as the conversion of the district, or martyrdom in the attempt. They were not formal canonisations decreed by any supreme hierarchy, but the spontaneous testimony of gratitude for a sudden admission to a higher civilisation, by contemporaries whose

own eyes had beheld the great social contrast thereby effected. This patriotic and primitive system was gradually discontinued in later times in favour of the more Catholic one, in which the greater names of the apostolic times were preferred. But it can hardly be said to have been extinguished even in very late times, nor even in England at large ; where, for instance, St. Thomas of Canterbury at one period very much prevailed : and in Cornwall itself, at Falmouth, is a dedication of King Charles the Martyr, whose letter of thanks to his devoted Cornish followers is so proudly copied at full length in the most conspicuous place in many of the churches in the county. This loyal dedication is also found just outside the county border, near Plymouth. There are other examples in the Peak, Derbyshire, at Newtown, Salop, and at Tunbridge Wells.

Among these ancient Celtic dedications in Cornwall, besides what may be properly Damnonian or native, are found a considerable admixture of Armorican, Cambrian, and Irish, as might have been expected from the well-ascertained intercourse of these peoples with Damnonia. The Armoricans, West Britons, and South Cambrians, indeed, seem to have had many of these saints in common, whilst those from Ireland are more the result of missionary settlements along both shores of the great south-western estuary of the Severn.

These old dedications are looked upon by many as if they were only caused by something like the mere whims of name-fanciers in later times. Would a West-Saxon name-fancier consecrate a spot of ground in honour of a personage only known among a people whom the West-Saxons have obliterated at that spot for twelve centuries or more ? Yet we find not only Cornish dedications in England, still surviving under West-Saxon rule ; and even those of the other independent Anglian kingdoms of what was called the Heptarchy, and which were afterwards annexed by the West-Saxons, which commemorate the names of saints that were the peculiar favourites of dynasties that were early extinguished, and of course forgotten. When an inscribed stone is found with the name and legion of a Roman soldier of the fourth century, it is made a great treasure of : it is contended for by museums, and exactly recorded, not only in English publications, but in the critical collections of

Europe. In these church dedications we have, in almost every parish, the name of a distinguished Briton or Irishman, or even of an Englishman, in Cornwall in the fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth century. Here, all over the land, are the names of men, and women too, that have for from a thousand to fifteen hundred years been grafted into the soil upon which their deeds, either of patriotism or of other motives which in their day were esteemed the most illustrious virtues, were performed or admired in the very places where their names still remain. But an inscribed stone may have lost much of its testimony by having been removed from its place, or it may have been converted by a chisel to a false witness. These dedications are the similarly significant monuments of a later but much darker period—that period which represents the overlap of the Celtic and Teutonic races in the occupation of the land. Of this period it is believed they are nearly the most fruitful record: certainly the most fruitful one of the local progress of this revolution, since they are immovably adherent to their places. They cannot be removed to a museum; and if they could, their record would be lost in the process. But in their places they are even more durable than stones and mortar. An architectural antiquary would say, "That church is no older than the fourteenth century or the fifteenth century." He is mistaken. What he sees is only the last of five or six renewals or repairs of the outward costume of the church, which has itself been far more durable than the stones in which it has been made manifest. The place set apart under the name of the patron saint is the actual institution, and is most likely of the fifth, sixth, or seventh century. The succession of buildings is only its necessary implement, renewed over and over again when worn out; and the protest of this intrinsic antiquity is, perhaps, more fully due to the churches of Cornwall than to those of most other parts of the island.

A detailed analysis of the topographical distribution of the dedications within the present county, would most likely yield some valuable results. It would probably show the first missionary centres in relation to their surrounding off-spring, besides bringing to light some other incidents in the ethnical history of the people. But it would be too large a business for the present occasion. Even among the other

fourth part, which at first sight might seem to be Catholic or non-national, some are really national saints of names similar to well known Catholic ones, whilst others have owed their adoption to national influences, or their introduction to ancient intercourse with other Celtic peoples with whom they had already become favourites. Thus there can be no doubt that those of St. Paul do not commemorate the great apostle of that name, but St. Paul or St. Pol, Bishop of Leon in Armorica, who was indeed, in family relations, intimately connected with insular British Cornwall; and although the St. Martins are here even fewer in proportion than in the most English of counties into which his name has come through later continental influences, yet in this county they are probably due to a more ancient relation of Armorica with the diocese of Tours. A few St. Martins are found in South Wales, but scarcely any in North Wales. St. Mary is, of course, plentiful within Cornwall as everywhere; but from what cause is it that St. Peter, although from time immemorial the patron of what King Edward the Confessor made the head church of the province, and is most numerous in English England, has scarcely a trace in Cornwall? And yet in the county Peter is proverbially common as a Christian name of men, and has even become a surname, for Cornwall is the cradle of the family name Peters. Others of these Catholic names are also found coupled with national names, having, perhaps, been added to them under later English dominance; and even where the Catholic name now remains alone, some national name with which in this manner it had been connected may have gradually dropped out of use among people with whom it was less familiar than the later one. Some, foreigners may have attached to churches subject to foreign religious houses, as in the case of St. Michael's Mount; though the other St. Michaels may be fairly attributed to the natural frequency of this dedication in all mountainous regions.

That more prolific field of this inquiry, the condensed mass of Celtic dedications, still at home within the present county of Cornwall, will not, however, form a part of the present consideration.¹ All that can here be done will be

¹ This was originally intended to be included, but it has since been found that the hagiological topography of the interior of the county had been already investigated, especially the Irish, with his characteristic ingenuity and acute-

to glance at the more scattered outliers or external repetitions of them, which may be safely reckoned to be traces of the ancient kingdom of Damnonia, still surviving outside the present confines of Cornwall, and which may be some indication of the original extent of it ; and at the same time, to mention some that attest the intercourse with South Cambria, and the missionary influence of Ireland, along the southern shore of the Bristol Channel, as far up as where that estuary contracts, so as to become practically the line of contact between Cambria and Damnonia.

St. Nectan, the dedication of the place in Cornwall called from it Nighton, is repeated in Devon at Hartland, and again in its subject church of Welcombe, on the north-west coast of Devon. This dedication is not found in Wales, and that at Hartland is said to be the parent or shrinal one, marking the burial place of the saint. Although a Celtic dedication, the church of Hartland may be of some service to later Saxon history, in helping to certify an incident of the Norman conquest. When William the Conqueror approached Exeter from the east, Ghida, the mother of Harold, was still within the city ; but it has been lately said that when the conquering king made a breach in the wall near the east gate, she and her attendants must have escaped by sea through the quay gate, in the south-west angle of the city, and so have sailed round Cornwall, to one of the Holms in the Bristol Channel—the place where she is next heard of. But it is recorded in *Domesday* that “Hertitone”, that is the town of Hartland, was then her property. It is also known that she placed a small college of secular canons in the already existing sanctuary of St. Nectan there. How much more likely is it that she escaped from Exeter by the north gate—instead of the quay gate—to which “Harold’s Fee”, now the parish of St. Olave, where she must have been living within the city, is contiguous, and by a day’s ride reached Hartland ; from which, or from Clovelly, an easy sea passage would have landed her on one of the Holms ?

ness, by the Rev. John Whitaker. (*Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall*, 1804, 4to, 2 vols.) The late Rev. John Adams, vicar of Stockcross, Berks, has also, since the Congress, informed the writer that he had in a forward state a small volume on the biographical and legendary history of these Damnonian and Armorican saints, in which he intended “to show that these old saints are really historical”. Meanwhile the Hibernian careers and genealogical connections of the Irish immigrants are being developed with very great learning and national research by the Rev. J. F. Shearman in a series entitled “Loca Patriciana” in the *Journal of the Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*.

In her journey across Devon she would pass others of the manors of herself and of Harold, as Molland, Tawton, Torrington; and as King William reached Exeter from the east, the entire northward journey would be through her own partisans.

The original Celtic dedication of the sanctuary, upon which the great abbey of Tavistock was engrafted, was St. Rumon, or Ruan, which has three repetitions within Cornwall, and one at Romansleigh, Devon, in the Dartmoor district, south of South Molton. Tavistock was his shrine, or burying place,¹ but the dedication of the enlarged monastic foundation became St. Mary and St. Rumon. This is one of many transitional examples of the manner in which the primitive, national, or tribal dedications were supplanted by the later Catholic or hierarchical system. The more ancient dedicated sanctuary and altar having been absorbed into the greater refoundation, the older name was tolerated in a subordinate place as a politic concession to the hold it had made in the veneration of the neighbourhood, whose offerings were still worth having. The name of the parish of Romansleigh seems to have been taken, by a careful antiquary of the last generation, to be an indication of a Roman road: an inference which an attention to the dedication of the church might have prevented.

St. Budeock, an Armorican bishop of the seventh century, had a dedication at Lanivet and another near Penryn. This is twice repeated in Devon, near Plymouth, and in a chapel at Egg-Buckland. The name of Bude can scarcely be doubted to represent an extinct one there, and most likely another, also extinct, at Bideford, written "Budeford" by Leland. St. Constantine, King of Damnonia in the sixth century, whose dedication gives name to a place in Cornwall, is repeated in Devon at Milton Abbot; and is also found in Glamorgan, and again in distant Carnarvonshire. St. David, notoriously so plentiful 'in South Wales, is not to be found in North Wales; but has found his way across the Channel into the north of Cornwall: has three surviving places in Devon, and at least one in Somerset. St. Keverne, Kerian, or Pieran, an Irish name well ascertained to be identical, is well known in Cornwall, by dedications in all

¹ See the Anglo-Saxon Catalogue of Shrines (Hickes, *Diss. Epist.*, p. 120), where he is called "bisceop".

three forms of the name. St. Kerian reappears in the British quarter of the city of Exeter, and as Piran in the chapel of Cardiff Castle : his name is still well known in Ireland, his own country, where it remains at Saint Kyran,¹ near Parsonstown. There is a parish, St. Kerrien, near Quimperlé, Brittany.

St. Non, the mother of St. David, has nearly as many memorials in Cornwall as in South Wales, and one at Bradstone, within Devon. St. Petrock has quite as many places in Devon—eight at least, including one in British Exeter—as he has in Cornwall itself ; but nowhere else in England. He is also found in Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, and Carnarvonshire.

Some years ago a lively discussion arose, in which some of the most distinguished antiquaries took part, but without any satisfactory result : what is the analogy or connection between “Barum” and “Sarum”, often used instead of the names of Barnstaple and Salisbury ? The true answer would have been that there is no analogy at all : and the only connection is that except the first of each both names are spelled with the same letters. Whatever may have been the cause of Sarum, Barum is no more than one of the conditions of the name of St. Brynach, the Irishman who accompanied the Welsh Regulus, Brychan, in the fifth century, on his return from Ireland, when Brychan founded the kingdom of Brecknock : a name which includes his own. The northern cheek of Barnstaple Bay is formed by a peninsula, the centre of which is what is now a village, with a church having St. Brannock for its dedication. The village was formerly called Brannockstow, but now Braunton, and the hundred of Braunton comprises the entire peninsula. On the inner shore of the peninsula, and at the head of the estuary which divides it from the main land, is the flourishing town of Barnstaple—the port, mart, or stapol of the district of Barum, Braun, or Brannock—a district which has Braunton for its ancient centre or church town. The family name “Braund”, frequent in this neighbourhood, is no doubt another reduction of the saint’s name. On the other side of the Channel, St. Brynach has six dedications in Brecknock, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Pembroke. A charter of Æthelbald gave to Glastonbury a place

¹ Kindly communicated by the Rev. J. F. Shearman.

called "Bramuncminster", "Braunciminster", or "Brannocmynstre".¹

Proceeding along the south coast of the Bristol Channel into Somerset, on the western headland of Porlock Bay we reach the village of Culbone, of which "St. Culbone" is the unique dedication of the church. Leland² writes the name "*Comban*, peradventure shortely spoken for *Columbane*". When the neighbouring associations, which will presently be before the reader, shall be considered, there will be no difficulty in believing that Leland's surmise was so near being right, that this is a repetition of the Cornish dedications of the virgin martyr St. Columba. There appear to have been several virgin saints of this name, and the one who claims the Cornish dedications might have been the one who gives name to a parish in the diocese of Rennes, except that this would make the festival day at St. Columb's, Cornwall, at variance with the ancient Rennes Breviary. In either case this secluded dedication can be only due to Damnonian nationality.

The case of Porlock itself is rather different. This ancient seaport owes its dedication to its intercourse with the opposite Cambrian coast. The church is known by the name of St. Dubricius or Dyvrig, among the most distinguished names not only in Welsh hagiology, but in the history of the diocese of Llandaff in the fifth century. Several of his dedications remain in the Liberty of Irchenfield, on the Wye, the most active stage of his career. One of these is, no doubt, preserved in the qualified name of the parish of St. Devereux, although, except in the name of the place, the tradition of this dedication seems to have been lost.³

Adjoining to Porlock is the parish of Stoke-Piro. This is one of about ninety churches of Somersetshire of which the tradition of the patron saint is not recorded; but there can be little doubt that it is obscurely preserved in the suffix of the name, and that it is one of those British saints that have escaped the temptation of the resemblance to being transmuted to St. Peter. But whether it is the Damnonian St. Pieran, or the St. Pierio of St. Illtyd's congregation in Glamorganshire opposite, may be left open. At St. Pierre in Monmouthshire the last name has been changed to St. Peter. A dedication, St. Peter, at Polperro, Corn-

¹ Hearne, *Jo. Glaston.*, 42, 109, 307.

² *Itin.*, ii, f. 63.

³ See *Lib. Lland.*, 263, etc.

wall, is, no doubt, another example of this transmutation. Collinson¹ says that Stoke-Pero is "so denominated from its ancient lords", and finds that "in the time of Edward I this manor was the property of Gilbert Piro, a name which", he says, "afterwards degenerated into Pero and Perrow". But he mentions no other occupant of the name, the next resident that he mentions being Forster. Such common names as Stoke are often distinguished by that of the tenant in chief, which in this case would have been Mohun; but they are quite as often differenced by their dedications. Gilbert Piro, no doubt, took his surname from the name already attached by the dedication to the place instead of giving his name to it. Manorbeer=Pyr Pembroke-shire, was, perhaps, another of these Celtic names that sometimes have run into "Peter".

St. Decuman or Degeman, another South Wales saint, who has a dedication in Pembroke-shire, and had another in Brecknock, has left his name at the place of his reputed martyrdom, near Watchet, on the north coast of Somerset. Near this is also Carhampton, so named from a Cardigan saint, Carannog or Carantoke. The present church has the dedication of St. John the Baptist; but Leland says the name means "*Carantoke's Towne*, wher yet is a chapel of this Sainct, that sumtyme was the paroch chirche". Here we see the process in action by which it happens that the present dedications are sometimes different from saints' names that are still preserved in the names of the parishes; a later though now ancient church has been built and dedicated, and the forsaken one passes out of memory. This dedication is found also at Crantock in Cornwall; another was formerly a college of canons near Padstow;² also at Llangrannog, Cardiganshire. He was known in Ireland as St. Cernach, being one of the coadjutors of St. David and St. Patrick, who all seem to have been equally at home in Ireland, Wales, Damnonia, and Brittany.

Another name known in Cornwall, and higher up on both sides of the Channel, is St. Kew. This is, indeed, the colloquial English form of St. Ciwg or Gwick, the patron of Llangwick in Glamorganshire. St. Kew in Cornwall is called in the Exeter *Domesday* "Lancichuc", but in reposting by the Exchequer clerks it became "Lanchehoc". The

¹ *Hist. Somerset*, v. ii, p. 42.

² Tanner, x.
53

former holder of this Cornish manor, under King Edward, was of the Welsh name Cadwallad or Cadwallant, the new Norman holder being Berner. On the Somersetshire shore, opposite Glamorganshire, is the village of Kew-Stoke, from which arises a flight of several hundred Cyclopean stone steps leading from the sea to the top of the Worle Hill, which are called St. Kew's Steps. The present church is St. Paul's; but no one can doubt that there has formerly existed here a sanctuary of St. Ciwg.

St. Congar has left at least his fame a long-lived reality in the north-west of Somerset, where his name is included in "Congresbury", the place where he is narrated to have lived as a hermit. The present church is St. Andrew; but that he was a reality in that district is quite certain, for his name is repeated a few miles off as the still living dedication of the church of Badgeworth. That he was buried at Congresbury is expressly attested in one of the very earliest records of the national hagiology extant, the Anglo-Saxon catalogue of the resting-places of saints in England, written in the middle of the eleventh century,¹ "Donne restað sēs Congarus confessor on congres býrig". According to the Gwentian Chronicle he had a monastery on the opposite Welsh shore, destroyed by the Danes in 987, and Capgrave² says that Cyngar founded a monastery of twelve canons in Glamorganshire, dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity. This was probably at Marcross, on the Nash Point, close to Llantwit Major. The dedication of Holy Trinity still remains. There is still a St. Gyngar at Llangefny, Anglesea, and another in Flintshire, and one in the diocese of Vannes, Brittany. Also in Cornwall as St. Gwinear.

Although these archaic survivals of very early conditions of the peoples and races of this country are so obvious and so thickly spread over the western side of the island, yet they have hitherto been little observed by those who have been accustomed to the more eastern counties, who are usually both surprised and amused at the old world stridor of these names. Their urban ears can scarcely apprehend or admit them, and their dulcet tongues and courtly lips might be lacerated by their utterance. Their Gog and Magog and King Lud are the nearest likenesses of them that they have ever heard, and their school boards have

¹ Hickee, *Diss. Epist.*, p. 120.

² Quoted by Usher, *Prim.*, 1639, p. 473.

taught them that these are "mythical"—a condemnation which they readily extend to all names that seem like them. Two of the most widely circulated of the papers, whose voices take their pitch from the melodious boom of the big bell of Bow, are very unlucky in their special disbeliefs. These are the weekly papers known as the *World* and the *Saturday Review*. The first of them, lately giving an account of Porlock, Somerset—in a comic vein, of course, as becomes anything fresh from the west country—winds up with saying that the church is dedicated "to a mythical saint" called Dubricius. It need not be said that St. Dubricius is as actual as Julius Cæsar; and the name of this church is only one of his several substantial vouchers. The other paper¹ tells us how "two rather difficult names in Somerset, Kewstoke and Congresbury, have given birth in local belief to two saints, Kew and Conger, of whom nothing is known in hagiology". The reader of what has been said will see that the words "nothing is known" are an exercise of the writer's privilege to speak for himself.²

One dedication, although not of Celtic origin, was, from some unexplained cause, much used and honoured throughout both Cambrian and Damnonian Britain, especially the latter. This is the joint names of a mother and child—SS. Cyricus and Julitta—martyrs. Of this dedication several still remain in Cornwall, and others, that are extinct, are recorded, making together either five or six in that county, where the name of the child, which is often, but not always, first, is known sometimes as St. Carroch, sometimes as St. Syriac. Leland records a chapel of St. Uletta as yet standing within the dungeon of Tintagel. There are two, if not three in Devon, commonly known as St. Cyres, and at least five in Wales, where it takes the form of Curig and Kirrig. There are also extant six ancient Welsh hymns addressed to them. This dedication is also extant near the Channel, in the north-west corner of Somerset, at Tickenham, near Clevedon, where it is called St. Quiricius and Julitta. The parish church at Lacock, Wilts, has St. Cyricus alone, the

¹ *Sat. Rev.*, Dec. 16, 1876, p. 751.

² The reviewer goes on to fancy how a saint's name might be constructed out of a modern place-name, "Camber"; saying, "but Camber has rather a war-like sound". Most people would be rather reminded of commerce. But Cheselden's born-blind patient, quoted in one of Bishop Berkley's dialogues, made a far better guess, that "scarlet" was "like the sound of a trumpet".

name Julitta having probably dropped out of use. The same is the case with the only example more eastward, at Swaffham, Cambridgeshire. Both these last have been sometimes thought to be St. Cyriac of Rome and his fellow martyrs. There has, however, been a fair at Lacock on July 7, which more nearly agrees with the other festival; and it will be seen that Lacock is supported by our other landmarks of the eastward extent of west Celtic influence. The prevalence of this dedication in these provinces has led to a suggestion that Julitta is a form of Ilyd, a Welsh saint; but this cannot be, for in most of the dedications both names are still mentioned, and they are jointly invoked in each of the six Welsh hymns. Their day is commemorated in western calendars, June 16; but in the Greek Menologium, July 15.

A very curious landmark of the eastward extension of the territory of Damnonia may be inferred from the chartulary of the abbey of Sherborne, Dorset. The first endowment of that famous church consisted of a grant of lands by Kenwalch, the earliest West Saxon invader of Damnonia, at a place called "Lanprobi". This, although the name no longer exists, is found to have been close to Sherborne, and close to the battlefield on which he defeated the Britons, when they fled to the Parrett. It will be seen that Lanprobi must have been the still British name of a place at which there must have been a church of St. Probus; as there is now one in Cornwall. In a terrier of Sherborne Abbey, of the date 1145, this place is again named; but by that time it had taken the English form of "Propeschirche".

St. Paul, above claimed as being Damnonian and Armorican, who has two dedications in Cornwall, has also four in Devon—one of them being in the British quarter of Exeter. There are also three in the north-west part of Somerset, near the sea. Besides these, however, there are fourteen in the interior districts of Somerset; all of these being in conjunction with St. Peter, indicating a later Catholic and post-British origin. There is another name intimately connected with St. Paul of Leon: his kinsman, St. Samson, a Cornishman by birth or extraction, and himself Bishop or Archbishop of Dol, in Armorica, where the church of Dol and others in that province are still under the tutelage of his name. He has also a church in insular

Cornwall, at Golant, between Fowey and Lostwithiel ; and an extinct chapel near Padstow is recorded : also a church in Guernsey, and one in Scilly. Although St. Samson has been, with some amount of testimony, claimed by Wales as a native, and as at some time a member of the College of St. Illtyd, and in co-operation with Dubricius, his name does not remain attached to any church in Wales. It is found, however, in the church of Cricklade, on the confines of Gloucestershire and North Wilts, indicating an extension at least of Damnonian influence to the line that afterwards became a frontier of Mercia. He also appears in the dedication of Milton Abbey, Dorset, in the conjunction St. Mary, St. Michael, St. Samson, and St. Branwallader : and again, most remarkably, as the sole patron of a far distant church within the city of York. Both of these latter incidents of his name claim some further consideration, as possibly having circumstantial qualifications of their being certainly to be reckoned contributory to the general inference here being raised.

The York dedication of St. Samson does not come into the field of our inquiry, and is only mentioned here because it is only right to acknowledge that it exists. It is, however, the only one in England and Wales, except those confined to the south-western counties already mentioned. Some of the Welsh hagiologies make him, for a short time, to have been Archbishop of British York before he was Bishop of Dol. This has been totally denied by many critics, whilst others have thought that another of his name may have held the primacy of York. The Rev. James Raine, however, says of the Bishop of Dol that "it is probable that he was at York, and, singularly enough, there is a church in that city dedicated to him ; the only one, I believe, in England of which he is the patron".¹ This last we have seen is not the case, having mentioned five, but all in the south-west promontory.

The other Samson dedication, of Milton Abbey, is of greater concern to this inquiry ; because if this is an original planting of his name, it would extend the limits of direct Damnonian influence so far eastward into Dorset as to include the vale of Blackmore—not much to wonder at when we recollect St. Probus only a few miles north-west

¹ *Fasti Eboracenses*, i, p. 10.

of it. At any rate the dedication of Milton contains a certain shadow of the true history of the place. It should be remembered that, at the foundations of monasteries or other religious colleges, the dedications of their churches were not of the patriotic kind, but the tutelage of the greater Catholic saints, especially St. Mary, was chosen. The exceptions to this practice were, when the spot had already been occupied by a sanctuary—perhaps a chapel or a hermitage—dedicated to a local saint. In such cases the local name was retained, sometimes alone, but more frequently after the greater names imported for the new foundation. Most likely the older and smaller sanctuaries, with their altars, were preserved; and the larger new buildings, with their new altars and their new dedications added to them. Of these accumulated dedications of monasteries there are many examples. Thus Bodmin, like Milton founded by King Athelstan, also had its original patronage of St. Petrock enlarged to St. Mary and St. Petrock, and the case of Tavistock has been already mentioned: there is also St. Peter and St. Hilda at Whitby, and many more.¹ But who was St. Samson's co-patron St. Branwallader? Cressy describes him as a "holy bishop", but "unknown". He is commemorated as a confessor, January 19, in two Anglo-Saxon calendars;² and in the Anglo-Saxon catalogue of Shrines in England,³ Milton Abbey is said to have the head of St. Brangwalator, and the arm and staff ("crice") of St. Samson. Although Branwallader is thus recorded in several ancient Saxon records, his name is unmistakably British; and yet he seems to be totally unknown in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany. The first of the subject Welsh princes, Cadwallader, is reckoned among Cambrian saints, and may have had some political claim to that sort of regard from the Saxons. The "Bran" of this name might have been a prefix of rank or title, but the day of St. Cadwallader is not the same. William of Malmesbury⁴ says that King Athelstan placed the reliques of St. Samson at Milton, which he had bought, with those of other British saints, from the abbot of St. Samson's at Dol. Did Athelstan obtain

¹ It may be a contribution to the tradition that Ambresbury, Wilts, took origin from Ambrosius or Emrys, the son of Constantine; that the dedication was St. Mary and St. Melore of Brittany. St. Melore has two dedications in Cornwall. Leland says of Amesbury, "jacet ibi S. Melorus". (*Coll.*, ii, 252.)

² Hampson, i, pp. 422, 435.

³ Hicke, *Diss. Epist.*, p. 120.

⁴ *Gesta Pont.*, 1870, pp. 188, 400.

the relics to satisfy the want of those days, of reliques where the saint had already an altar ; or did he create the dedication out of the presence of the reliques thus imported ? The former is thought most likely. But either case indicates that the cluster of high hills south of Blackmore, among which Milton lies, contained in Athelstan's time a surviving British population, which, like those beyond the Wye and the Tamar, he not only tolerated within their recognised frontiers, but thought their nationalism worth conciliating. William Wyrcestre says, on information of John Burges a Dominican friar at Exeter, "Sanctus Brandwellanus, filius regis, confessor, jacet in ecclesia villæ de Branston, per 8 miliaria de Axmynster, et per 4 miliaria de le south-see".¹ This is probably the Branwallader above sought for ; and Branscombe is no doubt the place where he was first buried, being probably a local British saint. Branscombe is about eight miles from Axminster, but is *on* the "south sea", instead of four miles from it. The church at Branscombe is therefore an example of a British dedication changed to a Saxon one, for it is now St. Winfred, the birth name by which St. Boniface is fondly recorded in the churches of his native county : Branwallader's shrine and name being then translated to Milton.

St. Vigor, at Stratton-on-the-Foss, Somerset, may be the Bishop of Bayeux in the fifth century ; but he is not found either in Cornwall or Wales. St. Gennys of Cornwall is imaged as carrying his head in his arms. It may, therefore, be a question whether those churches of "St. Dennis" that are found in some of the other western counties are not extensions of him from the Cornish centre, rather than partakers of the occasional occurrence of the French saint in other parts of England. One of the copies of the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicolas reads "Sci Denisij", and the other "Genesi". St. Gennys appears to have been honoured in the district of Damnonia between Barnstaple and Padstow. William Wyrcestre found several entries of commemorations of the name in books of both the parish church and St. Stephen's College at Launceston. The carrying his truncated head has not only led to his being confounded with St. Denis, but also with another more Catholic name of a similar sound. Leland² says that in a certain town near the river

¹ W. W., 1778, p. 91.

² *Coll.*, ii, p. 408.

Torrige (Thorich) is the burial-place of "beatus martyr *Joannes*", who, beheaded on one side of the river, took his own head between his arms, waded through the river, and placed it on the other bank; and that in either place a church is built in his honour. It is certain that this is told of a local saint, and not of St. John the Baptist, to whom is now imputed the dedication of Hatherleigh, at the confluence of the Ockment with the Torrige, and probably one of the two churches referred to by Leland, then already converted into a more widely known name of a nearly similar sound.

St. Herygh or Erghe, corrupted in Cornwall to St. Erth, and said to have been a brother of St. Ia=St. Ive, is repeated at Chittlehampton, east of the Tavy, North Devon, not far from Rumonsleigh before mentioned. St. Ida remains at Egloskerry, and again in an extinct chapel at Little Petherick, and perhaps also at St. Tudy. This St. Ida is also the existing dedication at the village of Ide, close to Exeter, which has hitherto been one of the problems of those who have attempted to assign it. They attribute it to a noble widow of Westphalia, daughter of a courtier of Charles the Great; but it is believed that a dedication imported from continental Germany is unprecedented in this part of Britain. The church is situated in a deep and secluded valley of the hilly district which approaches Exeter from the west, and which is divided from that city by the river. In an adjoining deep valley, divided from this one by the watershed of Great Haldon, the name is repeated in Ideford; but here, if it existed, the dedication has given place to St. Mary and St. Martin. Another similar occurrence of the name in compound is at Iddesleigh, in that middle part of North Devon where we already found St. Herygh and St. Rumon; but here also the name of the church has passed to a newer Catholic dedication, St. James. There can be little doubt that she was a very famous Irish saint of the sixth century, whose name remains in the barony of Ida, co. Kilkenny, and in the name of *Killeedy*.¹ She is called by the Bollandists, quoted by Alban Butler, the second St. Bridget of Ireland.

The parish of St. Creed, Cornwall, preserves its dedication, St. Crida. Sancreed and St. Grade are probably two other

¹ *Martyrology of Donegal*, Jan. 15; *Loca Patriciana*, ix, pp. 235-8; Sir T. D. Hardy's *Materials*, i, p. 144.

examples. St. Criede was an Irish virgin saint who has three dedications in co. Kilkenny; one, Kilcredy, in the deanery of Ida.¹ All the three Cornish ones are in the west or Hibernian part of the county. They are here cited to submit a question to the reader. The church of Crediton² or Kirton, Devon, has filled a large and prominent place in the past history of the churches of Devon from very early times. The present church has the dedication of Holy Cross; but Leland says that the "old cathedrale chirch" occupied another site adjoining, and that "the olde chirch was dedicate to *S. Gregory*". There could scarcely be a better name than St. Gregory to mark such a succession as we are inspecting. It contains a distinct tradition of Archbishop Plegmund, the founder of the bishopric of Crediton, A.D. 909, and King Alfred's colleague in the translation of St. Gregory's *Pastorale*. What was the dedication of whatever sanctuary must have existed in this rich and fertile valley of Devon before the name of St. Gregory reached it? Must have existed; for all the symptoms of an early missionary centre planted before other such settlements around it, either independent or offshoots of itself, had circumscribed its territory and contracted it to a parish. The present parish is very extensive; and even now an outlying fragment of its much wider jurisdiction survives in the patronage of the distant benefice of Exminster, still vested in the twelve governors or feoffees (a sort of lay chapter) of the church; and popular traditions that it is "the mother church" are still current in the surrounding parishes. These indications may, indeed, have been kept alive during part of the interval by its tenure, for a century and a half, of diocesan rule. But what led to its original selection for this purpose, unless that it was already an influential Christian centre? As we have seen, it is surrounded with other Celtic names; and the already mentioned parish of St. Ida or Ide lies directly between it and its surviving client, Exminster; and both Ideford and Iddesleigh are within the range of country embraced by manors that are likely to have passed with the bishopric to Exeter. St. Criede, in Ireland, appears to have been intimately connected with Ida's district of Kilkenny. They both turn up again in Cornwall; and if the Celtic ante-Gregory dedication of Crediton

¹ *Loca Patric.*, ix, p. 238.
1877

² *Cridiantun*, Cod. D., 1334.

should have been St. Creed, they would still be in company here. An estate called "Credyhoe" was among the possessions of Hartland Abbey, on the north-west of Devon;¹ also a village, Croyde or Crede, in the Brannock peninsula on the north coast.

One surface difficulty arises, that the river which passes Crediton is known as the Credy; and it is true that rivers mostly give their names to places, but do not receive them. But this is not always true, especially of small rivers. If at any Churcham or Stokeford you should ask the name of the stream, the most likely answer would be that "it has no particular name. We call it Churcham Water." Credy is not like Avon, or Exe, or Stour, a generic river name; but Yeo is; and one of the two limbs of the Credy is a Yeo, whilst a place called Yelland=Yeoland, is found near the source of that branch of it which is now called Credy. Another example of this process of change occurs at this very spot. The old topographer, W. Harrison (or rather John Hooker, his enlarger), calls this Yeo river the "Forten". He must have heard it called "Fordton Water", Fordton being still the name of a place near its confluence with the Credy. The mouth of the Test or Anton is a larger example, being scarcely known otherwise than as Southampton Water; or the Severn and Bristol Channel, for that matter. Does not the Saxon form, "Cridiantun", favour a personal name for its cause? An old rhyme is still in the mouths of the people:

"When Ex'ter wuz a vuzzy down,
Kirton wuz a market town".

St. Keyne, one of the Brychan family of saints, whose little chapel at Llangenny, Brecknockshire, on the river Usk, has lately been re-edified from a ruin, and who is also at home in Cornwall by her church and wonder-working well, has also left her name and fame at Keynsham on the Avon, between Bath and Bristol, the extreme north boundary of Somerset. The present church is of St. John the Baptist, but an extinct chapelry still contributes to the benefice. The fossil ammonites have, of course, been said to be serpents turned into stone by her, as those in the outcrop of the same beds in Yorkshire have been credited to St. Hilda. The great local permanence of their names is, how-

¹ *Oliver Mon.*, Exon., p. 214.

ever, a surer monument of them than even that of stones, whether minted by nature or sculptured by art.

But these footsteps of ancient Celtic Christianity extend even north of the Avon into that angle of Gloucestershire itself which skirts the Bristol Channel, and separated from the pagan conquest of A.D. 577 by the weald that has since become the ancient Forest of Kingswood. In this district still existed, in the fifteenth century, on a mount overlooking the port of Bristol, and now called Brandon Hill, a church of St. Brendan, one of the Irish missionaries. His voyages westward in search of the earthly Paradise have been said to have prompted the enterprise of Columbus ; and these ancient haunters of the Severn estuary may fairly be thought of as the forerunners of our Merchant Venturers. The name of this saint was much favoured in Wales ; and there is another of his dedications at Brendon, near the mouth of the Lyn, North Devon ; besides the range of Brendon Hills, North Somerset. In this same quarter of Gloucestershire, at Henbury, near the outfall of the Avon into the Bristol Channel, was known to be, until a late time, a chapel of St. Blaise, of which one dedication is very well known at St. Blazey, Cornwall, and another is at Haccombe, on the river Teign, Devon.¹ There is in Gloucestershire another Celtic dedication. In advance of the left lip of the mouth of the Wye is a small island or rock, upon which may be seen the ruin of a chapel to St. Tecla, which has a repetition in Denbighshire and another in Radnorshire ; but having left no trace anywhere south of the Severn, is evidently beyond the limits of Damnonia.

The name of St. German is almost identified with Cornwall, from its reputation of having been the cathedral. As might have been expected, he is frequent in North Wales, from his Hallelujah miracle ; but although scarcely, if at all, in South Wales, he has a second place in Cornwall and one in Devon ; also one in Dorset, two miles south of Dorchester, Winterbourn Farington or Winterbourn St. Germans. But St. German is a name that may be well believed to have been attached to many spots in Britain beyond provincial

¹ These two dedications, St. Brandon and St. Blaise, are on two eminences between Bristol and the sea, and have been the subjects of an amusing example of prescientific scepticism. The Rev. S. Seyer indulged his joke and his old-school orthodox contempt of hagiology by saying that the two hills must have been beacons, called after the words "brand" and "blaze".

influences. Accordingly there still remain three examples in Yorkshire, three in Lincolnshire, one in Norfolk, and two in Essex. Any that may have existed in the midland, and even the Cumbrian counties, have been washed out by later revolutions, although several remains of his name are found north of Tweed and Solway. Camden records his chapel as then remaining, though profaned, within the walls of Verulam, but his continuators add that it had since been entirely razed. In Devonshire there are no less than five dedications of St. Pancras: as many as now remain in all England besides.¹ This name is among the invocations in the old Armorican Litany. It might have been general in British times; but, if so, it would have been as frequent in Wales as in Devon, but is not found there at all. The Rev. Theophilus Jones has placed the home of the Brychan St. Hawystl, at Aust Cliff, on the Severn, Gloucestershire; but it is believed that place has no connection with her, nor has she with St. Austell of Cornwall—a name by which is probably remembered St. Patrick's suffragan, St. Auxilius.² St. Julian at Wellow, Somerset, at Shrewsbury, at Maker in Cornwall, and at Tenby, may be St. Sulian of Armorica, found in Merioneth, Cardigan, and Carnarvon-shires. St. Sennen, at the Land's End, is also in Anglesey, Denbighshire, and Monmouthshire. St. Bridget is heard of at Madron, Cornwall, and in Devon, a little east of Tamar, twice at Brides-tow and Virginstow; repeated in two near the north coast of Somerset, and another was formerly on the island called "Hibernia Parva", or "Beokery", near Glastonbury. There are at least eighteen St. Bridgets in Wales.

This course of inquiry is here far from being exhausted. In fact it is no more than suggested, in a slight specimen of some of its results. Some examples will have been noticed of ancient churches in process of yielding to newer ones, but retaining traces of the ancient dedication in the secular names of the parishes: and a scrutiny of such names, with traditions of extinct sanctuaries, might yield many which are less obvious. For instance, names which have

¹ Kent, one; Chichester, one; London, one; Middlesex, one; Lincolnshire, one. But besides, there are extinct ones at Canterbury; Horton, Kent; and Lewes, Sussex.

² It has been ingeniously suggested that St. Patrick's "Bec eire or Beg Erin, little island", in the Bay of Wexford, is the same name as "Beokery"; but this has quite an English form, and the ending "y" is common to numerous spots around Glastonbury, formerly islands in the drained estuary.

"Dew" as an ingredient, may or may not have had a St. David dedication. To save and register the perishing materials of this sort of knowledge, might form one of the purposes of the local antiquarian societies, who should collect from their members notices of any ruined chapels, ancient wells, etc., or recollections of any ; or spots known by names with the prefix "St.", which are numerous, and often unrecorded. Those from which any revenue continues to be derived are all that have at present any official register.

There can be no doubt that these dedications of churches constitute a vast ruin of the past conditions of the peoples, extending over the whole kingdom, or, for that matter, over all Christendom ; which has never been accurately surveyed and planned ; but in which a closer inspection would bring to light, not only traces of ethnical stratification, but also unmistakable footsteps of unwritten history.

These broader inferences are free from the difficulties and uncertainties that beset the narrower ones of the biographies of the personages whose names have been here arrayed, and their exact place and figure in the world. In some cases, although their nationality is without doubt, there have been several of the same name, whose lives and acts have often been confounded with each other ; and the fissures of this fabric of displaced, although perhaps genuine materials, have been afterwards filled up by pouring over it a cement of miraculous narrative, often kept in stock, ready compounded for this purpose. Another embarrassment lies in the varied orthography of their names, which has often been subjected to the literative transmutations, not only of inexact ages, but of the various habits of the languages, as British, Irish, or Latin, in which they have been recorded. But these difficulties are chiefly felt by those who undertake their individual biographies, and do not extend to the more general aim here attempted—the topographical prevalence of the nationalities.

Along with the foreign dedications, found among the original Celtic ones within Cornwall, some of the intruders are connected by strict nationality with several of the kingdoms of the Teutonic subjugators of Britain. These contain a separate though unwritten history of their own, too long to be added to this contribution. But one incident of it has been already given in this *Journal* (June 1875, pp. 177-9).

THE ANCIENT CHURCHYARD-CROSSES OF STAFFORDSHIRE.

BY C. LYNAM.

WHEN this Association met at Wolverhampton in 1872, one of the most engaging topics of discussion was the subject to which I now propose briefly to call attention, namely, the churchyard-crosses of the county of Stafford. As the last Congress was held in Cornwall, where churchyard and other crosses are more frequent than, perhaps, anywhere else in England, the subject may not inappropriately follow the last proceedings of the Association.

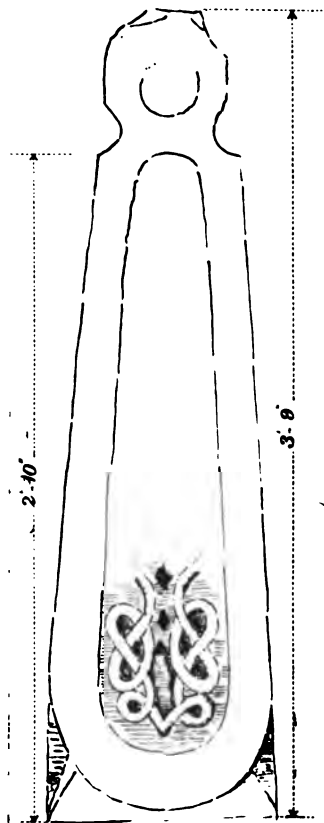
At the Congress in 1872, the principal instances alluded to were the pillar or column in the churchyard of St. Peter's, Wolverhampton, and the upright stone in Leek churchyard; but there are several other such-like ancient stones in the county of Stafford, and recently the fragments of another have been dug up whilst excavations were being made for a grave in the ancient churchyard of the parish of Stoke-upon-Trent. This discovery, and a previous study of the subject generally, induce me to recall the attention of the Association to this particular class of relics. In the first place I propose very briefly to summarise what has been previously written on this subject, and then to point out my personal observations with regard to it.

Camden says with reference to the remains at Checkley (between Stoke-upon-Trent and Uttoxeter), where there are three fragments in existence, "that the inhabitants have a tradition these stones were originally erected to preserve the memory of a great battle fought between the Danes and the British, in which the latter were victorious; that one of the armies engaged was totally unarmed; and that three bishops, whom these stones represent, fell in the engagement." Samson Erdeswick says "that these stones are supposed to have been of Saxon or Danish construction, and sepulchral monuments." Dr. Plott adopts the theory of the Danish origin of the Checkley stones, and that of their use as sepulchral monuments, and brings forward the following arguments in support of it: 1, the Danish custom of erect-

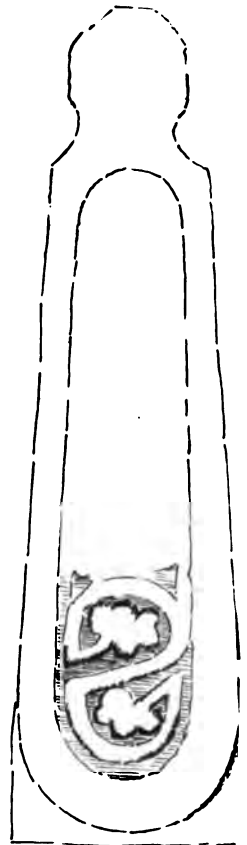


FRAGMENTS OF

STOPS AT LEEK.



NORTH FACE



SOUTH FACE

ing crosses of tall, pyramidal form over the graves of eminent persons; 2, the present position of these crosses, which is almost always within an ancient churchyard; 3, the fact that they are not generally found alone, but two or three of them together, proving them to be monumental; 4, their similarity to crosses actually existing in Denmark at the present time, and the cross at Beaucastle in Cumberland, which is (he says) undoubtedly Danish; 5, the traditions prevalent in the neighbourhood of the crosses, all ascribing them to the Danes.

The Rev. Stebbing Shaw thus describes the cross at Wolverhampton: "In the churchyard, almost fronting to the south porch or principal entrance, is a round pillar about 20 ft. high, covered with rude carvings, divided into several compartments. On the north-west face, at the bottom, in spandrels of a kind of arch, are cut a bird and beast, looking back at each other. Above, divided by a narrow band, are other similar figures or dragons, with fore feet and long tails in lozenges; above them a band of Saxon leaves, and in lozenges birds and roses. Over these a narrow band, and then in lozenges beasts and griffins: another band, and a compartment of rude carvings, and then a regular plain capital. Whether it supported a cross is uncertain. It is not exactly determined whether this is a Danish or Saxon monument. There is something like it in Leek churchyard, and others ruder, in those of Checkley and Chebsey".

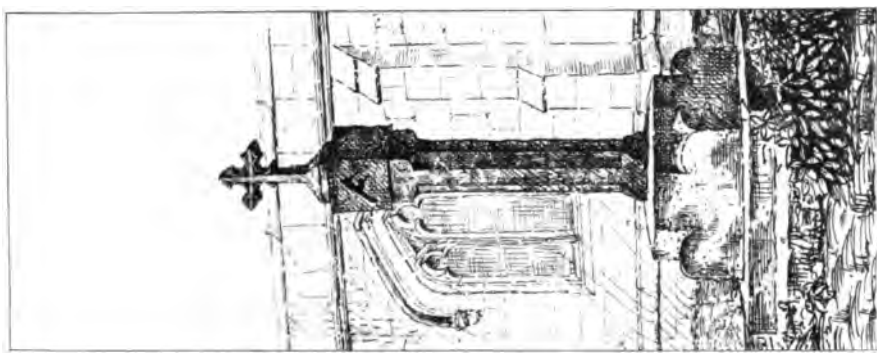
Since Shaw's history was written, several authors have mentioned the crosses. Nightingale, in his *Topography*, notices the one at Rochester, and describes it as "a tall, slender shaft or cross, having the edges rounded, yet not itself perfectly cylindrical; fretwork runs up on each side of it".

The Rev. G. Oliver, D.D., in his *Account of the Collegiate Church of Wolverhampton* (of which he was rector), argues as follows as to the origin of the Wolverhampton example. There are, he writes, only four periods at which its erection can be placed. 1. At the re-edification of the church by Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury in John's reign. 2. By the Normans at the Conquest, when William the First conferred upon Samson, his chaplain, the church, with all its rights, privileges, and immunities. 3. At the endowment

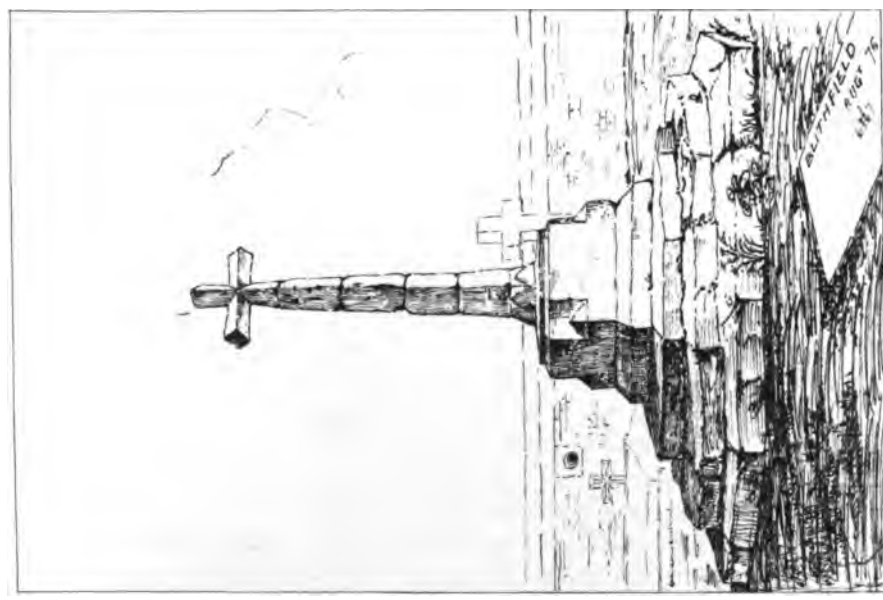
of the college by Wulfruna. 4. Or at some previous period. Then he goes on to observe, "Had it been erected at the former epoch, it would have been plain or panelled, with arches and tracery. The cable ornament would have been omitted, and the capital less rude, and probably decorated with a crown of uniform pinnacles. Had it been built at the Conquest, we should have had a shaft thicker in correspondence with its height, and cylindrical instead of pyramidal, whereas the column has more of the Roman or Grecian proportions. The pious Wulfruna would certainly not have admitted heathen emblems on its surface, but it would have been chastely decorated with Saxon foliage, interspersed with the legitimate ornaments of that era, almost all of which are absent. Hence Dr. Oliver (as he says) finds himself under the necessity of adopting the theory of a still earlier period, and explains the series of pointed orders which are said to have encompassed the column below the carved work as "only a large zigzag". Then, "after the most mature deliberation", he ventures to decide "that the column was erected by Wulfere, King of Mercia, in the seventh century, in commemoration of a great victory over the Mercians, which placed him on the throne". He says that the fact of there being no Christian representations, goes far to support this view, especially as he makes out the figures of a series of hieroglyphics, such as "the dragon, and a monster compounded of a beast with the head of a bird", which are typical of the great god Hu of the Cymry, who is represented in *Pendragon* as "the wonderful chief dragon, the sovereign of heaven". "The red dragon was long figured on the banner of the Welsh, and the golden dragon on that of the Mercians. When, therefore, Wulfere erected his temple at Hucen-tun, in honour of Thor or Woden, it is more than probable that he would erect a pedestal for the statue of the deity; and as the artificers in this work would be mostly the subject British, they would naturally carve upon it the significant emblem of the Celtic worship". This is the substance of Dr. Oliver's argument. Other writers, following Dr. Oliver, have adopted either his or the Danish theory on this pillar.

We now come to the proceedings of this Association in 1872. At this time the late Mr. Levien said that this pillar might have been of Danish origin. Mr. George Godwin

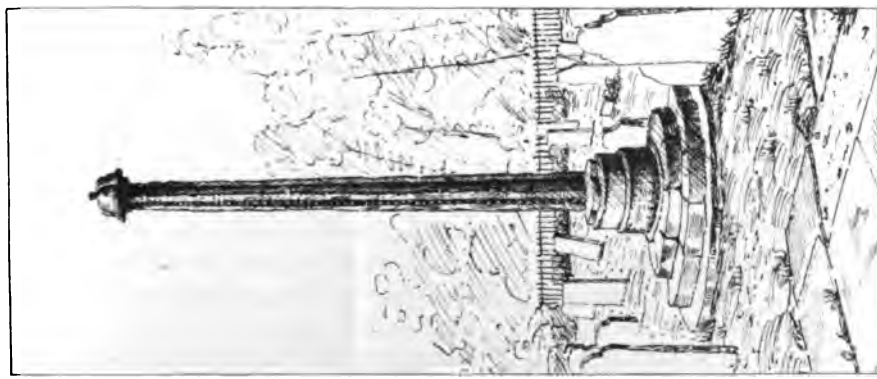
BIDDULPH.



BLITHFIELD.



ROCESTER.



especially pointed out the entasis in the column, and inclined to the view that it might be of Saxon origin. In this the late Mr. Roberts at first concurred, but afterwards withdrew in favour of Mr. Gordon Hills' decided opinion that this work is of Norman twelfth century date. In this view the Association may be said to have concurred.

I propose now to look generally at the subject of these erections in our Staffordshire churchyards. There is scarcely, in the whole of the county, a single ancient burial-ground where some remains of these upright stones are not still to be seen. In some, the steps at the foot of the shaft, or parts of them, exist; in others the steps and base remain; elsewhere, part of the shaft is left with all beneath it; and in a few cases the entire shaft, excepting the cross at its summit. The position is, in almost every case, on the south of the church; the more ancient ones flank the chancel; and those not so old, the nave. Mostly they are near to the path which leads to the south or principal entrance to the church. The shafts of the older ones are monoliths of mill-stone-grit; those of more recent date are of coursed stones, in localities where larger stones are not easily procurable.

It will have been observed that, for the most part, these upright stones have been referred to by various writers as of a common stock; and even at the Congress of this Association in 1872, the Leek and Wolverhampton examples were classed together. I wish, therefore, particularly to point out that there are at least four classes or varieties of these structures,—1st, those at Checkley, Ilam, and one lying on the ground at Leek; 2nd, the shafts at Leek, Chebsey, Ilam, and the fragment at Stoke-upon-Trent; 3rd, that at Wolverhampton, which stands alone; 4th, those which correspond with the different periods of English mediæval architecture, as at Rocester, Blithfield, and Bid-dulph. When each of these varieties is examined, it will be seen that their several characteristics are clear and well defined.

The first class is exemplified at Checkley, Ilam, and Leek. These pillars are all rectangular in their plan, tapering from the base upwards. At Ilam there is one in the churchyard, and another in the grounds belonging to the Hall. What remains of the latter is 5 ft. 2 ins. in height; and on plan, 1 ft. 10 ins. by 1 ft. 7 ins. at the base, and 1 ft. 6 ins. by

1 ft. 3 ins. at the top. That in the churchyard is about 9 ft. in height. At Checkley there are three of these shafts, now placed closely together on the south side of the churchyard, and they are respectively 4 ft. 9 ins. by 4 ft. 2 ins., and 4 ft. 3 ins. in height; and on plan, at bottom, are 1 ft. 10 ins. by 1 ft., 1 ft. 7 ins. by 1 ft. 1 in., and 1 ft. 4 ins. by 1 ft.

The second class of shafts to which we have to refer is that of which the one at Leek is a good type. In this case the lower part of the shaft is rudely cylindrical, then comes a band, above which the shaft becomes rectangular. Of this type there are three in the county of Stafford, namely, that at Leek, the total height of which is 10 ft.; the diameter at the bottom is 1 ft. 8 ins., north and south, and 1 ft. 6 ins. east and west. At 5 ft. in height from the bottom runs a band 8 ins. high, double filleted; below this each face has a panel incised,—three of knot-work, and one of what appears to be a cross. The upper part tapers towards the top, and each face has a panel formed in it, filled on two sides with knot-work; on one with what is known as the key-pattern, and on the other with rude foliage.

The Ilam example follows that at Leek, varying from it in that the lower band is plain, and instead of the panels below it there is a running pattern of foliage. The centre part of the actual head of the cross remains in both these examples. The total height of that at Ilam is 4 ft. 6 ins.; the diameter of lower part is 12 ins.; and the upper part is 8 ins. square at its base, tapering towards the top.

At Chebsey there is no enrichment below the band, but rude knot-work and foliage cover the upper faces. The total height here is 6 ft. 6 ins.; the band occurring at 4 ft. 2 ins. from the ground, and being $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in width. The diameter of shaft at bottom is 1 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins., east and west, and 1 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. north and south.

The fragment at Stoke, which is 4 ft. 4 ins. in length, has, no doubt, formed the upper part of a shaft similar to those at Leek, Ilam, and Chebsey, and belongs to the same class. This has been barbarously used as a door-lintel, one face having been tooled to a plain surface, and another rebated for a reveal. As it was found near to the priest's doorway on the south side of the chancel, probably it had been used for it in late times.



WOLVERHAM



CHECKLEY.



ILAM.



CHEBSEY.



CHECKLEY.

The *unique* example of the third class at Wolverhampton, to which we will now refer, has a base or plinth, circular on plan, 1 ft. 8 ins. in height, and 7 feet in diameter on its lower bed, and 6 ft. 6 ins. on its upper bed; on which stands a shaft 14 feet in height, carrying a cap now 9 ins. high, making a total height of 16 ft. 5 ins. It may be described as a column, the upper part of the simple cylindrical surface of which is enriched by carvings of extreme artistic merit, treated as follows: At the height of 7 ft. from the top bed of the original base runs a cable-moulding round the shaft, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, of which I exhibit a plaster-cast; below this are five half-lozenges, which also encircle the shaft, and are 18 ins. in length. Above the cord or cable the shaft is divided vertically into four compartments, the two lower being separated by a broad band 7 ins. wide, having an upper and lower fillet, and the upper ones by enriched narrow fillets. On the top is a plain projecting capital about 12 ins high, moulded on the outer edge; above this there has been something more. The shaft stands on a little mound (put there for greater security) now partly covered with ivy, beneath which may be seen the original base. The lower diameter of the shaft is 2 ft. 6 ins.; and the upper diameter, immediately under the capital, is 1 ft. 10 ins. The shaft is a monolith of millstone-grit, the capital being a separate stone. The whole of the carving is in low relief, sunk below the outer surface. In the five half-lozenges below the first band are cut (as was first pointed out by Mr. Gordon Hills) the emblems of the four Evangelists and a group of foliage. I show a plaster-cast of the ox, emblem of St. Luke. Above this cord there first runs a lozenged diaper of about 1 ft. 7 ins. in height, the surfaces being filled in with beasts of various kinds. I show casts from the lozenge and half-lozenge. Then comes a broad fillet of shallow foliage, of which I also show a cast; then a band, of 1 ft. 7 ins. in height, of boldly cut foliage having a treatment which gives it the effect of being interspersed with animals. Of this we also have a cast. Above this are two compartments, respectively 1 ft. 4 ins. and 1 ft. 1 inch high, divided by a narrow fillet, and each containing foliage with birds, more minute and elaborate than the lower carving. The total projection of the cap is about 5 ins., and it is moulded on the edge. My sketches and

casts give a general idea of this singular and very interesting column.

From my other sketches it will be seen that the examples in the first class are distinguished from the second by the presence in the carvings of numberless figures and the repetition of circles filled with knot-work. In every case the whole shaft is enriched from top to bottom, and on all sides. They have been monoliths, and are of millstone-grit, the only local material which could have resisted the action of the atmosphere for anything like the period it has done. It is, however, to be regretted that time has reduced the carving, for the most part, to an unintelligible maze. The lowest figure on the south side of the Ilam shaft is clearly mitred, and holds a staff in his left hand.

The differences in the second class are seen in the dual form of shaft, the absence of figures, and the introduction of rude foliage. Would that in days when these carvings were plainly to be seen, some of the former historians had taken a pencil and accurately drawn them instead of writing at length on their Danish or other remote conjectural origin! Had this been done, probably this Association would have been in possession of simple facts which would have saved long controversies and much time, and would have forwarded the work of truth on this branch of archæology.

The last class of crosses to which we have to refer is that which corresponds with the various periods of mediæval architecture. Here all is simple enough, as their several characteristic details are, thanks to Rickman and others, familiar to every one who has studied the subject of English architecture. In the county of Stafford we are fortunate in possessing many very good examples of this class, and my sketches give one of an Early English type at Rocester, of Decorated at Blithfield, and of Perpendicular at Biddulph. I would particularly call attention to the Early English example, which has very good mouldings, in the plan of the shaft, and in the base and capital. The dog-tooth enriches the shaft for its whole height. The use of jointed stones at Blithfield is, perhaps, peculiar, and the simple arrangement at Biddulph very effective.

It only remains for me to make one or two observations as to the earlier examples referred to; and first as to that

at Wolverhampton. I do not presume to controvert what may, perhaps, be regarded as the opinion of this Association, as to the date of that column, namely, Norman of the twelfth century; but I venture to point out that if such be its date, the whole spirit of its design is altogether of another character to that which is to be found in any corresponding work of the same period in the county in which it is situated. I beg you to notice that the plan of its shaft is simply cylindrical, and that it has the classic entasis; that the carvings are of most excellent workmanship, their design of the highest artistic merit; and, in my view, there is a trace of classic feeling about the whole which would separate it from all mediæval work. Not only is this visible in the limbs of the animals and in the stems and leafage of the more important part of the foliage, but in the broad dividing band near the bottom something very like the acanthus-leaf appears. If the capital be original (and this has not been disputed), it alone might almost remove the work from the mediæval category, for its profile is certainly not of Norman, but of classic type. Again, contrasted with the rude knot-work and ruder attempts at figures which are to be seen on the other early examples, and which are accepted as Saxon or Norman workmanship, it would certainly seem inconsistent to style this of the same period. Neither, I think, can a transition to Early English work be properly assigned to it, as was suggested in 1872; as here again we have a genuine example of good Early English character at Rocester, which contrasts in every way with that at Wolverhampton. As I said at the outset, I do not now presume to offer an opinion as to the date of this monument; but after what has been pointed out I think it will be allowed that further consideration of the subject is warranted.

Of the other two earlier classes of these crosses, my own view is that the elaborate rectangular shafts, which curiously enough exist in the same places as some of those of the second class, are of earlier date than those without figures; and that either they were special memorials, or marked the first station of the intended church. That they are of Christian origin there can be no doubt, as representations of the Crucifixion and other events occur on them. The examples of the second class at Leek, Ilam, and Chebsey, with

the fragment from Stoke, are simply Norman churchyard-crosses; for it is clear that such were in use in Early English times and onwards, and it may be asked, why not in Norman times?

I need add nothing more as to the later crosses, except, perhaps, just to point out to those interested in church building, that in old times a church was never considered complete unless in its surrounding graveyard there stood on high the emblem of the Christian faith pointing, as it did, to the consecrated sanctity of the enclosure, and overshadowing the simple hillocks which mark the last resting-place of those who otherwise would have possessed no memorial.

ST. NEOT'S, CORNWALL.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

WE have abundance of documentary evidences relative to the early history of St. Neot, and some are of nearly contemporary date. There is great agreement among them, and the life of a notable man is well recorded. The documents are worthy of attentive study on the part of the historical student, who will find in them many indications of much interest. They are all written with the feeling for the marvellous then and later so common, and they consist almost entirely of the record of a series of miracles which will be sufficiently before us when we examine the windows.

The records agree that the former name of St. Neot's was Hamstoke, until the close of the ninth century, and that in early times here was a chapel which probably at a later period was the oratory of St. Guerryer. We have, so far, the ordinary history of a Cornish church, and no more than the origin of many another village around it. We, however, hear that King Alfred (then Prince Alfred), while hunting, obtained effectual relief from a severe malady by prayer made in the little church. This statement is repeated more than once. I draw especial attention to it, for if true it throws much light upon the condition of Cornwall at a period when history tells us little. It indicates that at a time when the Anglo-Saxons are supposed to have been the bitter foes of the freedom-loving Britons in Cornwall (then the allies of the Danes), the country was so settled that the Saxon Prince could take his ease here without molestation. We hear again that St. Guerryer,¹ a British Christian most probably, but we cannot glean from his name, actually left his abode at the desire of St. Neot, and is no more heard of.

St. Neot was a Saxon, and related to the King, if not actually his brother, as some say. He settled here about the year 868 ; and thus we have the noteworthy record of

¹ This is most probably not a name, but a title, "the healing saint". Here, as in Cornwall elsewhere, all personal identity is lost in such titles as St. Dennis, "the Hill Saint"; St. Unan, "the Down Saint"; St. Alban, "the Moor Saint"; and many others.

a Saxon living in the heart of a British country fifty or sixty years before the conquest of Cornwall by Athelstan. We need not follow the discussion further with respect to the identity of St. Neot. Capgrave supposes him to have been the son of King Ethelwolf, and we have seen that other historians believe him to have been the brother of King Alfred. Spelman attributes to him the authorship of several learned works. The date of his death in 877 is well attested, and his festival was kept here and at the Huntingdon St. Neot's alike on July 31st.

We have heard of the stealing of the body of St. Petrock at Bodmin, and of the energetic efforts made by the monks for its recovery. Here a similar theft is chronicled, but with results less happy for the owners. The body of St. Neot was stolen by its custodian, who took it to Earl Alric at Eynesbury; and all the efforts made to recover it, and they were vigorous, were unavailing; and after some changes it found a resting-place at St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, where it remained until the Reformation. An arm of St. Neot was with much consideration left behind by the thieves; but this fragment alone was not sufficient for the requirements of the place. The little college of priests here steadily declined in consequence, while the Huntingdon St. Neot's, having almost the whole body, rapidly increased. We have thus before us painful evidence of the extent of the passion for relics, and the unscrupulous means adopted to obtain them. The demand was quite equal to the supply; and when they were not obtainable by fair means, others were adopted. The arm of St. Neot is said to have been preserved in the little niche close to the east end of the north aisle, and here about a quart of mouldy earth was found when it was broken into in 1795; but the niche is a piscina on the south side of the site of an altar, and therefore could never have been a receptacle for a relic.¹

From the date of the loss of the relics of St. Neot, the place ceases to be one with a history. That it, however, continued to exist is well attested to us by the magnificent

¹ Relics have frequently been met with in churches in the west of England. On rebuilding the second church of Perranzabuloe, above seventy years ago, two heads were found in niches at the east end of the building. The church was dedicated to St. Probus and St. Grace. The Roman vase recently found in the walls of Ashburnham Church most probably contained a relic. Other examples are known.

church in which we are assembled, and we may readily suppose that this costly building but represented the well-being of the parish requiring it. There are traces of a more ancient building which we shall notice, but the present fabric attests its own age. It was erected, for the most part, in the year 1480,¹ as is shown by the date, with inscription, in the roof of the nave, near the western end ; but from the architectural evidence it is probable that the construction extended over several years, the roof being of necessity the last part ; and the date, 1593, upon a portion points to the substitution of a portion, completion, or repair, at this period,—probably the last portion of the renovation of the church. The style is Perpendicular, of fairly good type, and quite equal to the current work in other parts of England, resembling Gloucestershire work in several respects. It is richer than what we have seen at Bodmin Church erected only five years later, although there are several points of resemblance. We may notice in both churches the local peculiarity here, as in Devonshire, of the three aisles extending to the full length of the building, terminating with three gables at the east end ; and both churches alike have a parvise over the south porch.

The western tower is of capital proportions,² and of earlier date than the body of the church, having been erected most probably early in the second half of the fourteenth century. It is built of carefully squared limestone, while the whole of the later body of the church is of squared granite. This favours the statements that have frequently been made relative to the use of squared granite only in buildings of late date in Cornwall. It is impossible not to be assured by a very cursory inspection that the majority of the buildings are of late date, and that they are constructed of well wrought granite in a solid and massive style that commands our admiration ; and the more so when the costly nature of the work, owing to the hardness of the material, is taken into consideration. It is also apparent that the few remaining traces of older buildings are not constructed of squared stone at all, but, as is usual in all districts, of rubble more or less rough. Nevertheless, the presence of the early granite crosses, so numerous

¹ The inscription, when perfect, read “anno dni mccccxxx”.

² A small tree is growing from the battlements of the tower, and has a curious appearance from the distance.

throughout the county, attests that granite was well known to the early builders, and that they did not hesitate, not only to hew it in large blocks, but to cover them with elaborate patterns.

The little ruined church at Temple appears to be an example of a building of early date, formed of squared granite. It will be observed that the piers and arches dividing the nave from the side-aisles are not set out opposite one another; while on the north side, at the commencement of the chancel, two of the piers come so closely together as to form a very narrow arch. It is the more remarkable since the corresponding arch on the south side is of much greater width. It is probable that this peculiar arrangement may have been provided to form a termination of the rood-loft, the staircase of approach to which is on the external face of the south aisle, and it probably was continuous alike over the aisle and nave. No trace of it remains.¹

It may be as well to point out that all the arches and piers on both sides of the nave, and including the narrow arch, are of the same design and date. This being so apparent, I am at a loss to understand why the narrow arch should have been mentioned in so many descriptions of this church as being of great antiquity,—a relic probably of the time of St. Neot.

While we must disallow this claim, it is satisfactory to point out a most interesting piece of sculpture which is probably of remote date, and which has been hitherto overlooked. It is a fragment of the stem of a large cross, now lying on the south side of the church, close to the porch. It is covered with interlaced patterns in low relief, and carefully executed in granite, similar to the other numerous examples in the county. Our knowledge of these most interesting crosses is unfortunately so limited that it will be premature to hazard a date; and it may be well, therefore, only to say that it is at least as old as the time of St. Neot. My own impression is that it is probably older. There are

¹ The irregular size of the nave-arches is a Cornish peculiarity; and an arrangement somewhat similar, but not to so great an extent, is apparent at Launceston Church. The arrangement of the rood-lofts, continuous over nave and aisles, is another common local arrangement. We can trace it by the approaches remaining at Makar, Bodmin, and several other churches. The wide arch, opposed to the narrow one, may have been to admit of space in the former for a chantry-altar below the rood-loft. If so, no trace is apparent at St. Neot's.

three perfect crosses of simple form, of granite, of early date, at the end of the walk in the Vicarage garden.

The font is probably of the same date as the tower, but it looks older. Like that at Lostwithiel, it has ornamental panelling, which indicates the period of its construction, not much in accord with its heavy Norman-like outline.

There is a recess on the north side of the chancel for an Easter sepulchre, and which still bears witness of the vividly coloured decoration covering it in former days.

Almost the whole of the interest at St. Neot's centres in its stained glass, magnificent on account of the first general appearance, and worthy of careful inspection, although the workmanship might have been better and the designs more skilful. The effect is peculiar owing to the presence of much white glass.

The church affords one of the best examples remaining of the aspect of almost every building in ancient times; and the universal love of stained glass formerly so common in England explains the reason of the largeness of many windows of the Perpendicular style, which would have flooded the buildings with light and heat but for both being toned down by stained glass. Here, as elsewhere, the larger windows are to the south, and the lesser openings to the north. It may be well to correct a statement that these latter are of earlier date. This is not the case, for there are but few years difference at most. The ancient stained glass, too, is all of nearly the same date, and the extraordinary age given to a part of it is not warranted by its appearance. The windows tell their own history. The window called St. Neot's (its subject being so many of the legendary incidents of his life) was erected by the young men of the parish in 1528, and it bears this date. The young women's window was erected in 1529, and the wives' window in 1530, while the "Harris Window", as it is called, actually records that Ralph Harris made the window as well as gave it. A critical investigation of this window will, I think, satisfy us, from the many points of resemblance to the others, that Ralph Harris had the direction of the making of all the others, if they were not all painted by his hand.¹ We must

¹ It is more than probable that Ralph Harris was a glass-stainer in great request early in the sixteenth century, for several churches in the district preserve a few relics of stained glass very similar in character to that at St. Neot's. It is very probable that some of the windows at Cothele are his workmanship.

except, however, some of the glass near the south porch door, which is very Germanic in its style. The inscriptions record that the windows were all the gifts of various individuals. Some, as Borlase, Callawy, Harris, and Mutton, gave whole windows, and we have noticed the young men and the young women joining together to produce others, while the wives' window was the gift of the married women on the west side of the parish. These facts point to the existence of much praiseworthy co-operation for the adornment of the church, and very similar to what is known of the arrangements for the rebuilding of Bodmin Church. It is probable that there were at St. Neot's, as at Bodmin, several guilds and fraternities, trade and otherwise, warmly interested in these matters, and whose work is now before us. The deplorable condition of the windows is recorded in Hedgeland's book; and it may be of service to say that serious harm is done to stained glass by neglect. Hedgeland relates that the lead-work had almost wholly perished, and a few years more would have entirely ruined the glass. He re-leaded the glass entirely, and he carefully records the amount of new work which he added. This is, however, very apparent to us.

An expression of hearty thanks should be recorded to the memory of the Rev. R. Gerveys Grylls, who in 1825 commenced the work of restoration; and but for this timely work it is more than probable that a large quantity of the glass before us would have perished, as has so much throughout the country, and by similar means.

NOTE.—The legendary life of St. Neot is given at length by Capgrave,—“*Aurea Legenda omnium Sanctorum et Sanctarum totius Angliæ.*” This is printed at length in Hedgeland's book. The title of the latter is, in full, “*A Description, accompanied by 16 Coloured Plates, of the splendid Decorations recently made to the Church of St. Neot in Cornwall, at the sole Expense of the Reverend Richard Gerveys Grylls. By J. P. Hedgeland.*” London, 1830. 4to. It gives quotations also from the curious Cornish mystery, the *Creation of the World*, translated by John Keigwin (Davies Gilbert's edition), and which, in illustration of the subjects represented in the windows, gives details of the old legends of the three apple-pips placed by Seth between the lips and in the nostrils of Adam after his death. These grew into stately plants, and afforded the rood of Our Lord's passion, also the legend of the shooting of Cain by Lamech.

SUEZ CANALS FROM THE MOST ANCIENT TIMES TO THE PRESENT.

BY J. W. GROVER.

THE recent purchase of Suez Canal shares by our Government has given the English nation so important a stake in Egypt and things of the Nile, that I hope I shall be excused if I venture to bring before the Congress of the British Archæological Association a short account of M. de Lesseps' majestic achievement, and of its predecessors. I cannot but think that scant honour has been done to that great man by the English nation, and I have in vain looked for some panegyric worthy of his labour amongst the various speeches of Parliament. It seems, however, as if the unreasoning jealousy with which the undertaking has from the first been viewed by the British Government continued to prevent our seeing and beholding at his true worth the man who has done what the Pharaohs and even Trajan himself failed to do; who has in a short lifetime, and almost single-handed, destroyed the rampart which separated Europe from Asia, and at one stroke reduced the distance to India five thousand miles for our ships; who found a sandy desert when he came, and left there a flourishing city with all the modern developments of harbours, docks, hotels, and warehouses; who succeeded, in spite of statesmen and engineers' opinions, and all the multitude of cold water-pourers and doubters, in working out his great idea, and after thirty years of patient labour, of seeing it not only an accomplished fact, but what is even more astonishing and exceptional in the case of a great public work, a fair commercial success. I say all honour to the illustrious Frenchman, the greatest benefactor of mankind that the present age, or indeed any other, has ever produced, if men are to be measured by their deeds; and I hope a day may yet come when the English nation will in a national spirit do him that public honour which he so richly deserves; and I hope that in this work of justice the British Archæo-

logical Association will lead the way by showing the country what great kings, with nations at their disposal, attempted in vain, a single, untitled individual by his energy has at last accomplished.

The subject is one scarcely within the sphere of British archæology, yet it concerns every Englishman, and its consideration may, therefore, not be unworthy of a place. Herodotus is the first writer who tells us anything on the subject, in his *Euterpe*, c. 158. "Psammitichus had a son whose name was Necos, by whom he was succeeded in his authority. This Prince first commenced that canal leading to the Red Sea which Darius, King of Persia, afterwards continued. The length of this canal is equal to a four days' voyage, and is wide enough to admit two triremes abreast. The water enters it from the Nile, a little above the city of Bubastis. It terminated in the Red Sea, not far from Patumos, an Arabian town. They began to sink this canal in that part of Egypt which is nearest to Arabia. Contiguous to it is a mountain which stretches towards Memphis, and contains quarries of stone. Commencing at the foot of this, it extends, from west to east, through a considerable tract of country, and where a mountain opens to the south is discharged into the Arabian Gulf. In the prosecution of this work under Necos no less than 100,000 Egyptians perished. He at length desisted from his undertaking, being admonished by an oracle that all his labour would turn to the advantage of a barbarian."

Strabo gives the following account: "There is another canal terminating at the Arabian Gulf and the city of Arsinoe, sometimes called Cleopatris (Suez). It passes through the Bitter Lakes, whose waters were, indeed, formerly bitter, but which have been sweetened since the cutting of this canal by an admixture with those of the Nile, and now abound with delicate fish, and are crowded with waterfowl. This canal was first made by Sesostris before the war of Troy. Some say that the son of Psammitichus (Necho) first began the work and then died. The first Darius carried on the undertaking, but desisted from finishing it on a false opinion that as the Red Sea is higher than Egypt, the cutting of the isthmus between them would necessarily lay that under water. The Ptolemies disproved this error, and by means of weirs or locks rendered the canal navigable to

the sea without obstruction or inconvenience. Near to Arsinoe stand the cities of Heroum and Cleopatriis, the latter of which is on that recess of the Arabian Gulf which penetrates into Egypt. Here are harbours and dwellings and several canals with lakes adjacent to them. The canal leading to the Red Sea begins at Phaccusa, to which the village of Philon is immediately contiguous."

Diodorus has the following version. "From Pelusium (Tineh) to the Arabian Sea a canal was made. Necho, son of Psammitichus, first began the work; after him Darius the Persian carried it on, but left it unfinished, being told that if he cut through the isthmus, Egypt would be laid under water, for that the Red Sea was higher than Egypt. The last attempt was made by Ptolemy the Second, who succeeded by means of a new canal with sluices which were opened and shut as convenience required. The canal opened by Ptolemy was called after his name, and fell into the sea at Arsinoe."

Pliny says: "Sesostris, King of Egypt, was the first that planned the scheme for uniting the Red Sea with the Nile by a navigable canal of 62 M.P., which is the space that intervenes between them. In this he was followed by Darius, King of Persia, and also by Ptolemy of Egypt, the second of that name, who made a canal of 100 feet wide by 30 in depth, continuing it $37\frac{1}{2}$ M.P. to the Bitter Fountains. At this point the work was interrupted, for it was found that the Red Sea lay higher than the land of Egypt by 3 cubits, and a general inundation was feared. But some will have it that the true cause was, that if the sea was let into the Nile, the water of it, of which alone the inhabitants drink, would be spoiled."

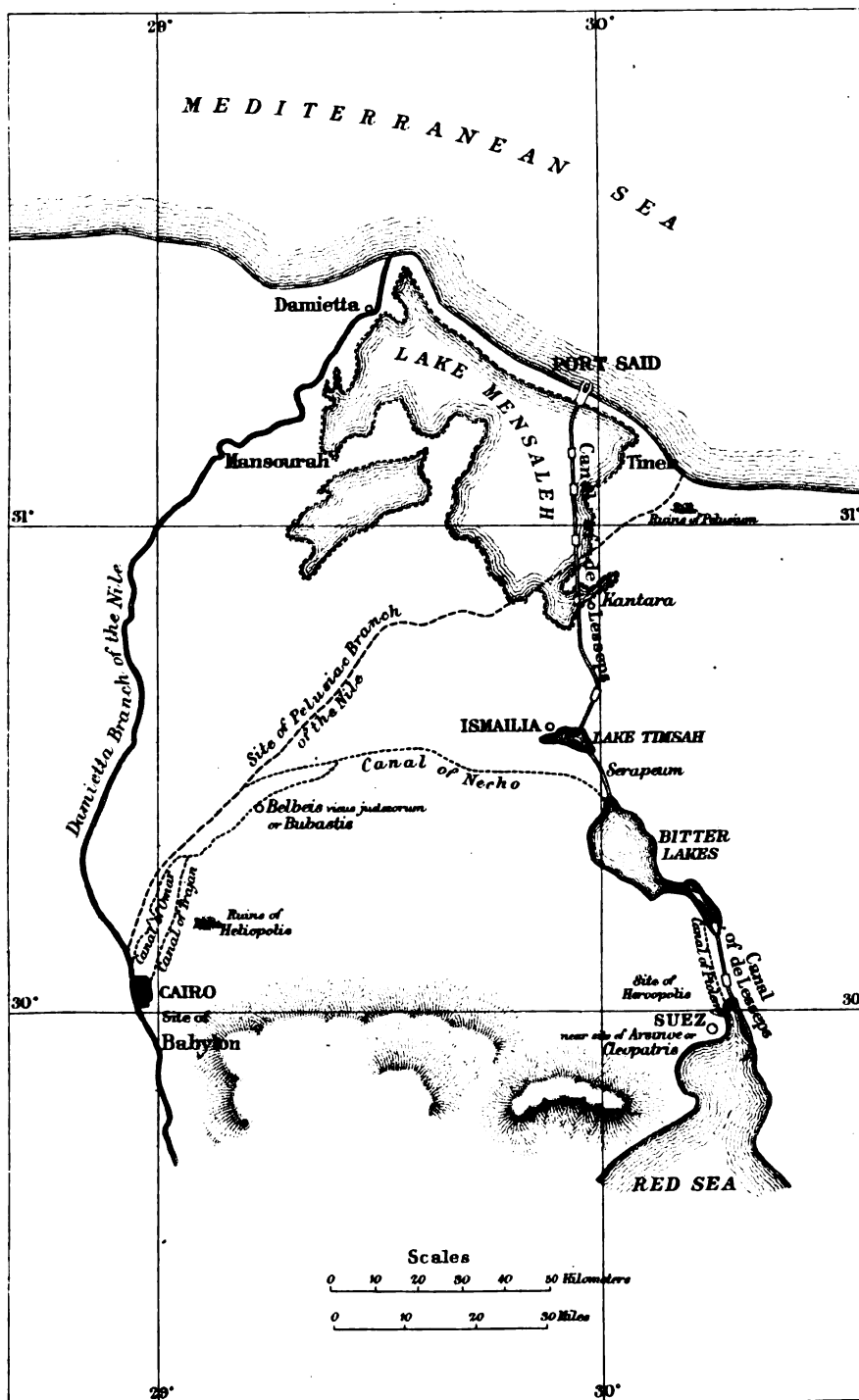
I have given these four authorities at length, and it will be observed that whilst Herodotus and Diodorus both give Necos (or Pharaoh Necho) credit for the original design and commencement of the work, Strabo and Pliny ascribe it to Sesostris. All, however, agree that Darius Hystaspes continued it, and according to Herodotus completed it, whereas Diodorus and Strabo agree that Ptolemy the Second was the person who actually completed it. Pliny, however, does not admit that it was ever finished.

To explain the situation of these ancient canals, it is necessary first of all to remember the changes which have

taken place in the geography of the Nile during the last two thousand years. A little distance below Babylon (now modern Cairo, very nearly) the river divided itself, in ancient times, into three great branches. Two of these are still extant, viz., the western one, discharging into the Mediterranean at the Rosetta Mouth, or, as it was anciently called, Bolbitine Mouth; the middle one, or Damietta River, anciently the Phalmetic Mouth; whilst the third, or eastern branch, called the Pelusiac, has disappeared. It is with this one, however, we have to deal. Leaving the main stream below Babylon or Cairo, it flowed north-easterly, and discharged into the Mediterranean near modern Tineh, anciently Pelusium. About midway on its length there was a large fresh-water lake adjoining the ancient city of Bubastis; and it was from this lake, and not from the Mediterranean Sea, that the canal of Necho was carried towards Arsinoe or Suez; but terminating in the Bitter Lakes, which lie some distance north-west of the head of the Red Sea. From these Bitter Lakes the canal of Ptolemy extended to the Red Sea itself; at Suez passing on its way through the city of Heroopolis, which was, it is supposed, situated some five or six miles to the south-east of them, and about fifteen miles north-west of Suez. And many writers agree that the Red Sea in ancient times extended much farther north: indeed, if not as far as the Bitter Lakes themselves, certainly to Heroopolis. The indications of the retreat of the sea southwards are so manifest in various places that some authorities suppose that at one time Africa was an island, and that the waters of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea were originally commingled.

It has been observed that the head of the canal of Necho at Bubastis was about the same distance from the Mediterranean as from the Red Sea; and this was probably done with a view of securing a current all the way from the Nile into the Red Sea, and so as to prevent the return of the salt water inland. That this actually took place there is little doubt, now that the levels are actually known: indeed, Herodotus confirms the fact, for he says that "it entered the canal from the Nile, and discharged itself into the Arabian Gulf".

With respect to the dimensions of these canals, according to Herodotus that of Necho and Darius was wide enough



PLAN OF PART OF EGYPT SHEWING
THE VARIOUS CANALS.

to admit *two triremes abreast* ; and Strabo says that the canal of Ptolemy was 100 cubits broad, and had a depth sufficient for the largest merchant ships. Pliny, however, only allows 100 feet for the breadth, and 30 feet for the depth, which must clearly be erroneous. A work of such proportions would not stand.

We now come to the consideration of the Trajanus Amnis, or canal of Trajan, mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy, although that work is often ascribed to Hadrian. That work, instead of leaving the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile, started from the main stream above the Delta near Babylon or Cairo, and was carried in an eastern direction till it met the canal of Necho, near modern Belbeis, at a point about half way between the Bubastis and the Bitter Lakes. It was this canal which is supposed to have been reopened by Amrou the general of the Caliph Omar, who, however, seems to have diverted its course slightly in the vicinity of Cairo. It is generally supposed that these canals were made in consequence of the gradual silting up of the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile ; and as the water was taken from the river by them at a higher point, there would doubtless be a better current through them than in the original stream. But even with this advantage the new canal does not seem to have continued long navigable ; and as far as history goes, none of them produced any lasting advantages, for it is clear the canal of Darius did not remain open in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, nor that of the latter in the time of Cleopatra. Nor does Ptolemy the geographer describe any water-communication between the Nile and the Red Sea, although he lived within fifty years of the time of Trajan.

These different accounts from which I have quoted show that for a period of about twelve centuries and a half, from the time of Darius to that of Omar, various attempts had been made to connect the waters of the Nile with the Red Sea ; and in all these projects we note that the projectors always had in view the formation of a fresh-water canal. The idea of connecting sea to sea in a direct course never seems to have occurred to them.

For over a thousand years after the times of Omar, the work was abandoned, and the next attempts were inaugurated by the French under the great Napoleon, who during

his occupation of Egypt turned his genius towards the subject. He caused a survey and a report to be made of this great work of antiquity, under the direction of M. Lepère, a French engineer of high standing; and no doubt, if the French had been successful in Egypt, something would have been done towards the realisation of the scheme. Without entering very precisely into the proposals of M. Lepère, it may be said generally that they were founded on the same great error which had defeated the ancient plans, viz., that the Red Sea was higher than the Mediterranean by a mean height of *twenty-seven feet and a half*, and he made the mean height of the Nile at Cairo the same; but as the river rises and falls $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet, whereas the Red Sea does not vary more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, he proposed to construct the canal in sections, having locks between them, to govern the differences in height at various times. The line he proposed was first from Bubastis to Seneka (or Abaceh), a distance of about twelve miles; the second length extended as far as Serapium, and was to be thirty-eight miles long; the third section, of twenty-seven miles, extended through the Bitter Lakes; and the fourth length, from them to the Red Sea, a distance of about thirteen miles. He estimated the cost of these works at £691,000 sterling; but with a number of accessories he brought up his figures to nearly £1,250,000. It is only fair, however, to M. Lepère to say that he spoke favourably of a direct cut from sea to sea. That distance is, in a straight line, about seventy-five miles; but as surveyed, his canal would have been about ninety-three miles long.

In the year 1847 a French engineer, M. Linant Bey, in the service of the Egyptian government, proposed to carry a canal from the Red Sea, through the Bitter Lakes, to Lake Timsah, and thence through the lagoons of Lake Mensaleh to Tineh (Pelusium) on the Mediterranean; and on the assumption that the levels of M. Lepère were correct, he calculated that there would be a flow through the canal of three or four miles an hour.

At that time, however, our own eminent engineer, the late Robert Stephenson, M.P., appeared upon the scene, and under his auspices a careful set of levels were taken across the Isthmus, which revealed the curious and important fact that there was no essential difference between the two seas

at low water, and at high water the difference was not more than 4 feet. This discovery seems for a time to have deterred further enterprise, it being Mr. Stephenson's opinion that the canal could not be kept open without a current through it.

About four years after, the project was again revived by M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, to whom the Khedive of Egypt granted the concession for making a canal direct from sea to sea, besides subscribing substantially to the undertaking. At the instance of M. de Lesseps an international commission of engineers was appointed to examine and report upon the plans; and under their direction an exact survey was made of the country, and fresh levels were taken, which confirmed Mr. Stephenson's statement that the two seas were virtually the same level. It was now proposed that a canal should be excavated having a depth of 8 metres, or 26 feet 3 inches; and a width, at the water-level, of 80 metres, or 262 feet. The estimate for this work was £6,500,000; and it was proposed to form a company with a capital of £8,000,000. It need hardly be observed that the works have cost double that amount.

It would not be fair to omit the name of Colonel Chesney amongst the list of those eminent men who foresaw the practicability and advantages of a direct connection from sea to sea. In 1830 he examined the country, and says: "As to the executive part there is but one opinion. There are no serious difficulties, not a single mountain intervenes, scarcely what deserves to be called a hillock. In a country where labour can be had without limit, and at a rate infinitely below that of any other part of the world, the expense would be a moderate one for a single nation, and scarcely worth dividing between the great kingdoms of Europe who would all be benefited by the measure."

Having thus glanced at the general history of the earlier Suez canals, which were all more or less abortive, I will endeavour, in as concise a form as possible, to describe the wonderful work of M. de Lesseps.

The whole length of the Canal, from Port Said to Suez, may be taken at eighty-eight geographical miles; of this, sixty-six miles are actual canal; and twenty-two miles of the navigation run through three lakes, viz., Timsah and the Great and Little Bitter Lakes. In all cases, however, except

for about eight miles, it was necessary to excavate to obtain the required depth. The width of the Canal at the surface varies from 325 feet to 195 feet ; and its floor is 72 feet wide, the depth of water being 26 feet ; the general slope of the excavation being 2 to 1, but considerably flatter where the surface of the water impinges. At every five or six miles between Port Said and Lake Timsah, the whole distance being forty-two miles, there is a "Gare", or siding, to allow large vessels to bring up in, either for the purpose of passing each other or to moor for the night.

The greatest difficulty anticipated was that the large quantity of deposit being constantly carried eastward from the Nile would rapidly form a shoal across the entrance to the Canal at Port Said. M. de Lesseps, however, boldly confronted this difficulty, and his decision has been justified by the event. He has thrown out two formidable breakwaters on both sides of the Canal, enclosing an area of 450 acres, and extending as far as 6,940 feet to sea on one side, and 6,020 feet on the other. These form a good, quiet harbour, and effectually keep out the silt. The breakwaters are made of loose blocks of artificial stone. At Suez the port of entry is easy of access. A breakwater here protects the entrance from southerly winds.

From the Nile at Cairo to Ismailia there is a fresh-water canal which connects with the maritime canal there by means of two locks. About three miles before reaching Ismailia, an arm of this fresh-water canal branches off, and runs alongside of the main Canal to Suez. The depth of this fresh-water canal is about 4 feet. There is also a railway from Suez to Ismailia along the route of the Canal.

To show the enormous value of this work to all Indian and Chinese interests, it may be sufficient here to state that the Canal route saves very nearly one half the distance between the English Channel and Galle, the distances being round the Cape of Good Hope, 11,650 miles, and by the Canal, 6,515 miles ; or a saving of 5,135 miles, or, in point of time, of thirty-six days.

It was in the year 1854 that Mohammed Said succeeded Abbas Pacha. On the 15th of November in that year M. de Lesseps submitted to him a memorial advocating with grand simplicity and power the advantages of this great project. On the 30th of November the concession was

signed, inaugurating a Universal Company for piercing the Isthmus of Suez. Then the English representative asked the Viceroy how he expected the work could ever be accomplished. To which Mohammed Said replied, "that M. de Lesseps having entitled his company 'Universal', all nations would be invited to contribute to its capital". M. de Lesseps himself announced in these terms, to the English agent, the signing of the Firman : "I come as the friend of peace and of the Anglo-French alliance, to bring you that which will contribute to realise the saying, '*Aperire terram, et dare pacem gentibus*'."

NOTES ON A RECENTLY DISCOVERED PAVEMENT AT THE ABBEY OF OLD CLEEVE, SOMERSET.

BY COLONEL J. R. BRAMBLE.

DURING the excavations which have been recently made at the Abbey of Old Cleeve, Somerset, an encaustic tile pavement has been discovered, extending southwards at right angles to the present refectory which is situate on the south side of the cloister, and extends east and west parallel to the church. As a great deal of discussion has taken place consequent upon the statement in a recent communication to the Society, "that it is perfectly certain that the refectory was always in its present position", the accompanying drawing of the pavement in question, which has been prepared from a careful detailed measurement and drawing, may not be unacceptable. I do not propose to discuss the rival theories, but simply to assist in furnishing materials for the consideration of others having a more special knowledge of the subject.

The present extreme dimensions of the pavement are 34 feet from north to south, and 136 from east to west. The foundations of a wall, 3 feet 6 inches in thickness, have been discovered on the east, south, and west sides. On the south the pavement runs up to the wall, but on the east and west sides there is a vacant space of 5 feet intervening. On the north side, near the present building, a large number of the tiles are missing, especially at the north-west corner; but the remainder of the pavement is in a wonderful state of preservation, especially as it has been buried under only about 2 feet of soil which has been cultivated as a garden for probably the last three hundred years.

The pavement is divided into three distinct portions entirely different in their arrangement, and they are separated from each other by two narrow bands of tiling of different widths.

The tiles are of two sizes, 8 ins. square and $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. square, and are placed lozengewise. There are also lines of plain tiles, 8 ins. by 2, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 2, dividing the pattern into

lozenges. The whole are now of a colour varying from slate to reddish brown ; but where the surface is decayed, appear internally to be of a red brick colour. The pattern is formed by a clay of a cream or light yellow colour burned into the tile. Although from exposure the surface has acquired a number of varied tints, I could find no trace of any original colours other than those mentioned.

On the south the pavement is bounded by a row of plain 8-inch square tiles set at right angles, having no trace of heraldic or other pattern. This forms apparently the original boundary in that direction. The next section is composed of 8-inch square tiles set in lozenges composed each of sixteen tiles. The square tiles in this section are all heraldic, and bear the following devices : three chevrons (Clare), three lions passant guardant (Henry III), a lion rampant guardant within a bordure bezantée (Cornwall). Four tiles of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches square have been inserted in this section, evidently to replace one of 8 inches, the border being also removed to make sufficient space. Three bear a fess between six crosses (Beauchamp of Warwick, and the fourth a bend fusilly (Raleigh or Sydenham), the latter tile being, like most of those in the building which are capable of it, reversed in the mould so as to appear as a bend sinister. The last named bearings are to be found in the church, but are not repeated anywhere in this pavement.

The first band is composed of three rows of square 8-inch tiles, each separated from the others by the 2-inch border-tile. The square tiles have the same arms as in the first section. The second section is composed of $5\frac{1}{2}$ -inch tiles set in lozenges of four tiles each. The tiles in some of the lozenges bear a double-headed eagle displayed (not on a shield) ; no doubt that borne by Richard Earl of Cornwall as claiming the title of King of the Romans ; and in others they bear a floriated design.

The second band is composed of a single row of square 8-inch tiles, each separated from the others by the edging-tiles. Every alternate tile is charged with the arms of Clare, except that on the left hand, which bears Cornwall, the intermediate tiles being plain.

The section nearest the present buildings is composed, like the second, of $5\frac{1}{2}$ -inch tiles, but set in lozenges of sixteen. The tiles in some of the lozenges bear a shield chequy

with a castle as a crest (Warren). In the others they bear a floriated circle.

The pavement bears evident marks of having been subjected to extensive repair, and apparently at an early period. I am assured that nothing has been done since its disinterment beyond placing a layer of cement (in which small fragments of tile have been embedded) at the edge for the purpose of security, and some slight repair by the insertion of loose pieces of plain tiling. I am strongly inclined to concur in the suggestion that the whole of the pavement was originally composed of the 8-inch tiles arranged as in the first section; that those in the north or lower part being the ones nearer the entrance, becoming in course of time broken and injured, the ground was relaid with smaller tiles, such of the old ones as were available being used for the bands, the order of pattern in the first of which is extremely irregular.

For a space of about 4 feet across the centre of the wider of the two bands, and partly over the middle section, the tiles have evidently been exposed to great heat; not apparently from fire placed upon them, but more as if it had been placed *over* them in a fire-basket. There are no traces of fire in any other part, and I do not think the appearances can be due to a fire on the surface of the ground before the excavation took place. Up to this point in the pavement there is a deep indentation extending along its centre, from north to south. The tiles are not crushed, but pressed more or less below the general level for a width of from 2 to 3 feet, the depression on the north being the wider and deeper.

In Prebendary Walcott's paper, published in the *Journal*,¹ it is stated that "the arms of the Abbey found on some tiles are an "adaptation of his (William de Romara's) coat, *gules*, seven mascles, 3, 3, 1, conjoined *or*", and in the illustration these arms are expressly stated to be those of "the Abbey of St. Mary of Clyffe". I have been unable, after careful search and inquiry, to find any tiles on which this coat appears. No arms appear on the seal of the Abbey. The coat, however, appears on the seal of Abbot Juyner (1435), together with another shield bearing three lions *passant guardant* with a plain label of three points. In

¹ Vol. xxxi, p. 407.

Boutell's *Heraldry* a drawing is given of the shield of William de Romara, and it is stated, "Mr. Planché has directed attention to the seal of William de Romara III, Earl of Lincoln, who died 1198, which is both masculée and crusillée". The crosslets may undoubtedly be very early differences, but it would be desirable to know what evidence is forthcoming that the coat in question was in fact ever adopted as the arms of the Abbey of Cleeve. The shield of Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, father-in-law of William de Romara, and a very considerable benefactor to the Abbey, bore masculy (possibly lozengy) vair and *gules*. The Rev. Thos. Hugo, referring to the seal of Abbot Juynier,¹ says these are "the arms traditionally given to William de Romara, the founder of the Abbey", but not that tradition ascribed them to the Abbey itself.

In addition to the shields of arms in the newly discovered pavement, numerous others have been found in the church and sacristy. Altogether the different coats are twenty-three in number, besides the double-headed eagle before mentioned, which may be considered more properly as a badge. I append a few notes made with a view, as far as possible, to show the connection of the various families with the Abbey and locality. From the want of tinctures it is impossible in all cases positively to identify the family to whom the arms appertain, still in most cases this can be done with a reasonable degree of certainty. Many tiles with similar bearings, and apparently of the same date (in some cases even from the same mould), are to be found at St. Decuman's, Leighland, Dunster, and other churches in the vicinity; many also at Neath Abbey, and those at the Old Singing School at Worcester, figured in the *Glossary of Architecture*, are also of very similar character, the designs of many of the non-heraldic tiles being almost or quite identical. The larger tiles appear to be not later than the middle of the thirteenth century, the smaller ones probably about fifty years later. The heraldic tiles bear the following arms:

1. Three lions passant gardant (Henry III). These were the arms borne by Henry II and Richard I² during the latter portion of their respective reigns, and by John, Henry III,

¹ See Hugo's *Charters of Cleeve Abbey*, p. 42, and notes.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13.

and Edward I and II. They may fairly be assigned to Henry III, who in 1226 granted a charter to the Abbey confirming the grant of certain lands by Hubert de Burgh, and who himself granted and confirmed to the Abbey the manor of Bramton, Devon, by charters of grant and confirmation, in the years 1228 and 1238. The seal of Abbot David Juyner (1435-66) had in the lower part,—two shields; that on the right bears seven masles; that on the left three lions passant gardant, with a label.

2. A lion rampant within a bordure bezantée. Richard Earl of Cornwall. Richard Earl of Poitiers and Cornwall,¹ brother of Henry III, granted and confirmed to the Abbey of Clyve certain lands at Pochewill and Treglaston and Pendestoke in Cornwall, the gift of Hubert de Burgh and others. The "double-headed eagle displayed"² was borne by him as claiming the title of King of the Romans.

3. (*Or*) three chevrons (*gules*). Clare. The family of Clare were Earls of Gloucester, and possessed of very numerous manors throughout the district. In the reign of Henry III they held lands at Porlock. The same arms are found on tiles at St. Decuman's, Dunster, and numerous other churches in the neighbourhood, as well as on carvings, in windows, etc.

4. Chequy *or* and *azure*. Warrenne. The well known shield of Warrenne is still quartered by the Norfolk family. I have been unable hitherto to ascertain the special connection with the Abbey.

The bearings on the shields 1, 2, and 4, are found in this part of the Abbey buildings only; those of Clare, which are found differently treated, on a smaller tile in the church. The two next mentioned have been used in repairing the first section of the pavement, and similar tiles are to be found in the church.

5. A bend fusilly or lozengy. Raleigh or Sydenham. This shield is reversed. The Raleighs held the adjoining manor of Nettlecombe from the time of Henry II,³ when John, son of Gilbert, Marshal of England, granted the manor to Hugh de Raleigh of Raleigh, co. Devon, and to his heirs, by the service of finding a soldier for two whole months in the time of war, and forty days in the time of peace. Wil-

¹ Hugo's *Charters*.

² Boutell's *Heraldry*, p. 210.

³ *Coll. Som.*, vol. iii, p. 536.

liam Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, confirmed this manor to Warine de Raleigh and his heirs, to be held by the service of a whole knight's fee.¹ A son of the same name was at Nettlecombe, 1242, and appears to have held lands at Allingford under Reginald de Mohun. By inquisition, 4 Edward III, on death of John de Mohun, it appears that John de Raleigh held the manor of Allerford by service of one knight's fee. The family also held the manor of Cutcombe, hence called Cutcombe Raleigh. The name of Lord William de Raleigh appears as that of one of the witnesses to the charter of the Earl of Cornwall before referred to,² and that of Ralph de Raleg to the charter of 13 Henry III.³

The Sydenhams or Sydehams were an ancient family settled at Sydenham near Bridgwater. In the time of King John, Robert de Sydenham was lord of the manor of that name, and at his death he left a son John living in the time of Henry III. "To which John succeeded Walter de Sydeham (being thus written in the evidences of Dunster Castle), who, 14 Edward I, held under Richard de Greynville a knight's fee in Sydeham, of John de Mohun, as of the honour of Dunster."⁴ The heiress of Richard Popham (who himself married the heiress of the Orchards of St. Decuman's, adjacent to Cleeve) married John Sydenham, who died 3 Edward IV, and their descendants in the male line remained at Orchard until the time of Henry VIII.

The only known existing impression of the Abbey seal is attached to a bond given in the time of Abbot Dovell, 27 Henry VIII (two years before the suppression) to John Sydenham of Nettlecombe for the due performance of the covenants, etc., contained in a lease of the farm or grange called Legh, in the parish of Old Cleeve.

6. (*Arg.*), three fusils in fess (*gu.*). Montacute. The Montacutes held Montacute in this county from the time of the Conqueror to that of Henry VIII.⁵ The manor of Shepton Montacute and other lands were granted by one of this family to the Priory of Bruton when that Priory was re-founded by William de Mohun in 1142. William de Montacute was seized of (qy. a moiety of) the manor of Cutcombe, near Cleeve, in the time of Edward III, in right of his wife,

¹ *Savage's Carhampton*, 477.

² *Hugo's Charters of Cleeve Abbey*.

³ *Coll. Som.*, vol. iii, p. 86.

⁴ *Coll. Som.*, vol. iii, p. 489.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 211 et seq.; vol. iii, p. 309 et seq.

a coheiress of John the last Lord Mohun ; and again, at an inquisition, 2 Henry V, Elizabeth, wife of William de Montacute, was found to hold a moiety of the same manor.

7. (*Or*) a cross engrailed (*sable*). Mohun. William de Mohun came to England with the Conqueror, and received the barony of Dunster. The Priory of Bruton was endowed by him in 1142.¹ Reginald de Mohun gave to the Abbey lands in Slaworth. William de Mohun, his brother, also gave lands in Stortmanforde, which he held under Reginald, who confirmed the gift by charter. The castle and lands of Dunster remained in this family until 48 Edward III,² when, on the death of the last Lord Mohun without issue male, the property passed to the Luttrell family. These bearings are to be found on tiles at Leighland and also at Neath Abbey.

8. Barry of six (*gu.* and *or*). Poyntz. The family of Poyntz held an estate at Leighland, in the parish of Old Cleeve, for several generations ; and the same arms are to be found on a tile in Leighland Chapel. They settled early in Somersetshire and also in Gloucestershire, where they succeeded the ancient family of Acton of Iron Acton. The Gloucestershire branch appears to have adopted the arms of Acton :³ and the arms found on another tile, quarterly per fesse indented, are those of the Actons as well as of the Fitzwarrens, to whom I attribute them.

9. (*Arg.*) a trivet (*sable*). Trivet. The family of Trivet were early settled in Somerset, where they gave their name to the manor of West Chilton, or Chilton Trivet, near Bridgwater, in which town they had also a manor.⁴ The lofty and ancient bridge at Bridgwater was begun in the time of King John by William Briwere, lord of the town, and finished by Sir Thomas Trivet, whose arms (as above) are or were affixed to the coping of the structure. In 1216 the family held a manor at Heathfield Durborough, near Wiveliscombe, in this neighbourhood, which was held of the De Mohuns by knight's service. William and Thomas Truet (Trivet ?) appear as witnesses to the charter of the Dean and Chapter of Wells appointing two monks for the Woolavington Chantry in this Abbey.⁵

¹ Hugo's *Charters*, pp. 11, 12.

² Collinson, *Somerset*, vol. ii, p. 9.

³ Pooley's *Gloucestershire Crosses*, p. 46.

⁴ *Coll. Som.*, ii, p. 75.

⁵ Vol. xxxi, *Society's Journal*, p. 417.

10. Quarterly (*gu.* and *or*) a bend (*arg.*). Fitz Nicholas. This tile, which gives the bend as sinister, is evidently reversed, as the "Fitz" in this case at all events does not appear to imply illegitimacy. This was a branch of the great Berkeley family, who took the name of Tickenham from the manor of Tickenham, near Clevedon, co. Somerset, from the time of Richard I to that of Edward IV, when, by the marriage of the heiress of the family, the manor passed to that of Poyntz, who held it for many generations. The same arms are to be found at Leighland Chapel. The name of Roger de Tickenham,¹ who was living in the time of Richard I, was father of Nicholas de Tickenham who granted to the Hospital of Billeswyche (known as "The Gaunts", and now as the Mayor's Chapel), in Bristol, the right of digging turf in his moor at Tickenham. To him succeeded Ralph de Tickenham, who had issue Nicholas, surnamed Fitz Ralph de Tickenham, whose son Thomas was called Fitz Nicholas. Ralph Fitz Nicholas is one of the witnesses to the charter of 11 Henry III before referred to.³

11. Vairé (*az.* and *arg.*). Beauchamp of Hache.

12. (*Gu.*), a bar or fesse between six crosses potent or (*gy.*) crosslets (*or*). Beauchamp of Warwick. The family of Beauchamp settled in Somerset in very early times. On the marriage of Matilda, daughter of Henry II, Robert de Beauchamp, styled "of Hache", is certified to hold seventeen knights' fees in the county.³ He died in 1211, leaving Robert, his son and heir, in ward to Hubert de Burgh, who was himself a great benefactor to the Abbey. He died about 35 Henry III (1251), when Robert, the third of that name, had livery of his lands. This branch appears to have adopted the first-named coat, the latter being the original one of the family. The former will be found on a tile at Leighland Chapel, the latter at St. Decuman's, and also at the Old Singing School, Worcester, where they are attributed to this family. At Neath Abbey they are more correctly represented as crosslets.

13. Quarterly, 1 and 4 (*arg.*), a bend (*sa.*), 2 and 3 (*gu.*), fretty (*or*). Despenser. Hugh Despenser and Geoffrey Despenser are among the witnesses to the charter, 11 Henry III

¹ Collinson, vol. iii, p. 164.

² Hugo's *Charters of Cleeve Abbey*, p. 14.

³ Collinson, i, p. 44.

before referred to.¹ In the latter end of the reign of Henry III, the manor of Wooton (adjoining that of Dunster) appears to have been the lordship of Philip Lord Bassett of Wycombe,² whose daughter Olivia having married Hugh Despenser carried it into that family. They had issue, Hugh Despenser (called the Senior) and a daughter Eleanor, who married Hugh de Courtenay, the father of Hugh, first Earl of Devonshire of that family; on which marriage he received the manor of Wooton, now called Wooton Courtenay.

14. (*Sa.*), a pale lozengy (*arg.*). Furneaux. By inquisition, 4 Edward III, on death of John de Mohun,³ Walter Furneaux was certified to hold the hamlet of Holford by the service of one knight's fee. The family settled at Kilve in this county about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

15. Fretty ———. Audley. By inquisition last mentioned it appears James de Audley held the manor of Etanton of John de Mohun by service of one knight's fee.

16. Quarterly per fesse indented. Fitzwarren. The ancient family of Fitzwarren or Fitzwaring held large possessions in this county, and gave their name to several manors, as Norton Fitzwarren. Prebendary Walcott attributes it to the Lacon family, but the other appears more probable. It may also be Acton. See Poyntz.

17. A chevron between three crescents. Barkerolles. This is probably the coat of Barkerolles of East Orchard, whose arms appear on the roll of Edward II as "D'azure a un cheveron e iii cressans d'or". Sir William Barkerolles was one of the followers of Sir Hugh de Audley, 1321; and Sir Roger de Barkerolles was an attesting witness to the charters of Hugh Despenser to Neath Abbey, 1338 and 1341. At least twenty-six families, however, bear a similar coat, only differenced by the tinctures.

18. Gyronny of eight. Peverell.

19. Three cinquefoils. Bardolf.

20. On a bend three roses. Cary.

21. Fretty engrailed. Alesford.

22. A bend between six cinquefoils. Brideport.

23. Six roses. Palton.

¹ Hugo's *Charters*, p. 14.

² Savage's *Hundred of Carhampton*, p. 342.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 477.

ON THE
RECENT DISCOVERY OF THE REFECTORY AND
TILED FLOOR AT CLEEVE ABBEY.

BY JOHN REYNOLDS.

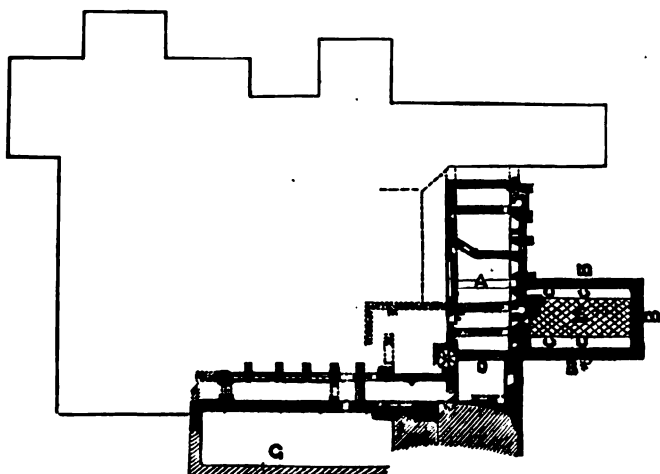
RETURNING from the Evesham Congress (Aug. 1875) with the late Hon. Secretary, Edw. Roberts, F.S.A., we saw the announcement in *The Times* of the excavations and discoveries made by the Rev. Prebendary Walcott at Cleeve Abbey. Mr. Roberts asked me to go down to Cleeve and examine and report upon the work for him. This I did, accompanied by my friend Mr. Taylor, and we were very pleased with the progress of the excavations and the discoveries that had been made. The excavation of the site of the church was progressing, and fresh tiles and foundations, indicating the plan of the church, were being found as the earth was removed. Upon examining the conventual buildings, the most perfect I have ever seen, I found two peculiarities: one was that the late refectory runs east and west, or parallel to the church; the wrong position for the refectory according to Cistercian arrangement; and also that it was an upper apartment, and not on the basement-floor. The second peculiarity was that there was no west walk to the cloister-garth. I accounted for the unusual position of the refectory from the fact of the lateness of the work, it having been erected at a time when original rules were departed from, and argued that the early or first refectory had occupied its proper position on the basement, and ran west and south to the church. I was then joined by Mr. Sampson, to whom I stated my views, and he directly said he believed that there had been a wall (which I have marked A) across the building Mr. Walcott calls the calefactory. We then together examined, and found at once that the Early English door (F) leading to the stairs had not been originally built to lead to these steps, but to an apartment on the basement-floor; for the hooks were left, and showed that the hinges, and consequently the doors, opened inwards against the stairs; and as it was close to the lavatory,

the proper position for the door to the refectory, I placed that apartment either as a basement to the later refectory, or running in the opposite direction. From marks in the wall shown me by Mr. Sampson, I was certain the latter position was the correct one.

I then examined the convent garden, and taking the wall D, and a continuation of it (B*), as the west wall of the early refectory, and guessing an equal distance from centre of the door, F, I laid out the wall A and B¹ as the east wall of the refectory. I paced the direction of these walls in the garden; which I begged Mr. Sampson to have excavated. Some time after, upon a second visit, I saw traces of these walls which had been found, and these quite confirmed my former statement in every way.

As I had arranged to take a party down to see the remains of Cleeve Abbey in the Easter week of this year, I renewed my application to have the foundations searched for; to which request Mr. Luttrell, the owner, kindly consented, and Mr. Sampson put on directly two experienced men, who almost immediately, at a depth of about 2 feet, came across foundations of walls and tiles regularly laid. I paid Cleeve a visit soon after, and was pleased beyond my expectations. The refectory originally was about 65 feet long, from 1 to 2 (in the ground-plan), and the width, 3 to 4 and 7 to 8, about 24 feet 6 inches. The newly discovered part was about 40 feet long, the tiled pavement in the centre being 34 feet by 13 feet 6 inches, the spaces marked c being about 5 feet each. These untiled spaces completely puzzled me; but I was told afterwards, by the Hon. and Rev. Bishop Clifford, that it was quite in order with the present arrangement in the refectories of the Cistercian houses. There is a pavement in the centre, while on each side was a slightly raised platform of wood, like the dais at the end of a dining hall, only not so high, which supported the tables and seats for the brethren. There was no raised end or dais to this refectory, so that whatever may have been the arrangement in the later refectory, there was in the earlier one no superior table at which the president sat; and if the abbot dined in the hall with the brethren, he must have sat with them at their common board. The discovery of this early refectory proves that at Cleeve it followed the proper position. I am certain that at all other houses where the later

apartment takes another direction, if excavations were made, the site of an earlier refectory, in conformity with the rule, would be found. Beauport, one of the houses adduced as a proof of the opposite arrangement, is not a Cistercian, but according to a charter in Dugdale, a Premonstratensian house. At Ford, where the refectory is *upstairs*, it was undoubtedly over an earlier one which had been removed. The arrangement at Cleeve is decidedly Benedictine, and struck me as a facsimile, on a smaller scale, of the refectory at Worcester; and the monk who left the Benedictine house at Tewkesbury, and sojourned at Cleeve for a short time, must, I think, have taken his Benedictine ideas with him.



The other peculiarity, the absence of the west walk of the cloister-garth, is also easily accounted for. It originally existed as at other houses; but when, at the end of the fifteenth century, the extensive alterations, including the building of the later refectory, were made, the building G, which consisted of a vaulted substructure with dormitory over (called by Mr. Sharpe the *domus conversorum*), was pulled down, and the west wall of the cloister enclosed, to provide a site for the new *domus* or house for lay brothers. The original processional door was the entrance from this apartment into the church. The door for the staircase from the dormitory into the church is still in the S. wall of the nave, directly over the processional door, proving that this building took the place of the structure then fallen into disuse.

ROMAN POTTERY-KILNS AT COLCHESTER.

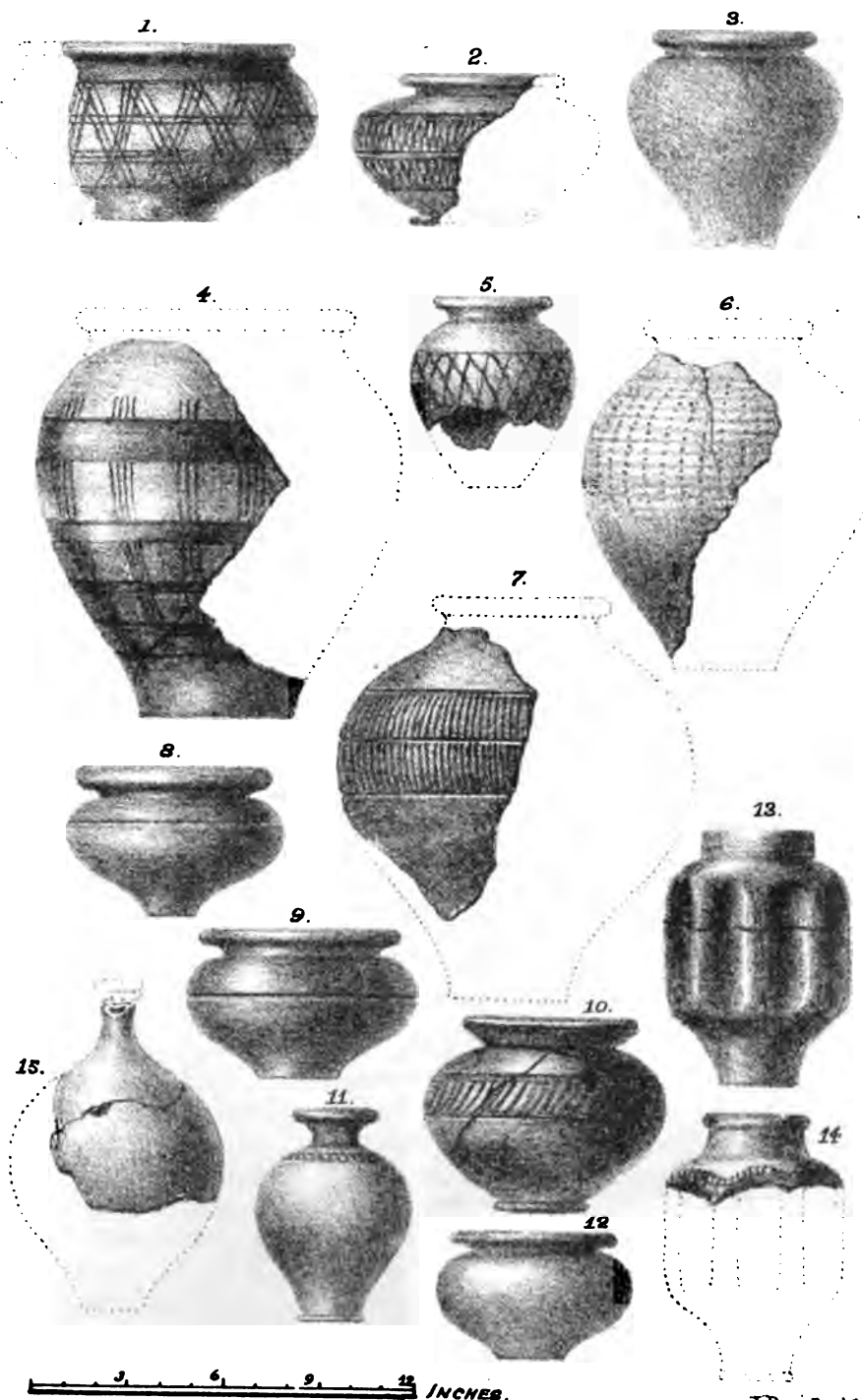
BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(Concluded.)

THE interest which has been taken in the discovery of the five kilns at Colchester, and which have been described in the present volume at p. 267, has led the Council to make further inquiries. The Essex Archæological Society has published a paper by Mr. George Joslin, who has described the articles found in detail, and the Society has kindly placed at the disposal of the Association some of the sketches, etc., of the articles discovered. These are shown on the accompanying plates, drawn by Mr. J. Parish of Colchester. They represent several unusual forms of pottery; and the accompanying selection, in addition to those which have already appeared in the *Journal*, will afford sufficient illustration of the great variety of the articles, not only with regard to their forms, but to their workmanship.

The first Plate represents fourteen different vessels of varying sizes and capacities. They are drawn to scale in this as well as in the other Plates, so that their relative dimensions may readily be noticed. These are all either black or black-brown in colour; but there have been found many examples similar to figs. 13, 14, of red ware, or which showed red on fracture. Fig. 3 is a brown-black cinerary urn. Many of the black ware vessels, as figs. 8, 9, are partly burnished over their surface; and others, as 1, 2, 4, and 5, "have bands of various widths burnished or smoothed round them, and the spaces between the bands are ornamented with burnished lines of various designs". Figs. 6, 7, 10, and 11, have had their peculiar, repeated patterns impressed by a small revolving mould while the vessel was on the potter's wheel. Many examples, in fragments, were found of the vessels represented; some with minor variations of the designs.

The next Plate shows sixteen additional varieties. Figs. 1 and 2 are of red ware, very neatly made. Figs. 3, 14, 16, are also red, but covered with a gilt, lusted glazing



POTTERY FOUND AT THE ROMAN POTTERY KILNS, DISCOVERED AT COLCHESTER, MARCH, 1877.



3 6 9 12 INCHES.

J. Parish. del.



3 6 9 12 INCHES.

J. Parish. del.

BRONZE FIBULA, AND FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY FOUND AT THE ROMAN POTTERY KILNS, DISCOVERED AT COLCHESTER, MARCH, 1877.

similar to the rare ware found in London and other places. Fig. 3 on the preceding Plate is similarly glazed. Figs. 7 and 8 are circular, dish-shaped vessels of fine black ware, with very smooth surfaces; and as Mr. Joslin justly remarks, their design is very similar to the pattern of many vessels of Samian ware: indeed, many fragments of this latter ware were found among the *débris* of the furnaces, as if they had been used as models. Similar discoveries among the pottery-works at Upchurch have led to similar inference there. On fig. 7 a name has been stamped inside the bottom, as on Samian ware, but it is illegible. Fig. 6 is formed of very light clay beautifully finished. Fig. 12 is a handle and lip of a very large amphora; and 13 is the neck of an equally large ampulla, both being of light material, as is also the handle, fig. 10. The other figures speak for themselves.

The last Plate, in fig. 2, illustrates one of the very many forms of mortaria found. Some were only 8 inches in diameter, while others were fully 27 inches. Their material was very varying; but no names across the lip, elsewhere so frequent, were met with here on any of the numerous fragments. Some lettering, however, was found on the rim of an enormous, shallow, red ware pan which, from its fragments, must have been fully 8 feet in diameter. (Figs. 12, 13, 14.) The letters, which are 2 inches in height, have been formed of light clay upon the red. Fig. 9 introduces us to another class of ware. It is a small portion only of a bowl or cup formed of light red clay, with the pattern put on in slip, as was so frequently done at the Caistor potteries. Figs. 3 and 4 show a bronze fibula and a pin. These were the only articles of metal found, except two second brass coins, one of Claudius, and the other of Vespasian, already alluded to.

It is to be regretted that the fragments thus illustrated cannot now be assigned to the individual kiln of their manufacture, since they appear to have been mixed together before being brought under Mr. Parish's able pencil; but it may be observed that in the description given (p. 268), the articles there referred to are all correctly assigned to the first and second kilns.

These numerous forms will be of much service for comparison with those of other Roman vessels found elsewhere,

and may serve to show eventually that Colchester pottery was used over a more extended area than may at first be considered likely. It is satisfactory to report that some of the fragments have been placed in that most interesting collection of Roman remains, the Colchester Museum. They may thus be compared with many other, but perfect, vessels found in the district, identical in material and workmanship, thus proving beyond reasonable doubt that the latter were manufactured in the locality.

The collection of Roman antiquities formed by Mr. Joslin, the result of many years' painstaking research in the Colchester district, also contains many examples identical with those manufactured in the kilns.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., HON. SECRETARY.

DURING the last two sessions of the British Archæological Association several original documents of interest have been laid before the meetings, and have elicited the remarks of the members who especially study those branches of archæology which appertain to the subject of MSS. In the early part of 1876, Sir P. Stafford Carey of Guernsey presented to our library a series of fine charters, on vellum, relating to succession of property in that island. The text of these is printed *in extenso* in this place, according to order of chronology.

I. A lease of land in Guernsey, from Thomas Basset to Peter Lohier. Dated 22 Jan. 1501. *French*.

II. An agreement between Thomas le Tellyer and John le Tellyer respecting the right of succession to the property of Christopher le Tellyer. Dated 21 Sept. 1560. *French*.

III. An agreement between Collas Marquy and Thomas Faultrart respecting the rent of certain property of the said Collas in Guernsey. Dated 28 Nov. 1598. *French*.

IV. A deed of sale of lands, rents, etc., in Guernsey, from Richard Brooke and Rachel Germain his wife, to James Beauvoir. Dated 27 Aug. 1606. *English*.

V. Quitclaim from Thomas Mahy and Anne Nicolle his wife, to Sir Peter Gosselin, of a garden in St. Pierre Port, Guernsey. Dated 21 Oct. 1681. *French*.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A., lately exhibited several interesting documents, on vellum, in his possession, relating to Spain and Spanish dependencies, from which the following have been selected for publication *in extenso* :

VI. Certificate of the miraculous cure of Fray Juan de los Reyes at Cordova. Dated 30 July 1613. *Spanish*.

VII. Appointment of Francisco de la Fuente to be Castellan of Tortona, under sign manual of Philip III, King of Castile and Leon. Dated 21 Oct. 1610. *Latin*.

VIII. Appointment of the said Francisco de la Fuente, Castellan of Tortona, to be Castellan of Pavia, under sign manual of Philip IV, King of Castile and Leon. Dated 16 Jan. 1627. *Latin.*

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., Hon. Curator and Librarian, recently presented to the Association a document on two pages of paper, folio, consisting of—

IX. A Treasury warrant for the payment of the account of [William Capel] Earl of Essex as Ranger and Keeper of St. James's and Hyde Parks, 1731-39. Dated 9th January 1739.

I.—22 Jan. 1501. *Lease of Land in Guernsey from Thomas Basset to Peter Lohier.*

"A tous ceulx quy cez presentes lettrez veront ou oront. John Martin baillif de Notre souverain seigneur le Roy Dengleterre en lisle de Guernesey salut en dieu sauoir faisons qui pardeuant nous en la ville de St. Pierre Port en la dicte isle le xxij jour du moiez de Janvier en l'an de grace mcccc et vng et en presence de Nychollas Essart et Thomas de Sausmares jures de la court Notre dit seigneur le Roy en la dite isle soy comparurent personell[m]ent pardeuant nous savoir est Thomas Basset filx Henry de la parroesse de St. Sauveur dugne partie et Pierres Lohier filx John de la dicte parroesse d'autre partie le quil Thomas Basset de son franc voulloir sans aucun pourforchement ou contrainte en manyere quiconquez congnet et confessa auoir fieffey et bailly a rente de luy et de sez hoirs et fin et perpetuytey de heritage et par audience de parroesse au dit Pierres Lohier et a sez hoirs cest a sauoir vne pieche de terre contenant trente et troez parquez ou envyron estante en la dicte parroesse en vng terroure appelez lez campos Sanson le quil camp de terre le dit Basset auoit bailly par audience de parroesse audit Lohier pour le pris et somme de vng boez¹ de froment dannuelle Rente le quil boez de froment le dit Thomas Basset confessa auoir vendu au dit Perez Lohier en la dicte audience faissant et promyst et sobligea le dit Thomas Basset tant pour luy que pour sez hoirs fournyr et guerantir la dicte vente au dit Pierrez Lohier et a sez hoirs vers tous et contre tous et tenyr la dicte piche de terre solle et quitte de tontez aultrez amanyeres de Rentes saulf chiefue Rente a sauoir sur toute lautre heritage du dit Thomas Basset et quy eschaier luy peult en temps aduenyr en la dicte isle et fut la dicte vente faicte par sertaine somme de pecunne avecques vins et ventes donc le dit Basset soy tint pour bien poie et playnement ratifie du dit Pierrez Lohier du tout en tout pardeuant nous. En tesmoins dez quillez choses le seel de lofice de la baillie de la dicte isle de Guernesey a sez presentz lettrez est mys et appendu lez dictez parties presentez lan et le jour desus ditz."

With seal.

On dors. "Pour Pierres Lohier. A Mr Noel
Jean Martin Bailly en 1501."

¹ ? bole or boll=six bushels.

II.—21 Sept. 1560. *Agreement between Thomas le Tellyer and John le Tellyer respecting the Right of Succession to the Property of Christopher le Tellyer.*

"A tous ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront ou oront. Hellyer Gosselin baillyf en lisle de Guernesey de nos souverayns sire et dame Philippe et Marie roy et roigne d'Angleterre salut en Dieu scavoir faisons que pardenant nous en la ville de St. Pierre Port en ladite isle le desrain jour du moes de Feuburier lan de grace mil v^e cinquante et cinq et en presence de Thomas Denic et John le Marchant Jures de la court royale en ladite isle fut present John le Tellyer filz Mathelm de la paroesse de St. Saulveur le quel congneult et confessa avoir fief-fey et bailly a rente de luy et de ses hers en fin et perpetuitte d'heritage et par audience de paroesse a Thomas le Tellyer filz Collas de ladite paroesse et a ses hers cestascanoir tout et yteill droect hereditall de succession et eschaitte comme audit John le Tellyer peult estre escheu et succede de la mort et trespas de Christouffe le Tellyer fils John de ladite paroesse ladite baille faicte pour le prys et somme de douze esclincins monnoye dannuelle rente a poyer par ledit Thomas le Tellyer et ses hers audit John le Tellyer et a ses hers par chacun an quittement et nettement en fin d'heritage en temps aduenir. Itam le xxi^e jour du moes de Septembre lan de grace mil v^e sexsante et en presence de Richard Denic et James Quille Jures de la court royale en ladite isle fut present lavantdit John le Tellyer lequell congneult et confessa avoir vendu et delessey de luy et de ses hers en fin et perpetuitte d'heritage et par audience de paroesse audit Thomas le Tellyer filz Collas et a ses hers cestascanoir ladite somme de douze esclincins monnoye de rente la quelle rente ledit Thomas le Tellyer debuot audit John le Tellyer a cause de leschaitte de Christouffe le Tellyer ainsy que dessus est speciffie et declarez. De la quelle vente ledit John le Tellyer soy tenoet pour bien poye et contente audit Thomas le Tellyer du tout en tout adonques par deuant nous. Et promyst et soy obliges ledit John le Tellyer tant pour luy que pour ses hers fournir et [garan]tir vers tous et contre tous par chacun an en temps aduenir la dite vente audit John le Tellyer et a ses hers et le lessier vser et restourir dudit droect hereditall en temps aduenir sans contredit null sur tous ses heritages presentz et aduenir. En tesmoing des quelles choses le sceau de loffice de la baillye de ladite isle de Guernesey a ces presentes lettres est myns et appendu lan et jour auantditz."

With seal.

On dors. "A Thomas le Tellyer de xii esclincins monnoye de la rente John le Tellyer et de son droect de Christouffe le Tellyer."

III.—28 Nov. 1598. *Agreement between Collas Marquy and Thomas Faultrurt respecting the rent of certain Property of the said Collas in Guernsey.*

"A tous ceulx quy ces presentes lettres verront ou orront. Louys Denyck Baillyf de l'isle de Guernesey pour la tres-exelente majesté de notre souuerayne Dame Elyzabeth Reyne d'Angleterre &c. salut en Dieu scavoir faisons que pardenant nous en la ville de St. Pierre Port en ladite Isle le xxviij^e jour du moys de Novembre l'an de grace mille

v^o nonante et huyet et en presence de Johan de Sausmares et Nicollas Martyn Junior Jures de la court de notre dite Dame la Reyne en la dite isle fut present Collas Marquy fils Johan de la parroesse du Catell. Lequell de sa pure et lybre vollunte cogneult et confessa avoir vendu quytte cede et totalement delesse de luy et de ses hers en fin et perpetuite d'heritage et par audience de Parroesse a Thomas Fautrart fils Cardyn de la ville et parroesse de St. Pierre Port et a ses hers cest-a-scauoir la somme et nombre de vng quartier de froment d'annuelle rente a le prendre leuer et recepuoir par chacun an au jour St. Mychiell en Septembre en temps aduenyr sur tous les heritages dudit Collas Marquy et des es hers presents et aduenyr. De la quelle vente et delessance le dit Collas Marquy soy tynt pour bien et loyallement paye et contente du dit Thomas Fautrart du tout en tout adonques pardenant nous et promyst et sobligea ledit Collas Marquy tant pour luy que pour ses hers fournir et guarantyr ladite vente vers tous et contre tous audit Thomas Fautrart et a ses hers et luy payer pour chacun an au jour St. Michiell en Septembre en temps aduenyr ladite somme de vng quartier de froment de rente sur tous ses heritages presents et aduenyr. En tesmoing des quelles choses le sceel de la baillie de ladite isle de Guernesey a ses presentes lettres est myns et appendu lan et le jour anantdits."

With seal.

And on dors. "Pour Thomas Fautrart de vng quartier de froment par Collas Marquy.

"Jay eu le djt quartier de froment de rente par retraicte de Jean de Jerzey quil avoit achepte de Nicollas de Caen et paye a present.

"Pierre Martell fils Gaspard. (No. 12.)"

IV.—27 Aug. 1606. *Deed of Sale of Lands, Rents, etc., in Guernsey, from Richard Brooke and Rachel Germain his Wife, to James Beauvoir.*

"IN THE name of God Amen. Be it knowen vnto all men by these presentes that on the seaven and twentieth daye of the moneth of August in the yere of our Lorde God one thowsande sixe hundred and sixe, and in the yere of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lorde James by the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland defendour of the faithe &c. (To witt) of England Fraunce and Ireland the fourth and of Scotland the fowertith before me S^r Leonard Hallidaye Knighte Lord Maior of the citey of London at my Mansyon Howse scituate and being in the parishe of Sainte Michael in Bassie-shawe within the saide cite of London personallie did appeare Richard Brooke citizen and Haberdasher of London aforesaid and Rachell Germain his wief daughter of Giles Germain of the Ile of Garnsey and of Rachell Marchant her father and mother deceased. The whiche aforesayd Richard Brooke and Rachell Germain his wief of their owne free voluntarie will and without any constraynte induction or synyster persuation and there besydes the sayde Rachell Germain with and by the consent and authoritie of the sayde Richard Brooke her husbände (whiche consente and authoritie she did houlde for agreable) did bothe acknowledge and confesse that for and in consideracion of a certain

somme of money by them before the date hereof receved of James Beauvoir of the sayde Yle of Garnesey marchaunte whereof and where-with they doe acknowledge themselves satisfied and payd and thereof and of euerye parte and parcell thereof do chierlye acquyte and discharge him his heires executors administrators and goodes for ever by these presentes have graunted bargayned sould be assigned sett over and transported and so chierlye fullye absolutlye irrevocably and without anye manner of condicion graunte bargayne sell assigne sett over and transporte from them and their heires for ever by the tenor hereof to the said James Beauvoir being present and for him his heires executors and assignes for ever accepting and stipulating all suche parcell of landes rentes and immoveable goodes of what nature soever as vnto the sayd Rachell Germain are succeded belonging and apperteyning as well by the deceasse of the sayde Giles Germain her father as alsoe by the deceasse of the sayd Rachell Marchant her mother and as are mencioned in twoe severall Indentures of partition and diuision comenlye called in that Yle Billes de partage. Thone bearing date the eighteenth daye of the moneth of September anno D'ni one thousande fyve hundred nynty fower. Subscribed by Devick Bayllye Niccolas Martin and Saumares. And thother bearing date the fower and twentieth daye of the moneth of June anno D'ni one thousand fyve hundred and nynty sixe subscribed by N. Careye and Saumares with all the righte title and action whiche the saide comparauntes have or ether of them hathe in the saide parcells of landes rentes and immoveable goodes (excepte out of this sale suche rente of tenne Bushells of wheate yerelye as the sayd Richard Brooke and Rachell Germain his wief haue heretofore sould to the same James Beauvoir). Soe that the said James Beauvoir his heires executors administrators and assignes may haue holde and enioye to his and their owne proper vse and behoofe by waye of inherytaunce all and singuler the premisses mencioned to be graunted bargayned sould and assigned (as is abovesayd) and euerye parte and parcell thereof for ever and maye doe and dispose therewith according to his will and pleasure. The sayde Richard Brooke and Rachell his wiefe promysing to war-rante and defende all the same parcells of lande rente and unmoveable goodes sould as is above sayd as well against the sayde Richard Brooke and Rachell Germaine his wyf, as all others having or clayming anye interest under them or other of them Bynding therevnto and in this parte themselves their heires executors administrators and goodes moveable and vnmoveable present and to come as well scituated and being in the foresayde Ile as anye where else. And for more securitie of the sayd James Beauvoir his heires executors and assignes, the sayd Richard Brooke and Rachell Germain his wyf for them their heires executors and administrators haue ordeyned and constituted and by the tenor of these presentes doe ordeyne and constitute their true and lawfull Procurators and Attorneys Thomas Beauvoir and James Oliver bothe dwelling in the sayde yle of Garnesey. Geving vnto them and to either of them ioyntlye and severallye, their full and irrevocable power and authoritie for and in their names to appeare before the worshippfull Maisters Bailliff and Jurate of the same Yle of Garnesey or anye of them where the sayde parcelles of landes rentes and vnmoveable goodes be scituate and there to ratifie and confirme the foresaide graunte sale and transporte according to the tenor and

true and playne entente and meanyng thereof and therevpon accord-
inglye to putt the same Beauvoir his heires executors or assigne in
reall and peaceable possession of all and singuler the parcells of landes
rentes and unmoveable goodes solde abovesaide. And moreover to
doe and procure to be done lawfullie all that whiche in suche case is
requisite and which the sayde constytuanes themselves mighte doe yf
they were personallie presente. The sayde constituantes promysing to
holde for firme stable and irrevocable all that whiche by their sayde
Attorneys or anye of them in and aboute the premisses shalbe done
and procured vnder like bonde as is abovesayde. And especiallie the
sayde Rachell hathe before me the sayde Maior by her oathe upon the
holye Evangelistes of Allmightye God solempnlye taken of her owne
free will declared that shee dothe consent to the premisses of her owne
voluntarie will and agrement and that by her sayde husbnde nor by
anye other she hath never therevnto bene forced or anye vnlawfull
wey compelled. In witnes of all which premisses I the sayde Maior
of the sayde citie of London the commen Seale of myne offyce of
Maioraltie of the sayde citie of London to these presentes have caused
to be putt. Yeoven at the sayde citie of London the daye and yere
first aboue wrytten."

With seal.

(Signed) "Sebright."

V.—21 Oct. 1681. *A Quitclaim from Thomas Mahy and Anne Nicolle his Wife, to Sir Peter Gosselin, of a Garden in St. Pierre Port, Guernsey.*

"A tous ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront ou orront Amice Andros Esq^r Seigneur de Sausmarez et Bailly de l'Isle de Guarnesey pour la tres-excellente majesté de nostre souuerain Sire Charles second par la grace de Dieu Roy D'Angleterre D'Ecosse France et Irlande Deffenseur de la foy &c. sallut en Dieu scauoir faisons que pardeuant nous en la ville de St. Pierre Port le Donziesme Feburier l'an mille six cents soixante et cinq et en presence de Messrs. James de Hauilland et Elizee de Sausmarez jurrez de la cour superieure en la dite Isle comparut en sa personne Edward Nicolle fils Thomas de ceste ville de St. Pierre Port lequel de sa libre et franche vollonté a recogneu et confessé auoir fiefé et baillé a rente de luy et de ses hoirs en fin d'heritage a Jonas Pourkail fils Pierre et a Marie sa femme fille de feu Pierre le Ray de ceste paroisse de St. Pierre Port ; presents et acceptants a qui plus viura plus tiendra ; et apres leurs decez a leurs hoirs reuiendra vn certain jardin seant en la dite paroisse au North onviron du jardin de Messire Henry Denicq Chevallier Barronnet et en l'Est onviron du jardin de Mr. Elizee de Sausmarez et au sud onviron de la Rue du Truchot le dit bail de jardin avec la petite maisonnette qui est dedans avec leurs Issues et Entrées fossez et reliefs et autant qu'au dit Bailleur en apartenoit faict par le prix de deux quartiers de froment de rente, de laquelle somme de rente des djts mariez ont presentement assigne le djt Edward Nicolle d'en prendre et recepuoir annuellement au jour St. Michel en Septembre a ladvenir D'Abraham Sandres de la dite paroisse de St. Pierre Port vn quartier de froment de rente denb a la dite Marie ainsy que les djts mariez ont djt, comme aussy se sont les djts mariez obligez de payer par chacun an au djt jour St. Michel en Septembre en temps advenir ; le quartier de froment

de rente resté au djt Edward Nicolle et a ses hoirs, et leur garantir la djte assignation, et aussy leur deliurer des droicts authentiques toutes fois et quantes pour recepuoir le djt quartier de froment de rente assigné sur tous et chacuns leurs biens meubles et heritages et de leurs hoirs presents et futurs; et le djt Bailleur a promis garantir le djt bail aux djts mariez et a leurs hoirs et le leur tenir quitte de toutes autres manieres de rentes (sauf pour la cheuerente a s') tous et chacuns ses biens meubles et heritages et de ses hoirs presents et futurs. Et a la djte Marie déclaré par serment qu'elle n'auoit esté a ce faire contrainte de son djt mary ains quelle le faisoit de son bon gré et a promis par le mesme serment de naller ny faire aller du contraire. Item le xxiiij Octobre mille six cents septante et en presence de Messrs. Jean et Elizée de Saumarez jurrez ont comparu en leurs personnes Thomas Mahy et Anne Nicolle sa femme lesquels de leurs libres vollontez ont recognen et confesse auoir quitté cedé et tostallément transporté de la djte femme et des hoirs djcelle en fin et perpetuite d'heritage au S^r Pierre Gosselin present et acceptant pour luy et ses hoirs a jamais tout et tel droit et part ou portion d'heritage comme au djt Mahy a cause de sa djte femme peut estre escheu et peut competer et appartenir a sa djte femme en la succession de feu Ednard Nicolle tant en maisons terres que rentes, a leuer et acquitter la djte delaisance faicte aux conditions que le djt Gosselin tant pour luy que pour ses hoirs a promis et s'est obligé d'acquitter et decharger le djt Mahy a cause de sa djte femme et les hoirs de la djte femme de toutes et telles debtes ou rentes comme la djte succession du djt fen Nicolle peut debuoir; et est conditionné entre les djtes parties que le djt Gosselin recepura les arrerages de rente qui peuvent estre deubs a la succession du djt feu Nicolle et ont le djt Mahy et sa djte femme recognen auoir esté entierement contents et satisfaits du djt Gosselin pour la djte delaisance et ont promis et se sont obligez fournir et garantir la djte delaisance au djt Gosselin ses hoirs ou ayants cause sous l'obligation de tous et chacuns les biens meubles du djt Mahy et de sa djte femme, presents et aduenir, et a la djte femme déclaré par serment quelle na esté contrainte par son dit mary a faire la presente delaisance ains quelle le faict de son bon gré et a promis par son serment presté de jamais naller ou faire aller du contraire a paine du perjurement, et ont les susdjs Mahy et femme déclaré quils sont satisfaits de la presente dellaissance comme sus est djt nonobstant quils nen ayent receu aucune chose et quils lont faicte pour eniter a trouble et quil ny a aucun profit pour eux. En tesmoignage desquelles choses le sçau du Baillage de la djte Isle a ces presentes lettres est mis et appendu. Par nous soubs signez Lieu-tenant bailly et jurez le vingt et uniesme Octobre l'an mille six cents octante et un."

(Signed) "Andros. H. Sausmares. E. Sausmares."

With seal.

On dors. "Lettre de certaine delaisance faicte au S^r Pierre Gosselin par Thomas Mahy et sa femme.

"En-registrée au greffe pour lire le 26 jour du mois d'Octobre 1670. Et le 27 Februrier 1665."

VI.—30 July 1613. *Certificate of a Miracle at Cordova.*

"AVE MARIA. En la Ciudad de Cordova a treynta dias del mes de Julio de mill y seis Cientos y treze años su señoría de Don fray diego de mardones por la gracia de Dios O bispo de Cordova del consejo de Su magestad y su confessor mi señor et cet^a. Estando en su sala episcopal y presentes con su Señoría los Señores Licenciado Don Juan Ramirez de contreras del abito de Santiago su provisor y Vicario general, Doctor Pedro Gomez de Contreras Canonigo de la Magistral, Doctor Alvaro Piçañó de Palaçios Canonigo de escriptura, Licenciado Don Luis Ponçe de Leon, Canonigo, Todos desta sancta yglessia, el Padre presentado y maestro fray Xpóval de Torres Confessor de su señoría, el Padre Maestro fray Pedro Merino religiosos de la Horden de Santo Domingo, el Padre Juan Baptista Lancabeche lector de prima del Colejio de la compañía de Jesus, el Padre Rodrigo de Figueroa lector de bisperas del dicho Colejio, Con acuerdo y parecer de los quales su señoría abiendo Visto el proçesso, Auctos e ynformaciones fechos a ynstancia de la parte del Combento de La Santissima Trinidad de la villa de la Rambla, en raçon del milagro que parece aver nuestro Señor obrado por medio de la Virgen del Rosario, cuya ymagen esta en la yglessia del dicho Convento, con fray Juan de los Reyes religioso, nobicio del dicho Convento en darle salud milagrossa estando desafuziado y a punto de muerte segun Horden de naturaleza y Reglas de medicina, y que se an fecho las diligencias y Calificacion que el sacro Conçilio Tridentino dispone y manda en semejantes cassos, Dixo que para mayor aumento de la Religion y Piedad y deboçion Xp'iana Declarava y declaro Verdadero Milagro el que asi obro La divina Magestad de nuestro S^r Jesu Xp'to por ynterçesion de su sacratissima Madre con el Dicho fray Juan de los Reyes, y por tal Mando sea tenido y estimado entre los fieles y para mayor Gloria y onrra de Dios, atento que por los dichos autos e informaciones consta ser ansi, Y que se de por testimonio a la parte del dicho combento y assi lo proveyo declaro y mando y firmo de su nombre.

"F. D. ob'po de Cordova.¹

"Por mandado del obp'o mi Señor P^o. Ant^o. Murillo."

VII.—21 Oct. 1610. *Appointment of Francisco de la Fuente to be Castellan of Tortona, by Philip III.*

"PHILIPPUS, Dei gratia Rex Castellæ, Legionis, Aragonum, utriusque Siciliæ, Hierusalem, Portugalæ, Navarra, necnon Indiarum, etiam Archidux Austriæ, Dux Mediolani, Burgundiæ, et Brabantia, Comes Habsburgi, Flandriæ, et Tirolis, etc^a:

"Recognoscimus, et notum facimus tenore presentium universis, eam nos semper rationem habuisse studiorum quæ indefesse nobis a viris probis exhibita comperimus, ut merito omnem honorem illis conciliare cupiamus, quod cum fecerimus, et presidio, et tuitioni dominiorum etiam consultum esse existimamus. Quare cum per obitum Capitanei Francisci Martinez de la Torre vacare intellexerimus præfecturam, seu

¹ F[ray] D[iego], Bishop of Cordova.

Castellaniam arcis Civitatis nostræ Dertonæ, necessariumque sit ipsam alicui viro virtute, et fide, reique militaris scientia prædito commendare, occurrit fidelis noster dilectus Capitaneus FRANCISCUS de la Fuente, qui eo munere dignus nobis videtur propter ejus obsequia per vigesimum octavum annum nobis strenuè et fidelitè exhibita, in variis bellorum expeditionibus in statibus Belgicis oblati, in ipsis statibus per totum dictum tempus perseverando, mirificam rei militaris virtutem semper ostendendo, et præcipuè in expugnatione oppidi de la Fera ibi cum triginta et quinque peditum militibus, paucoque equitatus numero, hostis octingentorum equorum agmen tam animosè, et fortiter irrumpendo, ut ipsius Capitanei causa ex eisdem hostibus, sexcenti decolati fuerint. Neque minorem militaris peritiæ virtutem, animique robur ostenderit in Frisia siquidem illinc inimicorum vigiles multoties ipse apprehendit, secumque portavit in Ambiano obsidione munus sclopetariorum¹ equitum exercens strenuum et fortem militem se gesserit, sicut in loco Rimberque ibi clauum quingentorum equorum tenendo, et in oppido de Ostende, et Wathendonke quatuordecim equorum turmas quoque gubernando, quousque ipse ob quamplurima vulnera in corpore suo accepta præfatum munus dimiserit. Tenore igitur præsentium ex certa scientia, Regiaque et Ducali auctoritate nostra deliberatè, et consulto, ac ex gratia speciali, maturaque sacri nostri supremi consilii accedente deliberatione memoratum Capitaneum FRANCISCUM de la Fuente facimus, et constituimus Castellanum dicti Castri Dertonæ nostra mera et libera voluntate durante cum auctoritate et potestate omnia faciendi et fieri jubendi, quæ ad conservationem et utilitatem prædicti Castri spectare videbuntur, unacum salario solito et consueto, ac præeminentiis, prærogativis, commodis, et utilitatibus, ac emolumentis dicto muneri justè et debite spectantibus, ea tamen lege et conditione ut antequàm dicti muneris exercitium suscipiat, debitum ac solitum homagii et fidelitatis juramentum præstare teneatur in manibus Illustris Gubernatoris nostri status Mediolanensis. Mandantes propterea eidem Gubernatori præsentì, et futuris Præsidi, et Senatui, Præsidibus, et Magistris utriusque Magistratus, Thesaurario nostri generali, cæterisque demum universis et singulis officialibus, et subditis nostris Mediolanensis domini ad quos ea res pertinet et spectat, ut dictum Capitaneum FRANCISCUM de la Fuente in prædicti muneris possessionem ponant et inducant, positumque et inductum manuteneant, conservent, et defendant; deque salario, commodis, et emolumentis (ut supra) debitis temporibus respondeant, et faciant per quos decet plenariè responderi. Jubentes etiam militibus et officiariis memorati Castri presentibus et futuris, et præfato Capitaneo FRANCISCO de la Fuente tanquam eorum ejusdem Castri Castellano pareant et obediant, omniaque alia faciant, prout jussa Castellanorum dicti Castri facere tenentur et debent, nec secus facere aut intentare præsumant sub gravissimam indignationis nostræ poenam, aliasque arbitrio nostro imponendas; harum testimonio litterarum manu nostra subscriptarum, et sigilli nostri appensione munitarum. Datum Madriti, Die Vigesimo Primo Mensis Octobris, Anno a Nativitate Domini millesimo sexcentesimo decimo.

“YO EL RE.”

¹ “Sclopetarius, qui *sclopeto* utitur.” “Sclopetum. Tormentum bellicum manuale. Gall., *Escopette*.” (Ducange.) “Escopette=carbine.” (Spiers.)

Below is written, "Ad mandatum Regiæ et Catholicæ Majestatis proprium Ludovicus Ortiz de Matreneo."

And at the lower sinister corner, "V^t Quintana Dueña R^a

"V^t M. Ant. de Ponte R^a."

On the back is the following endorsement :

"1611. die xxvij Mensis Maii.

"Introscriptus Capitaneus Franciscus de la Fuente debitum et consuetum præstitit fidelitatis juramentum, in manibus Illustrissimi et Excellentissimi Jo. Fernandez de Velasco Comestabilis Castellæ Vice ac pro sua Majestati Gubernatoris Status Mediolani de quo rogatus fui Ego Regis Ducis Secretarius infrascriptus.

"Anth. de Lara.

"Vista. Asent^a en los libros del ext: de Sa Majestad Juan de Agcaga."

A further endorsement shows the due registration of this mandate :

"In Priuilegiorum Mediolani 19.

"Folii 329."

VIII.—16 Jan. 1627. *Appointment of Francisco de la Fuente to be Castellan of Pavia, by Philip IV.*

"PHILIPPUS, Dei gratia Rex Castellæ, Legionis, Aragonum, utriusque Siciliæ, Hierusalem, Portugalliæ, Navarræ, necnon Indiarum, etc., Archidux Austriæ, Dux Mediolani, Burgundiæ, et Brabantæ, Comes Habsburg, Flandriæ, et Tirolis, etc. Recognoscimus et notum facimus tenore presentium universis. Vacat ad præsens obitu Don Alfonsi Altamirani præfectura seu Castellania Castri Urbis nostræ Papiæ in Statu nostro Mediolanensi, quam, agnoscentes quanti sit ponderis Urbes vigili assiduaque cura custodiri, cum apto viro simus commendaturi, talem equidem nobis præferunt fidelem nobis dilectum Capitaneum FRANCISCUM DE LA FUENTE, Castellanium Urbis nostræ Dertonæ in eodem Statu quadraginta sex anni, quos bello operam navando consumpsit, quorum viginti octo cum in nostris Belgicis Statibus assiduè nobis inserviisset ad munus Capitanei equitum sclopetariorum gradatim ascendendo in variis bellorum expeditionibus ita animi sui robur, et audaciam non sine vitæ discrimine ac sanguinis effusione patefecit, ut memorata præfectura Castri Dertonæ honorari sit promeritis, quam dum tenuit in Pedemontanis occasionibus oblati suam propter rei militaris peritiam, et strenuitatem a nostris ejusdem Status Gubernatoribus Commissarius generalis equitatus constitutus non minora quidem minusque facienda nobis præstitit obsequia. Tenore igitur presentium de certa scientia, Regiæque et Ducali auctoritate nostra deliberatè, et consultò, ac ex gratia speciali maturaque Sacri nostri Supremi Consilii accedente deliberatione præfatum Capitaneum Franciscum de la Fuente facimus, constituimus, et deputamus Castellanium dicti Castri sive Arcis Civitatis nostræ Papiæ dum de nostra mera et libera voluntate processerit, cum auctoritate omnia faciendi, et fieri jubendi, quæ ad conservationem et utilitatem præfati Castri spectare videbuntur, una cum salario annuo solito et consueto, ac præeminentiis prærogativis, commodis, utilitatibus, et emolumentis ad dictum munus

justè et debitè pertinentibus et spectantibus, ea tamen lege et conditione ut antequam dicti muneris exercitium suscipiat, debitum ac solitum homagii et fidelitatis juramentum præstare teneantur in manibus Illustris Gubernatoris nostri Status nostri Mediolanensis. Mandantes eidem Gubernatori nostro præsentì, et futuris Præsidi, et Senatui, Præsibus, et Magistris utriusque Magistratus, utriusque Magistratus Thesaurario nostro generali, cæterisque officialibus et subditis nostris Mediolanensis Domini ad quos spectat, et spectabit, ut dictum Capitaneum Franciscum de la Fuente in prædicti muneris possessionem ponant et inducant, positumque et inductum manuteneant, conservent, et defendant, deque salario, commodis, et ut supra debitis temporibus respondeant et responderi faciant per quos decet. Præcipientes et militibus et officariis præfati Castri præsentibus et futuris, ut memorato Capitaneo Francisco de la Fuente tanquam eorum et ejusdem Castellano pareant et obediant, omniaque alia faciant, prout jussu Castellatorum dicti Castri facere tenentur et debent, nec secus facere aut intentare præsumant sub gravissima indignationis nostræ pœna, ac aliis arbitrio nostro imponendis, harum testimonio literarum manu nostra subscriptarum et sigilli nostri appensione munitarum. Datum Matriti die decima sexta mensis Januarii, Anno a Nativitate Domini millesimo sexcentesimo vigesimo septimo.

“YO EL REY.”

Below is written : “V^t Jo. Baptista Trottus R^o

“Ad mandatum Regiæ et Catholicæ Majestatis proprium Petrus de Hoff Huerta.”

At the lower sinister corner : “Provee v m^d en el Capitan Francisco de la Fuente, Castellano de Tortona en el Estado de Milan el cargo del Castellano de Pavia en el mismo Estado que vaca por muerte de D. Alonso Altamirano.

“Consultado.”

And at the lower dexter corner : “In libro Privilegiorum anni 1627, fo. 159 existente penes me infrascriptum Reg. Domini Cam. rationatorem registratum fuit.

“Balthasar Gaspar.”

To which is added the following endorsement :

“1627. die 22 Aprilis.

“Introscriptus Capitaneus Franciscus de la Fuente debitum ac consuetum fidelitatis præstitit juramentum in manibus Illustrissimi et Excellentissimi D. Consalvi Fernandez de Corduba, Gubernatori Mediolani presente Regio Ducali Secretario infrascripto. Et hoc pro munere Præfecti Castri Civitatis Papiæ.

“Vista. Asentada en la Contadoria.

“Platonus.”

And this : “Reg. in lib. Castillaniarum, fol. i. Hier. Parona, Reg. Coad.”

IX.—7 Jan. 1739. *Treasury Warrant for the Payment of the Account of the Earl of Essex as Ranger and Keeper of St. James's and Hyde Parks, 1731-39.*

“AFTER OUR hearty Commendations. By Virtue of His Majesty's General Letters Patent Dormant bearing date the 22^d day of June

1727. These are to pray and require your Lordship to draw an Order for paying into Our very good Lord William Earl of Essex his Ma^{ty} Ranger and Keeper of St. James's and Hyde Parks, or to his Assignes, the Sum of Five Hundred Seventy eight pounds Seventeen Shillings and Six pence without account, the same being to Reimburse him the like sum expended by him for his majesty's Service in the Execution of the said Offices, the particulars whereof are specified in his Lordships two annexed Memorials, and are as follows, viz^t:

"Between July 1732 and April 1737,—		<i>li. s. d.</i>
For mowing the weeds in the Reservoir in Hyde Park, and the slopes under the Garden wall there	37 16 0	
By paid Mr. Keene a Carpenter, for work done, at several times, in several parts of y ^e said Parks	13 15 2	
For watering Hyde Park, by his Ma ^{ty} command, at the Review in June 1733	2 6 0	
By paid Mr. Wankford, as Underkeeper of Hyde Park, several Disbursements for Repairs, mowing the Thistles, catching Moles, making Ditches, and Keeping in Repair the Walls, Railes and Turnpikes there, within the time aforesaid	25 13 4	
For cutting, cleaning and weeding the sides of the New Walk in St. James's Park	4 0 0	
For New Gravelling the Top of the said Walk in February 1737, from end to end	15 7 0	

"Between March 1731 and March 1739,—		
For the Salary of an additional Keeper to Roll the New Walk in St. James's Park called the Queen's Walk, at 20 <i>li.</i> a year for eight years from the finishing the said Walk in March 1731 to March 1739	160 0 0	
And to Reimburse him the purchase of Horses for Rolling the said Walk, supplying New ones, their Provender, and Farrier's Expense, being two in number, for the same time, at 20 <i>li.</i> per annum each	320 0 0	
		<u>£578 17 6</u>

"And let the said Order be satisfied out of any money in the Receipt of the Exchequer applicable to the Uses of his Majesty's Civil Government. For which This shall be your Lordship's Warrant.

"Whitehall Treasury Chamb^r 7th Janry. 1739.

"To our very good Lord Robert, Lord Walpole, Auditor of the Receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer.	R. Walpole Geo. Dodington Sundon G. Earle.
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"Earl of Essex, £578 : 17 : 6, for Disbursements as Ranger & Keeper of St. James's & Hyde Parks."

On dors. "Warrant. Earl of Essex.

"Ord^r Ent. 235, 236, 237. Ent."

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 21ST NOVEMBER 1877.

GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were duly elected into the Association :

Thomas Ashby, Staines, Middlesex
 Henry Barratt, 12 York Buildings
 Charles James Bate, Thornccliffe, Malvern
 Frank Bickley, Department of MSS., British Museum
 William George Black, 1 Alfred Terrace, Hillhead, Glasgow
 Joseph Alfred Bradney, Sutton Court, near Hereford
 Edward Breese, Port Madoc, North Wales
 Rev. James Davis, Moor Court, Kington, Herefordshire
 Frederic Dobson, Castle Grove, Nottingham
 Edmund B. Ferry, 55 Inverness Terrace, Bayswater
 William Henderson, Ashford Court, Shropshire
 I. H. Jeayes, Department of MSS., British Museum
 Richard Jehn, 21 Cloudesley Street, Islington
 Richard J. King, The Limes, Crediton
 Lady Lampson, 80 Eaton Square
 Miss Lloyd, Bryngwyn, Llangollen
 J. Courtenay Lord, 45 Calthorpe Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham
 Townshend Mainwaring, Chester
 Rev. M. Margoliouth, D.D., Rectory, Little Linford, Bucks.
 Mitchell Library, Ingram Street, Glasgow
 The Lord Mostyn, Mostyn Hall, Flintshire
 John Mullings, Stratton, near Cirencester
 W. Roofe, Craven Cottage, Wandsworth
 Henry Sheraton,
 Mr. Thorp, 21 Eastcheap
 Miss Todd, Hough Green, Chester
 T. J. Williams, Denbigh.

The thanks of the Association were ordered to be returned to the several donors of the subjoined list of presents to the library of the Association :

1877

- To *M. De Bourdet*, for "Déouvertes Archéologiques faites au Havre, 1875, 1876."
- To *Thomas Elliott, Esq.*, for "Remarks on the Probable Site of Anderida."
- To *W. M. Flinders, Esq.*, for "Inductive Metrology", etc. London, 1877. 8vo.
- To *Miss Gee*, for "Records of Denbigh and its Lordship", by John Williams. Vol. i. Wrexham, 1860. 8vo.
- To *Rev. R. E. Hooppell*, for a Treatise "On the Importance of ascertaining the Significations in the Keltic Language of the Latinised Names of Roman Stations and Towns in Great Britain." 4to.
- To *Morris Charles Jones, Esq.*, for "Valle Crucis Abbey, its Origin and Foundation Charters." London, 1866. 4to.
- To *Bernard Quaritch, Esq.*, for his "General Catalogue of Books", Supplements, 1875-77.
- To *C. Roach Smith, Esq.*, V.P., F.S.A., for "Remarks on Shakespeare, his Birthplace", etc. Second edition, 1877. 8vo. And for an Account of "Mr. Teanby's Collection of Romano-British and Romano-Gaulish Pottery at Gravesend." 8vo.
- To *T. J. Williams, Esq.*, for "Ancient and Modern Denbigh", by John Williams. Denbigh, 1856. 8vo.
- To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London", vol. vii, No. II. Second Series. And for "Archæologia", vol. xlv, Part I. 1877.
- „ „ for the "Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute", vol. xxxii, Part .
- „ „ for the "Journal of the Canadian Institute", vol. xv, Nos. 6, 7.
- „ „ for "Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, Massachusetts", vol. xiii; and "Bulletin", Nos. 1-12.
- „ „ for "Collections of the Powysland Club", vol. x, Part II.
- „ „ for the "Compte Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique." St. Petersburg, 1872-74. Large 4to. With companion Atlases of Plates, 1875-77.
- „ „ for the "Journal of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society." Taunton, 1876. No. 22.
- „ „ for the "Communications to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society." 1876.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited—1, a *laguncula* of Romano-Memphian manufacture, recently found in London, 5½ inches high, 10½ ins. circumference, with a lip, very perfect and finely iridescent; 2, a conical bird-fountain of Venetian glass, highly coloured, exhumed in Commercial Road East (many relics of Venetian art have been

found in this locality); 3, three glass vessels from the Troad, near Ilium,—*a*, a pear-shaped perfume-bottle encrusted with lime; *b*, *c*, of great lightness and novel shape, resembling modern Moorish forms, a spherical body with expanding neck, equal in height to the diameter of the globe, and depressed at its base. The second specimen has a shoulder, 4 ins. diameter, falling rapidly to a base of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. A rise from the shoulder terminates in an expanding neck of 2 ins.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a selection of bronze remains from Hungary, consisting of a fine celt, a curious sickle of a shape quite unlike anything of the sort found in England, a small fibula, a Roman stamp for tiles or handles of wine-vessels, measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 1 inch, inscribed with the name VICTRICIA EUGENIA. Mr. Brent also exhibited a small stone celt from the same locality.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a sepulchral figure in clay covered with a blue vitreous glaze, of coarse work, from an Egyptian tomb.

Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, exhibited a series of watercolour drawings by Lieut. Henry J. Morgan, R.N., of H.M.S. *Research*, sketched this year, and shewing the actual appearance of the ruined temples which Lieut. Morgan had the opportunity of studying during a long stay at Athens, under every variety of light and shade, by daybreak, at noon, as well as by moonlight. The Obelisk at Alexandria is represented within its case or cylinder, as it appeared on the shore before launching. The following are the principal subjects of the drawings:—"Rock of Gibraltar, at Daybreak"; "Malta"; "Port Said, Entrance to the Suez Canal"; "Cleopatra's Needle stowed in Cylinder at Alexandria"; "The Piræus at Athens"; "Propylæa"; "Acropolis, from the South"; "Parthenon, East View"; "Parthenon, West View"; "Temple of Apteral Victory"; "Temple of Theseus"; "Erechtheum, shewing the Caryatidæ"; "Theatre of Herodes Atticus."

Mr. Ready exhibited casts of a coin of Trajan, and of a medallion of Gordian III, shewing the Flaminian obelisk placed in the centre of the Circus Maximus; also an impression of a terra-cotta mould in the British Museum, which represents the same subject.

The Chairman briefly introduced Dr. S. Birch, LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.A., Keeper of the Egyptian and Oriental Collection in the British Museum, President of the Society of Biblical Archæology, who had kindly undertaken to deliver a lecture upon the obelisk popularly known as "Cleopatra's Needle", now lying at Ferrol on its way to London.

Dr. Birch, who was warmly received, said that it was with much pleasure he obeyed the summons, and trusted that as regarded the obelisk, of which a very beautiful plaster model about 3 feet high was exhibited by Mr. Waynman Dixon, C.E., it would soon be brought to this country. Before going into details of the obelisk from Alexandria,

he thought it was desirable to give them some account of what obelisks were. To their eyes they appeared to be square columns, broader at the base than at the top. After all, an obelisk was only a repetition of the pyramid in another form, truncated at its top, at which was placed another pyramid of different proportions. Unfortunately, at the present moment they were unable to decide from Egyptian monuments what was the symbolical notion of an obelisk. It was called *techen*, from the Egyptian verb to hide or to conceal. It also bore the word *Men* or *Amen*, which was another appellation; but they were unable to connect the obelisk with the god Amen, though it was used as a symbol of that god.

At an older period, at the tomb of Memphis, obelisks were found before the doors of sepulchres; and this mode of using them for sepulchral purposes was continued from the earliest period to the time of Ptolemy. Another remarkable use of obelisks at this remote period was the placing them on the top of truncated pyramids, while other examples had been found to have globes at the top. In the 11th Dynasty obelisks were placed before the temples of the kings at El Assasif. The first obelisk of the old empire, which remained as attached to the temple, as distinguished from those employed for sepulchral purposes, was the obelisk at Heliopolis (of the 12th Dynasty), to whose tutelary deity it was dedicated. Heliopolis was a great city of obelisks, and it was thence the obelisk known as "Cleopatra's Needle" originally came, the place being called *Ben-ben-ha*, "the place of pyramidia" or the "caps" of obelisks. Probably the obelisk was of a sepulchral origin, and represented some primitive form handed down to remote times. In the 12th Dynasty they were placed before the doors, but were no longer sepulchral, being rather of a triumphal character, set up by the great kings of the 18th and 19th Dynasties. They might be compared to the triumphal columns of the Romans because they were only allowed under certain circumstances, and then by permission of the priests. He considered the obelisk to be a kind of primitive stone flag, on which were inscribed the names, titles, and honours of kings. As to the metal caps, they were probably placed on the top, but did not extend very far down. That there were caps would appear from the numerous inscriptions which were on the obelisks: those at Alexandria were stated to be capped with gold or gilded copper, no doubt for the purpose of preservation against storm or lightning; while one that was in the British Museum, dedicated to the god Thoth, was said to be capped with some black metal, probably iron. The oldest obelisks had only a single line of hieroglyphics down the centre of the shaft's side, lines being added by different monarchs, not on all of them, but only on a few. The inscription on the side of the obelisk—that was to say, the central line—contained the honorific

titles of the kings. Every Egyptian king had five titles. The Horus or Harmachis title was designated by a hawk which they saw on the top of the obelisk, having beneath a square compartment called a banner. Obelisk inscriptions were merely honorary; but they generally contained information incidental, as it were, in mentioning the titles and honours of kings. The secondary inscriptions were added by monarchs who were successors of the kings who set up an original monument. How they were added, Dr. Birch was not prepared to say; and whether they were lowered, or a scaffolding made, they had no means of judging. They only knew that certain monarchs, particularly Rameses II, added two lateral lines to the central inscription, one object being to make it symmetrical. These secondary inscriptions appeared on many of the great obelisks, which took a great deal of time to construct. There was one at Rome which was stated to have been above thirty years in the hands of the workmen before it was set up, and two reigns passed by before it was placed in its intended position.

The obelisks at Alexandria were a pair, and were removed there from Heliopolis, according to the inscription. The standing obelisk, which had not been removed from its pedestal at Alexandria, represented the youth of Rameses II; therefore the secondary lines were added in his youthful years, and he flourished in the 19th Dynasty. The erection of the obelisk of Alexandria itself at that place was no older than the age of Cleopatra. Mr. Waynman Dixon was the discoverer of the crabs sustaining it; and it was found that the standing obelisk, when set up, had been supported at the four corners by bronze crabs. On one of the claws he found the name of the Roman architect, Pontius, under the prefecture of Barbarus, in the eighth year of Augustus, or the Actian era, B.C. 22. These obelisks were probably removed by Cleopatra, and tradition assigned them to that Queen, there being every reason to believe that tradition was correct; one author quoting some ancient authority to that effect, saying that they were placed in the Cæsareum in honour of Julius Cæsar. They were found close to the shore.

With regard to the standing obelisk, two sides of it had been found to be seriously injured by the effects of sea, wind, and the atmosphere. It was said to have been purchased by the Americans with the object of having it conveyed to New York; and it was to be hoped that the sister relic would be safely brought to this country, and placed at Westminster or wherever the site might be. Since the time of Niebuhr the obelisk had twice been turned over. It formerly, no doubt, stood close to the side of the fallen one at the time of Niebuhr; and there was every reason to believe that it was turned over by the French, and subsequently by the British in 1801, when an attempt was made by the

army and navy to remove it, as a monument of British valour.¹ It lay, however, embedded in the sands of Alexandria for several years; and although Joseph Hume, the economist, brought forward a motion in Parliament to have it removed, the expense was estimated at £10,000, and the Government declined to take the vote for the transport to England.

Such was its fate till 1867, when it was again offered to the British Government because the Khedive had let the land, and it was found to be a tenant that did not pay rent, and therefore the landlord wished to get rid of it; but the Government again declined it. They all knew, however, that Professor Erasmus Wilson, in directing the removal of the obelisk to this country, had made a most magnificent donation to his fellow citizens in his desire to enrich the metropolis with one at least of these obelisks.

With regard to the mode in which obelisks were anciently removed, there was one example which was really represented as coming out of a cylinder; but he would rather think that the ancients removed them in galleys, and did not adopt the ingenious construction of Mr. Dixon, and attempt to tow them in cylinders across the Mediterranean. The Romans removed them for the sake of placing them in the *spinae* of hippodromes and the Circus Maximus, the obelisks being placed in the centre of the area.

By the kindness of Mr. W. Dixon they had before them an excellent model of Cleopatra's Needle, and that gentleman had had the opportunity of examining the four sides of the original. As it stood, the obelisk had three lines on each side, making in all twelve lines. On the pyramidion the god *Tum* is represented seated on a throne, holding an emblem of life in his right, and a sceptre, *uas*, in his left hand, receiving the offerings of water of Thothmes III, represented as a sphinx, seated on a kind of edifice in shape of the object containing the standard, or, as I should call it, the palatial name, for in some instances the bolt of the door is sculptured across the bars. The king faces *Tum*, and holds in each hand a globe or jar of water. There are seven vertical lines of hieroglyphs here, and the three referring to *Tum* call him "*Tum*, lord of *An*", or Heliopolis, "above all the gods, the great god, lord of the great house", either the palace or rather the temple of Heliopolis. The four lines about Thothmes say, "The gift of fresh water by the good god, lord of the two countries, *Ra men xep*r, or *Men xeper Ra*, "giver of eternal life". On the base or standard on which the sphinx is placed is the so-called standard title of the king, and his name as "the Powerful Bull crowned in *Uas*" or Western Thebes, "the son of the sun, Thothmes". Before the sphinx is inscribed "The making a gift of pure water". This scene,

¹ See *Journal*, p. 410.

CLEOPATRAS

NEEDLE.



FOURTH

SIDE. Digitized by Google

with variations of the titles of Tum, and of the gifts of Thothmes, is repeated on each side of the apex.

The central line down each side was inscribed by Thothmes III, and stated that "the Horus, Lord of the Upper and Lower Country (Egypt), the powerful Bull crowned in Western Thebes, King of the North and South, made his monument to his father, and had set up to him two great obelisks capped in gold, at the first time of the festival of thirty years. According to his wish he did it. The son of the Sun, Thothmes, type of types, did it."

On the centre side of the obelisk it stated that "The Lord of the Gods has multiplied to him festivals on the great Persea tree in the midst of the place of the Phœnix. He is recognised as his son; he is a divine person; his limbs emanate everywhere." On the fourth side mention was made of "the making offerings to their majesties at the two periods of the year, that he might repose, by means of them, with a sound life hundreds of thousands of festivals of thirty years, and very many other festivals."

In Dr. Birch's opinion, Rameses II placed his name on the obelisks, and erected them during his youth. On the standing obelisk at Alexandria it stated that Rameses was a young man, which would not be inscribed unless he had been in his youth.

Such are the philological and historical points of interest presented by the fallen obelisk of Alexandria. It is a monument of the greatest monarch Egypt ever produced, and of the most flourishing period of its history. In conclusion, Dr. Birch said that very soon he hoped they would have the pleasure of seeing the obelisk in London. With regard to the details of the size, Mr. Dixon would be able to explain all particulars. There was one point he should like to call their attention to. They had all heard of the Great Pyramid, and of it being a wonderful work, of beautiful design, with proper proportions, and so forth; but unfortunately they never came across any Egyptian monument which was perfectly square. This obelisk was 7 feet 5 inches wide at one side of the base, and 7 feet 10½ inches at the opposite side. He did not know whether any one present had ever taken the trouble to measure the four sides of the Pyramid; but no doubt it was not symmetrically constructed, the proportions probably varying within certain limits. At the same time the suggestion that the monolith was originally square in section, but had been reduced by the erasement of one or more sides of inscriptions, was well worthy of consideration. Mariette-Bey states that he had never seen even an Egyptian courtyard of perfectly accurate plan in all respects. Dr. Birch could only express a hope, as regarded the obelisk, that very soon they would have the opportunity of looking at it themselves in order to resolve their doubts upon certain parts of the inscriptions, and to see what effect a colossal

monument of this kind, taken from the site of an ancient civilised nation, and placed in the capital of the civilised world, would have. The translation of the inscriptions is as follows :

IA. *Burton's Excerpta Hieroglyphica, I. Right hand side, facing the top. (Dixon's model as found).*—"The Horus, Lord of the Upper and Lower Country. The powerful Bull crowned in Uas, King of the North and South Ra men ꜥeper, has made his monument to his father Haremaꜥu. He has set up to him two great obelisks capped with gold, at the first time of the festivals of thirty years. According to his wish he did it, the son of the Sun, Thothmes, type of types, did it, beloved of Haremaꜥu, ever living."

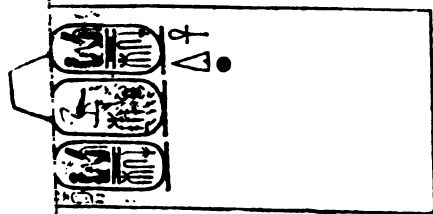
Haremaꜥu is the Harmachis of the Greek writers, the sun in the horizon, and he represented one of the phases of the great luminary—perhaps his passage from one horizon to the other,—and one of his types was the Sphinx. The Horus title at the commencement is the Apollo of the Greek translation of an obelisk introduced by Ammianus Marcellinus into his history from the unknown writer Hermapion.

The fact of Thothmes appearing in the shape of a sphinx on the monument, and dedicating his two obelisks to Harmachis, shows that they were especially connected with that god. The pair of obelisks of Alexandria, therefore, stood as the sides of a pylon of one of the chapels of the great temple of Heliopolis, and were set up on the occasion of the celebration of the festivals of thirty years, on the day of the first time of celebrating that festival.

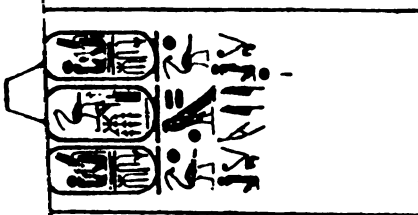
The second side has on the apex the same scene of Thothmes as a sphinx, and Tum, the only difference being that Thothmes offers a gift of wine instead of water. The inscription of the central lines reads :

IIA. *Burton, II. Centre. (Dixon's model as found).*—"The Horus of the Upper and Lower Country, the mighty Bull crowned by Truth, the King of the South and North, Ra men ꜥeper, or Men ꜥeper Ra, the Lord of the Gods, has multiplied to him festivals on the great Persea tree in the midst of the place of the Phoenix. He is recognised as his son ; he is a divine person ; his limbs emanate everywhere, as he wishes ; the son of the Sun, Thothmes, Ruler of An (or Heliopolis), beloved of Harmachis."

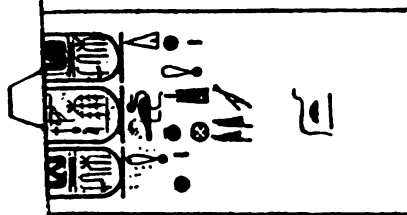
Now this multiplication of festivals of thirty years can only allude to the fact that Thothmes III had already reigned longer than the termination of the *triakonteris* of the preceding reign, and entered into another. As Thothmes reigned fifty-four years, he may have celebrated the beginning of two triakonterial periods, but not more ; and the obelisks were therefore set up at the beginning, or the day on which the *triakonteris* fell ; which, however, will unfortunately not give us the year or day of the month of the reign. The inscription on the other side must be read, "the first time of celebrating the thirty years' festi-



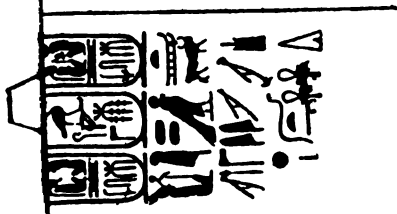
I a. I c.



II a. II c.



III a. III c.



IV a. IV c.

OBELISK KNOWN AS CLEOPATRA'S NEEDLE.

(FROM BURTON'S EXCERPTA.)

This Plate has been kindly lent to the Association by the Proprietors of the "Athenaeum".

vals of this land as he wished". The location of the great Persea is not so certain ; but it may have been at Heliopolis, for at the Memnonium, Tum the god of that region is represented, with Thoth and Sefekh, writing the name of the monarch on the fruit of the Persea. His divine procession or emanation, daily or everywhere, was a common idea in Egyptian mythology, and is often repeated—the homoiousian idea of the king being of one substance or "flesh with him who made him", as it is said of Thothmes IV on the obelisk of the Lateran.

The inscription and scene on the third side are not the same as the apex of the other side, for instead of Tum, or, as he is called by the Greeks, Tomos, the hawk-headed type of Ra, or the Sun, bearing the solar disk is represented ; and the inscription states that it is "Harmachis, great God, Lord of the Heaven, Lord of the Earth." The king, as the Sphinx, holds the two vases ; and the inscription calls it "a gift of frankincense".

The central line of the shaft is

IIIa. *Burton, III. Left hand. (Dixon's model.)*—"The Horus of the Upper and Lower Country, the powerful Bull, beloved of the Sun, the King of the North and South, Men xeper Ra. His father Tum (or Atmu) has set up to him his name, placing it in the great house which is An (or Heliopolis). He has given him the throne of Seb, the dignity of xeper Ra, son of the Sun, Thothmes, good and true, beloved of the Spirits of An (or Heliopolis), ever living."

There is some difficulty in determining exactly the meaning of the place where the name of the king was set up. Seb is the name of Egyptian Chronos or Saturn ; and xepira, or the Scarabæus god, is a form of Ra or Osiris, this insect being sacred to both gods.

IVa. The inscription of the apex and greater part of the shaft of the fourth side was believed to have been nearly destroyed ; but from Mr. Dixon's model is read the following :

Burton, IV. Bottom as stone lay, unmoved by British in 1801.—"The Horus of the Upper and Lower Country, the King of the North and South, Men xeper-Ra, making offerings, beloved of the gods, supplying the altar of the Spirits of An, making offerings to their Majesties at the two periods of the year, that he might repose, by means of them, with a sound life hundreds of thousands of festivals of thirty years, and very many other festivals ; the son of the Sun, Thothmes..... beloved of Harmachis."

The mention of the festivals again shews the intimate connection of the obelisk with the festival, when it was erected.

Passing from the inscriptions of Thothmes III, the six lines added by Rameses II, of the 19th Dynasty, the heroic Sesostris of the Greek legends, have to be considered. They face in the same direction as the others. The one on the left of the central line of the first side reads :

IB.—“The Horus of the Upper and Lower Country, the powerful Bull, beloved of the Sun, lord of festivals of thirty years, like Ptah-Tanen, son of the Sun, Rameses, beloved of Amen, a strong bull, like the son of Nu, whom none can withstand, the lord of the two countries, User-ma-ra, approved of the Sun, son of the Sun, Ramessu, beloved of Amen, giver of life like the Sun.”

The line on the left is :

IC. *Burton, I. Right hand, facing top.*—“The Horus of the Upper and Lower Country, the powerful Bull, son of Tum, King of the South and North, lord of diadems, guardian of Kham (or Egypt), chastiser of foreign lands, son of the Sun, Rameses, beloved of Amen, dragging the South to the great sea (or Mediterranean), the North to the poles of Heaven, lord of the two countries, User ma Ra, approved of the Sun, son of the Sun, Rameses, giver of life like the Sun.”

The god Ptah-tanen, mentioned in the first line, is Ptah, identified with the Earth or World ; the son of Nut is Osiris, constantly invoked as a bull, and in connexion with his type of the Apis. The ideas in the second line refer to the limits of the Egyptian world,—the north bounded by the great sea, the south by the four poles or cardinal points of the heaven.

The left line on the next side also contains the titles of Rameses, as

IIB. *Burton, II. Centre.*—“The Horus of the Upper and Lower Country, the powerful Bull, beloved of Truth, King of the North and South, born of the gods holding the two lands, as the son of the Sun, Rameses, beloved of Amen, making his frontiers wherever he wishes, who is at peace through his power, the lord of the two countries, User ma Ra, son of the Sun, Rameses, the lustre of the Sun, giver of life.”

That on the right contains also the titles of the same monarch, as

IIC.—“The Horus, Lord of the Upper and Lower Country, the powerful Bull, son of xepera, King of the South and North, User-ma-Ra, lord of festivals of thirty years, like his father xepera, the hawk of gold, supplier of years. The eyes of mankind see what he has done. Nothing has been said against the lord of the two countries, User-ma-Ra, approved of the Sun, the son of the Sun, Rameses, beloved of Amen, the lustre of the Sun, like the Sun.”

The lines on the third side are, on the right :

IIIB. *Burton, III. Left hand, facing top.*—“The Horus, Lord of the Upper and Lower Country, the powerful Bull, beloved of Ra, King of the South and North, User-ma-Ra, approved of the Sun, lord of festivals, like his father Ptah, son of the Sun, Rameses, beloved of Amen, son of Tum or Atmu, of his loins ; loving him, Athor the guide or opener of the two countries, has given both to him ; the lord of the two countries, User-ma-Ra, approved of the Sun, son of the Sun, Rameses, beloved of Amen, giver of life, like the Sun.”

Here the king is said to be the son of the god Tum or Tomos, the great god of Heliopolis, although he is described as lord of festivals, like his father, apparently Ra; but another form, perhaps, of Tum, although Ptah is the more probable restoration, as the phrase is repeated in the first line of the other side.

The left line reads :

IIIc.—“The Horus of the Upper and Lower Country, the mighty Bull, son of Set, the King of the South and North, User-ma-Ra, approved of the Sun, the lord of diadems, watcher of Egypt, chastiser of foreign lands, son of the Sun, Rameses, beloved of Amen, coming daily (or graciously) in the house of Tum, or Atmu, he did not look in the house of his father; the lord of the two countries, User-ma-Ra, approved of the Sun, son of the Sun, Rameses, beloved of Amen; like the Sun, immortal.”

What this last phrase about the temple of Tum means is rather obscure; but it evidently refers to some merit, as not violating the mystical sanctity of the temple of Tum. May it possibly allude to the blindness of the old Sesostris mentioned by classical writers? One reading is, “never has been done like as he did in the house of his father.”

IVb.—The once hidden line on the fourth side, on the right, is thus translated from Mr. Dixon's model :

“The Horus of the Upper and Lower Country, the powerful Bull, beloved of Truth, User-ma-Ra, approved of the Sun, the Sun born of the Gods, taking possession of countries, the son of the Sun, Rameses, beloved of Amen; strong, hard, valiant victor; bull of princes, king of kings, lord of the two countries, son of the Sun, Rameses, beloved of Amen, beloved of Tum, lord of An or Heliopolis, giver of life.”

IVc.—That on the left :

“The Horus of the Upper and Lower Country, the strong Bull, son of Ptah Tamen, the King of the South and North, User ma Ra, approved of the Sun, the golden hawk, supplier of years most powerful, son of the Sun, Rameses, beloved of Amen, leading captive the Rutennu and the Peti out of their countries to the seat of the house of his father; lord of the two countries, User ma Ra, approved of the Sun, son of the Sun, Rameses, beloved of Amen, beloved of Shu the great god, like the Sun.”

The strong bull of Heliopolis alludes to the bull of Mnevis as the *avatar* or incarnation of Tum, the eponymous deity. Shu is a solar god, a form or child of Tum.

On the first side, in front of all, in small characters, are the name and titles of Seti II: “King of the South and North, Ra-user xeper-Ra, beloved of Amen, son of the Sun, Seti, beloved of Ptah.” This shews that Seti II either repaired or set up the obelisk.

Mr. Waynman Dixon, C.E., who was engineer in Alexandria for the transport of Cleopatra's Needle, then gave a brief account of the means employed for building it into a cylindrical iron pontoon, and rolling it into the sea, after which deck-house, cabin, masts, and general equipment, were added, and thus fitted for a long voyage. These he contrasted with the methods employed by the ancient Egyptians, the Romans, and in more recent times the French. These remarks were supplemented by an account much more interesting, archæologically, of the discovery by him of the bronze crabs and inscriptions at the base of the remaining obelisk of Alexandria, which is the companion one of our Cleopatra's Needle.

Mr. Dixon said: "In the year 1875, when, at the request of my brother Mr. John Dixon, I first excavated around the fallen obelisk with a view to examine the condition of its hieroglyphic inscriptions, and to obtain its correct measurement and consequent weight, we were surprised to find at each corner, near the base-end of the monolith,—which is much damaged and broken away,—a square notch or recess, which suggested the idea to us, that when erect there had probably existed four bronze supports in the form of sphinxes or otherwise. This suspicion was subsequently supported by a discovery made by my brother in the Museum at Madrid, where he found two small model obelisks, said to have been brought from Pompeii, and which rested on four bronze tortoises between the base of the obelisk and the pedestal. In consequence of this confirmation of our previous theory for the existence of the four notches in the fallen obelisk, it was decided that on my return to Alexandria last November I should excavate down to the base of the standing obelisk, and ascertain whether it had any similar support; but the ground on which it stands belonging to a private owner, who was absent at the time, permission could not be obtained for the excavation, and I left Alexandria on a voyage down the Red Sea; when, on my return to Egypt in May, the transport of our Needle had been decided upon, and I was commencing the works for its removal, permission being obtained from the Egyptian Government to uncover the base of the standing one. The base was buried to a depth of about 5 feet below ground, at which point we came upon the top of the granite pedestal, which is a single block of granite about 9 feet 2 inches square, and 7 feet deep. The bottom of the obelisk, which is broken away, like our own, was surrounded with rough rubble masonry built in the very worst style, set in mortar and clay or mud, exactly as shewn in the diagrams in the *Description de l'Egypte*, published about the year 1820.

"After making careful sketches of all the positions of these stones, we removed those at the south corner, and exposed to view one of the bronze crabs. These formed four feet, as it were; and a clear, day-

light space of about 8 inches exists between the base of the obelisk and top of the pedestal. This crab had a pillar, 4 inches square by 12 inches high, in the middle of the back, fitting into a dowell-hole or notch similar in every respect to those observed in the fallen obelisk. A similar square pillar on the under side of the crab fits into a hole in the granite pedestal, and both are run in with lead, an iron plate or wedges intervening between the top of the upper one and the stone. This crab, which, though much broken and damaged, had been beautifully modelled originally, is illustrated in the accompanying diagrams, shewing first its position under the corner of the obelisk; next, a plan of the top of the crab, shewing only one damaged claw on the right hand side remaining, and one of the smaller legs, all the others having been broken off and lost; also a front elevation or face of the crab, its original measurements being about 32 ins. by 22 ins. over claws, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high or thick. The crab at the east corner has totally disappeared. That at the west corner also is apparently gone; that is to say, if it occupied a corresponding position to the south corner one; but the obelisk being 12 ins. out of perpendicular, appeared so dependent upon the rough rubble stones at this side for its support, that we did not venture to remove them.

"A few days after having thus excavated and discovered the curious nature of the supports of this obelisk, in examining the claw of the crab with my friend Dr. Nerutsas-Bey, of Alexandria, he pointed out to me, on the outer side, what appeared to be some trace of Greek letters, which led me to very carefully clean it, when we were rewarded by finding an inscription in Greek characters, as shewn in accompanying plate, stamped on the bronze: L. H. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΗ ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΟΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ; and on further cleaning the inner side of the claw, the corresponding Latin inscription was found: AN VIII CAESARIS BARBARVS PRAEF. AEGYPTI POSVIT ARCHITECTANTE PONTIO. Now this Barbarus we know was the third prefect of Egypt, under Augustus; and therefore deducting eight years from the date when Augustus assumed the purple, we find that these obelisks were erected about 22 B.C. Although of late years historians have been disposed to attribute their erection to as late a period as that of Tiberius, or even later, we have thus proved that tradition is not far wrong in attributing them to Cleopatra, who, though dead at the time of their erection, had, no doubt, designed their removal from Heliopolis, and perhaps even began their transport, to adorn the water-gate of her new palace, the Cæsareum, at Alexandria.

"In further prosecuting the excavations necessary for the removal of the fallen obelisk, we came upon a small portion of the original pavement of the *dromos*, or approach to the palace, at a height of about 3 ft. above the sea, and corresponding in level with the under

side of the bottom step of the standing obelisk. The peculiarity of these flagstones of hard white nummulitic limestone, was that their joints were not square and parallel in a horizontal direction, but all converged to one centre ; far removed, indeed, and under the present road, but perhaps indicating that this obelisk had acted as the gnomon of a sundial on the pavement, in the same way that we know they subsequently were at Rome. Strange to say, we did not, in course of our excavations, come upon the pedestal of the fallen obelisk on which, in the year 1801, our army, when abandoning the attempt to remove the obelisk, placed a marble slab with an inscription (given in Colonel Wilson's history of this campaign) to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercromby and the soldiers who fell in this expedition, one of the most brilliant which have distinguished our British army.¹

"The standing obelisk was found to be in a very dangerous condition. It is 12 ins. out of the perpendicular, and inclined towards the sea, which is every year encroaching rapidly on the ground on which it stands. A serious crack, too, exists in the base of the obelisk, on the side towards which it leans. A succinct report on this perilous condition of one of Egypt's most interesting historic monuments was, through the kindness of Mr. Vivian, our Agent and Consul General in Egypt, personally presented by myself to the Khedive, who expressed much interest in it, and ordered that the proposed steps should be taken to render it temporarily secure, at an estimated expense of £100 to £200 ; but the obstructiveness and cupidity of engineers of the fortifications have frustrated its execution, and it is to be feared the standing obelisk will shortly share the fate of its prostrate companion so lately removed."

Dr. Birch asked if Mr. Dixon could give any information as to the use of the obelisk as a sundial, and said that a sundial of the Roman period, with Greek letters for the divisions, had been found at the base of the standing obelisk, and was now in the British Museum.

Mr. Dixon replied that he had discovered traces of radiating lines on the surrounding masonry, which left no doubt that formerly obelisks in Egypt and Rome were used as sundials.

The Chairman said that with regard to what had been stated respecting the two sides of the obelisk not being precisely the same in dimensions, it was quite possible that it might be the result of carelessness, or the desire to make use of the whole of the stone available ; but it had been suggested that there was a much more subtle reason prompting the Egyptians in this matter. They knew very well that an upright monument of that sort, seen against the sky, looked much thinner than against a dark background. The obelisk being for the most part against the gateway, the narrow side being parallel with the building, it was seen at the side against the light, and did not appear anything

¹ See *Journal*, p. 410.

different from ordinary stonework. It was due to the Egyptians that they should have the credit of this ingenious suggestion. The difficulty of getting these obelisks was something enormous, and they had practical proof of that not long ago. The Committee originally appointed to raise the Prince Consort Memorial for London considered the advisability of letting it take the shape of a granite obelisk; but they found the difficulty insurmountable, for there were no quarrymen in England who would undertake to supply such an obelisk as was proposed. As to the origin of obelisks, it seemed to him that Dr. Birch hardly went far enough back; for a simple stone raised on end as a memorial (and to which there were numerous references in the Bible) might be regarded as the origin of the obelisk, while a piled-up heap of stones might be the origin of the pyramid. With respect to the term, "Cleopatra's Needle", he had heard people sneer at the title as a vulgarity. It seemed to him that it was the best that could be given, for the meaning of the Greek word *obeliskos* was needle; and although Cleopatra was dead before it was raised at Alexandria, yet it was understood that it was removed there at her suggestion. There was one point he wished particularly to call their attention to, and that was in regard to the question of site, which was a very important matter. They were all, he believed, deeply interested in that obelisk: a memorial which Joseph and Moses had gazed upon, and which had been erected before Greece and Rome had risen. He had found himself, after anxious consideration, quite unable to agree with the opinion expressed as to the advisability of placing it in Parliament Square. It seemed to him to be a bad site, and he was sure that they would thoroughly regret it being placed there. He was aware that Professor Erasmus Wilson and Mr. Dixon had given a preference for that site; but it should be considered that if it were there erected, it would be placed amongst lofty towers and spires. It would be degraded itself, and would degrade all the statues around it. He was quite satisfied that the Thames Embankment offered a satisfactory site. To put a monument over a constantly vibrating tunnel would be a tempting Providence. He was very much afraid that unless there was a strong expression of feeling against it, Parliament Square would ultimately be fixed upon as the site.

Mr. Charles Barry said that with respect to the question of the site, he had ventured to express a strong opinion in the same direction as the Chairman. He was sure that Professor Erasmus Wilson and Mr. Dixon would be the last to deprecate an expression of feeling on a matter of such great interest to them; and that they would, therefore, receive any suggestion that came from critics in a spirit in which it was tendered, knowing at the same time that the labour, expense, and ingenuity which were involved in bringing this monument to this

country would meet with its due reward, not only from the present generation, but in generations to come. In letters to *The Times* he had suggested a site which he knew was attended with some difficulty, but it seemed to him to fulfil the requirements better than any in London. Other positions, however, might be found equally good, and even better; but he joined heartily with the Chairman in expressing a fervent hope that it would not be put in Parliament Square. A monument such as this was to be looked upon as an antiquarian relic, and to adorn the city. If they considered it from an antiquarian point of view, it should have gone to the British Museum; but he entirely sympathised with those who thought it had some higher value in the eyes of those Londoners who were anxious to have it as a monument. He had endeavoured to become converted to the Parliament Square site, but in vain; and the more he looked at it from different points of view, the more it would not contrast. Its own simplicity of outline seemed to rob other buildings of their proper scale, which could not be desired by those who admired them. They seemed to detract from that simplicity and contemplative feeling with which a pure, simple monument like this ought to be regarded. The objection on the ground of its unstable position was a serious one, if there was no other. Another difficulty was that having only one obelisk, they had to consider it a central object wherever it might be placed. If there were two, they could be properly placed on either side of the porch of some building, as in ancient times. At Parliament Square it seemed to be out of scale with everything around it, except in one position, and that was coming up from Palace Yard towards Great George Street, where it was seen against the sky; but in the metropolitan changes in view, no one could say that the buildings in Great George Street would not sooner or later be of a totally different character, when the last refuge of admiration would then disappear.

Mr. Dixon, at the request of Mr. Grover, explained that the obelisk was 68 ft. 6 ins. high from the base to the apex, and that it weighed 186 tons.

Mr. Grover urged that a monument of this description should be placed in a conspicuous position; and this would not be the case, he thought, if it were placed on the Thames Embankment. With respect to the beautiful statue of *Cœur de Lion*, he maintained that it ought to be put in a more prominent position.

Major Josephs urged that an obelisk should be placed in such a position where people were likely to see it.

Dr. Birch said it had been thought desirable to place it in the courtyard of the British Museum; but he fancied the central walk of Regent's Park, where it would have a fine sky-line, surrounded with trees, and be accessible. Under any circumstances he trusted that

due precautions would be taken to secure it from the injuries of a British-winter. Even in Rome obelisks had the appearance of being washed and worn by rain, and the hieroglyphics disappeared unless care was taken. He trusted that the best authorities would be consulted with a view that the obelisk should be protected against the effects of the climate.

The Rev. Mr. Mayhew proposed the court-yard of St. Paul's Cathedral as a suitable place for the obelisk.

Mr. Morgan then proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Birch and Mr. Dixon.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, in seconding the motion, said that he had received a communication from Lord Houghton, who expressed a strong desire that the obelisk should be placed in the court-yard of the British Museum, which position he (the speaker) considered to be one of the worst.

Mr. Godwin said that before putting the vote, he would say that it would be a lamentable thing if this great memorial should be treated as a mere curiosity, and taken to the British Museum. As regarded St. Paul's Cathedral, the fact of the distance to be traversed by this great mass of 186 tons, and also up a hill, if nothing else was to be considered, would be a task almost insurmountable. With regard to Mr. Grover's suggestion as to the placing of the statue of Cœur de Lion more prominently, he (Mr. Godwin) concurred in that view, and suggested that it should be placed in Parliament Square, where it would contrast most beautifully with the surrounding buildings.

The vote was then put, and carried with acclamation.

WEDNESDAY, 5TH DECEMBER 1877.

THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Theodore Martin, C.B., 31 Onslow Square, was duly elected an associate.

J. D. Leader, Esq., F.S.A., was elected Local Member of Council for the West Riding of Yorkshire; and Morris C. Jones, Esq., Local Member of Council for Montgomeryshire.

The thanks of the Association were ordered to be returned for the following presents to the library:

To the Smithsonian Institution, for the "Annual Report of the Board of Regents for 1876." 8vo. Washington, 1877.

To the Powys-Land Club, for "Collections relating to Montgomeryshire." Vol. x, Part III. 8vo. London, 1877.

To the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, for the "Journal", vol. iv. 4th Series. No. 3. 8vo. Dublin, 1877.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a photograph of a Tudor mantelpiece, received from Dr. J. Stevens of Andover, whose attention had been called to it by the finder. It was resting on heavy stone jambs which had formed part of an old fireplace of a house on the left of the entrance to the Angel Inn, Andover.

Mr. Brock also read the following report on a discovery of a stone coffin at Soberton, Hants, by Dr. Stevens:—"Oct. 20th, 1877. In a field called Little or Lower Brigden, in the parish of Soberton, a short distance from the high-road to Droxford, a shepherd was folding his sheep, and finding his bar would not enter the ground, it being obstructed by some object, he became anxious to discover the cause, and dug down about a foot, when he came to a stone coffin, 7 ft. long by 2 ft. wide at the head (stated in *The Hampshire Chronicle* as being of the thirteenth or fourteenth century). In the interior was found the decayed skeleton of a man. The lid, during its removal, was broken into two pieces. The remains were evidently not properly inspected; but I have been informed by one who had a cursory view of the remains, that the body (that is, the direction in which some of the bones rested) appeared to denote that it had been placed on its side, and that the floor of the coffin appeared to contain a substance resembling lime. The stone chest, further, seemed to occupy a hole in the chalk. These appearances, granting they existed, are hardly consistent with mediæval burial, but have rather a pagan character. The Romans, perhaps rather rarely, interred in stone chests with lime. The isolation of the interment looks pagan, for one could hardly expect to find a fourteenth century Christian burial excepting in the vicinity of some ecclesiastical edifice. The coffin has been placed in Minchin's Chapel in Soberton Church, as appurtenant to the lord of the manor."

Mr. Alfred Wallis of Derby communicated the following note:—"The site of the ancient Priory of St. James has long been built upon, a narrow footway in the heart of the town, which was known as 'St. James's Lane', only marking the situation. This, for some years, has given way to a fine street, the houses on either side having been demolished, and a large hotel, shops, etc., erected, instead of a sad 'rookery' which once held unsavoury place here. During the excavations nothing of antiquarian importance came to light, saving a few hewn stones and a large key. An unhallowed interment had taken place beneath a heartstone in one of the little dens of the said 'rookery'; but this (from coins which were found) seemed to have been a murder-relic, dating some time in George III's reign. Parts of a skeleton of undoubted antiquity were found also, but no clue to age, etc., accompanied them.

"Within the last few weeks a part of the north side of the Lane,

going down to the brook (hitherto garden ground, and therefore superficially dug), has been excavated for foundations, with the result of discovering the enclosed cemetery of the Priory, thirty skeletons at least having been uncovered. In one case only has any stone of sepulchral character been found, a rough drawing of which I exhibit. This was over a skeleton laid into the earth (in no case has any trace of a coffin been seen), and with it were two fragments of Norman pottery, which I shall have pleasure in submitting to the Association. Traces of glass vessels were also found, but I have not yet been able to procure specimens. The slab was at a depth of 8 feet below the present roadway, and the interments were quite shallow, not more than 1 foot or 18 inches deep. The soil has all the characteristics of old graveyard *humus*, and the skeletons lie in regular order, east and west, the head of one in close proximity to the feet of another. The works are still going on.

"I regret to say that the bones are not all to be reverently replaced in consecrated ground, permission having been given to the Curator of the Free Library and Museum to take up one of the skeletons with the object of putting it into a glass case. The slab has been taken possession of by the owner of the property."

Mr. B. Hicklin forwarded an account of a curious discovery at Abinger, near Dorking, and stated, "A Roman villa has lately been discovered at Abinger, about four miles from here, on ploughing a field. The foundations of some of the rooms are perfect, as is also part of a Roman pavement; and there are a few pieces of mosaic, Samian ware, and Roman pottery, black and red, but very much broken; coins (Constantine), iron, and other remnants. These have all been taken to Mr. Farrar, Aberych Hall, close to the spot. If this will interest any of the Archæological Association to view the spot, I may say it is within a mile of Gomshall Station; and by letting me know, I shall be happy to accompany them."

Mr. Robinson, who received the Congress at Denbigh Castle, and has been since engaged in superintending repairs of the ruins there, writes as follows: "I am happy to report that we have commenced in good earnest erecting pillars for the support of the gateway, and on each side of the entrance into the Castle. We have already completed three of these pillars, and have commenced two others, the appearance of which, I believe, upon your next visit you will appreciate. We have also had permission from the members of the Bowling Green to excavate upon ground held by them, to the left of the entrance, and have been fortunate enough to come down to the foundation of a tower on the left, by which we shall be enabled to carry up a buttress in character with that on the right hand of the gateway. I may say that to prevent accidents during the building of the pillars,

we have propped up the ruins with balks of timber, which I have reason to believe will be effectual. To give an idea of the rate we are going on with the work, I have already expended £100; and I now feel satisfied that we shall be able to do all the work we intended for the sum which is at our disposal, viz. £600. Should any members of the Association be in this neighbourhood, we should be glad of their examining what we have already done, and of suggesting anything for the future work."

Dr. Stevens also sent the following note of Roman remains found at Itchen Abbas, Hants:—"The remains of a Roman villa have just recently been discovered on the farm of Mr. Way at Itchen Abbas, and there is a desire for further exploration, the permission of the owner and occupier of the land having been obtained. For this purpose a meeting of gentlemen interested in the matter took place in Winchester, at the residence of the Rev. W. A. Fearon, on Friday the 9th of November. It would appear that the Rev. C. Collier of Winchester had been to inspect the remains at the request of Mr. C. Roach Smith, and that he (Mr. Collier) had stated that the angles of two tessellated pavements had been exposed, and that the flues and other appliances for warming the rooms were almost perfect. It was resolved at the meeting that, by permission of the owner of the land, a trench should be cut across one of the rooms, so that the real character of the pavement might be ascertained; and that a report of this should be presented to a committee, who would then, if necessary, take further action in the matter."

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited, by permission of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral, the original charter of Uhtred, Regulus of the Hwicci, lately restored to the Library. This interesting specimen of rare national palæography is dated in the year 770, and possesses many points of importance both historically and artistically speaking. Mr. Birch drew attention, by way of comparison, to the charter of Offa, published in the *Journal* of the Association, vol. xxxii, p. 190. The value of this charter is enhanced by the fact that it has eluded the notice of Kemble, whose *Codex Diplomaticus* contains two contemporary charters¹ relating to the same property, but couched in different terms.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a mass of molten marl from the Roman camp at Weybridge; and Mr. Brock stated that he had found similar remains of this substance on the soil in Cæsar's Camp at Wimbledon, now levelled for the purposes of building.

Mr. Brock read the following paper, and exhibited a series of plans and drawings in illustration:

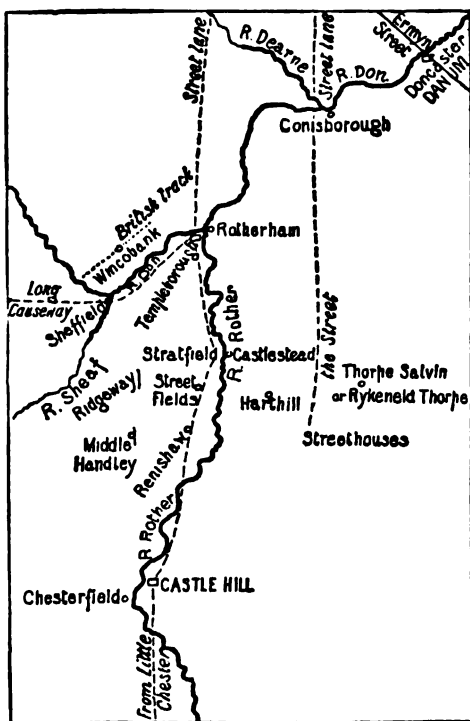
¹ Nos. cxvii, cxviii.

THE ROMAN STATION CALLED TEMPLEBOROUGH, NEAR ROTHERHAM.

BY JOHN DANIEL LEADER, F.S.A.

About a mile and a quarter to the west of the town of Rotherham, in the angle formed by the confluence of the rivers Don and Rother, may be seen the well-defined outline of a quadrangular earthwork bearing the appearance of a Roman camp. It was not noticed by Camden : but Bishop Gibson, in his edition of Camden, in 1695, refers to it as "a fair Roman fortification called Temple Brough". It lies between the river Don on the north, and the Sheffield and Rotherham turnpike-road on the south. There has been a double agger, at least on the north and east sides, and possibly also on the south and west, though the operations of agriculture have obliterated the traces of the outer bank on the two latter sides. The inner area encloses a little more than four acres, and measures 390 feet from east to west, and 450 feet from north to south. It is known to the farmer as the "Castle Garth". Last autumn a crop of wheat grew there; and when this had been reaped, no stone larger than a river-pebble was to be seen on the surface of the ground. There was simply a well-marked earthwork, bounded on the east side by an old blackthorn hedge, and on the other sides open to the larger area of the field.

A few weeks ago explorations on this site began. We were met in the most liberal spirit by Mr. Fullerton, the owner of the estate, and Mrs. Wood, the tenant of the farm. An appeal for subscriptions was made and generously responded to, and on the 1st of October operations began by cutting a grip across the south-east angle of the agger to ascertain if it contained any foundations of walls. Before the expiration of the second day of our work, previously received notions about the character of the camp had been considerably modified. At a depth of 5 and 6 feet, in the very heart of the



Plan of Roman and British Roads near Sheffield.

bank, were found fragments of Roman pottery and tiles, one of the

latter bearing the stamp c. IIII. G.¹ Here, then, was evidence that the earthworks had been thrown up at some period subsequent to the destruction of a Roman station. It was an entirely new light, and we followed its guidance with caution. The fourth cohort of the Gauls has left many traces of its existence along the Roman Wall. It was stationed, according to the *Notitia*, at Vindolana, or Little Chesters, a station to the south of the Wall, between Chesters and Procolitia; but that it had built a station in Yorkshire was a new and important fact.

Presently our cutting led to some rough foundation-work, which proved to be walls, 8 ft. thick, surrounding a well, not perfectly circular, but measuring across its largest diameter 6 ft. 9 ins. It was full of earth, and had presented on the surface of the ground, when we began, not the slightest indication of its existence. The investigations about this well are still going on. It has been excavated to a considerable depth (23 ft.); but the bottom is not yet reached, and the strong inflow of water makes the work slow and difficult. In the course of the excavation many fragments of black Roman pottery have been found, a small piece of bronze, bones of animals, and decayed wood. The remains of pottery make it clear that we are working in a well as old as the Roman period, not in any subsequent construction; but until the work is more complete, I will not indulge in conjectures.

Our next work was to cut a trench across the south-west angle of the agger; but there no foundations were found. Fragments of pottery, both Samian, black, and light-coloured, were thrown out; and 4 ft. 6 ins. below the surface a band of boulders was cut through, which once probably formed a road-surface. Samian ware and other pottery were found below these boulders, at a depth of 6 ft. from the crown of the agger.

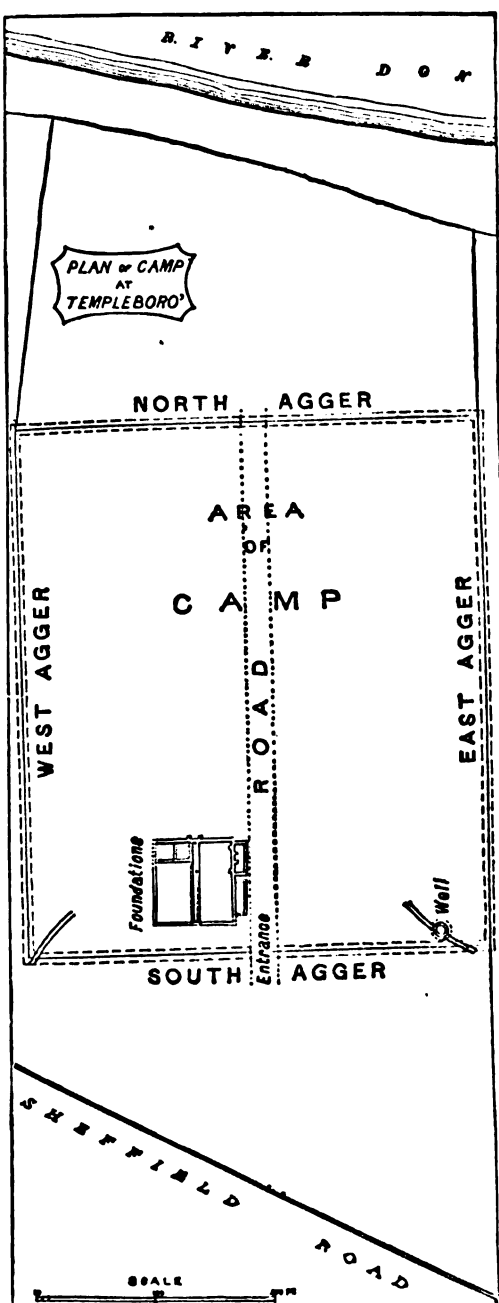
A depression about the middle of the south bank seemed to indicate the place where the entrance to the station had been. At the commencement of the second week operations were begun on that spot, and 18 ins. below the surface we came upon a very rough boulder-pitched road. Its width was not very clearly defined, owing to the disturbance its surface had undergone; but it seemed to have measured about 21 ft. across. Trial-holes were then made at intervals in a direct line through the camp to the north agger, and this roadway was found to continue the whole way.

Our next effort was to ascertain what buildings had been situated on the line of the road, and the inquiry was soon successful. About 18 ins. below the surface a wall of roughly squared stones was discovered, which proved to be 3 ft. broad, and from three to five courses of stone in depth. The stones are laid in clay and earth similar to the walls found at Slack, and rest on a foundation of boulders and clay concreted together. The work of following out and uncovering the

¹ "Cohors Quarta Gallorum." See p. 508.

building thus discovered has since formed the chief business of the exploration. Its outline is depicted on the ground-plan on this page. At first it seemed to be a nearly square building, measuring 72 ft. from north to south, and 68 from east to west; but trenching the ground further eastward, we came upon another wall, 8 ft. from the one we at first regarded as the eastern boundary. Its masonry was similar in character to the other walls. In the interval between these walls were found many traces of fire, in the form of blackened stones and charcoal. 2 ft. 6 ins. below the surface, a pierced black dish and two whetstones (depicted in one of the photographs exhibited) were found; and 3 ft. below the surface a light-coloured earthenware *mortarium* (shewn in another photograph). It lay face downwards, slightly inclining to the south-east, and was lifted out entire. It measures $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter across the top, and stands $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, and is a very fine and perfect specimen of this not uncommon form of dish.

On examining the newly-found easternmost wall, it was observed to rest, not on concrete like the others, but on large slabs of stone; and pushing the inquiry a little further, it was found that 14 ins. of walling had been built over the large stones of a threshold, thus concealing the bases of two columns, 11 ft.

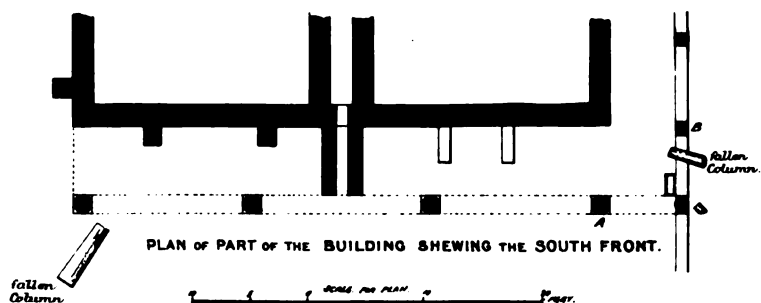
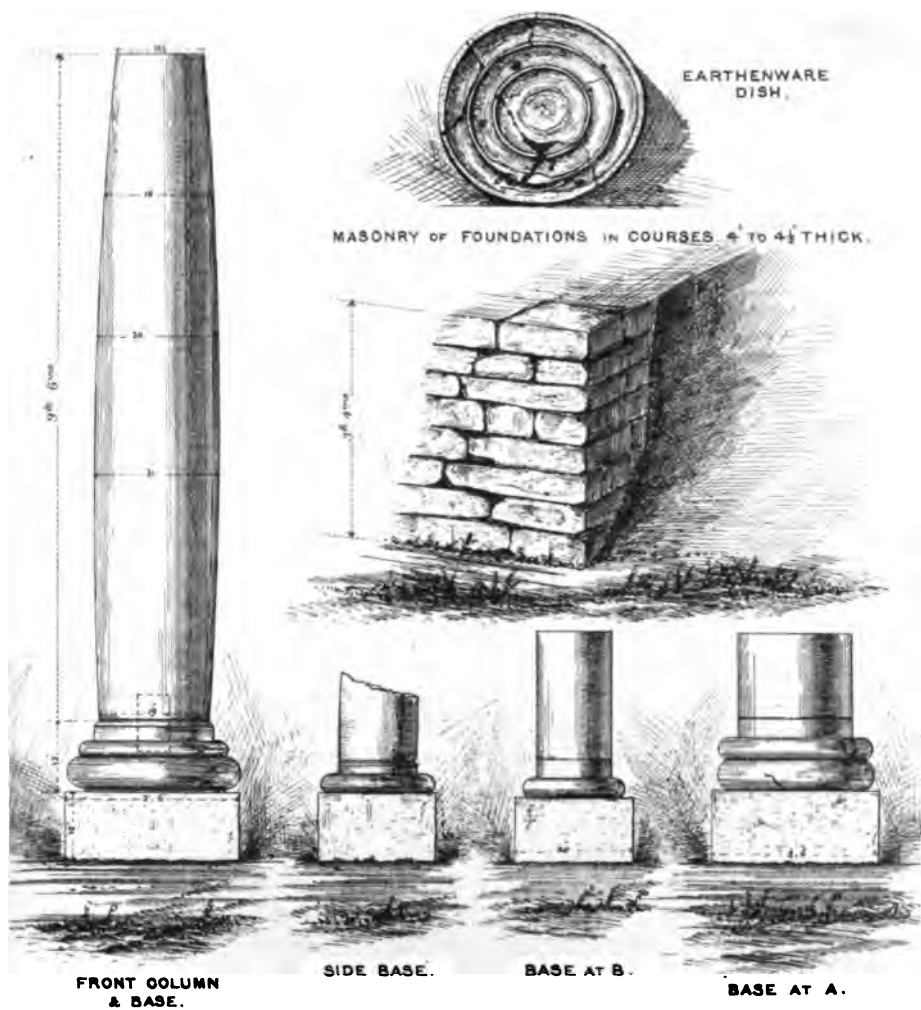


apart. The clue thus obtained was at once followed, and a row of seven column-bases found buried under this later walling. The level of the later wall agreed pretty nearly with the level of the road previously referred to; but the removal of this stonework led to the discovery of another road surface, 18 inches below the first, pitched with boulders, but less disturbed than the upper one. The interval between the two roads was filled with loose stones, as from a ruined building, fragments of pottery, tiles, and charcoal. At the southern end of the colonnade stood a small shallow stone trough, measuring 2 ft. $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 1 ft. 3 ins., and 4 ins. deep inside. The threshold at this point was much worn, as if with the tread of men; and indeed all along the colonnade these evidences of its having been a place of much popular resort are seen. Between the two southerly column bases, with its upper part only 9 ins. below the surface, lay a broken column 5 ft. 10 ins. long and measuring 5 ft. 2 ins. at its greatest circumference. The part nearest the surface was scored with many marks of the ploughshare, yet it had lain undisturbed with its broken end dipping at a sharp angle into the ground, so that it nearly rested on the lower roadway; a *luis* hole remains in the end that is perfect. The column bases already found had carried pillars only 13 ins. in diameter, but here was one 20 ins. in diameter. We had clearly other and larger bases to discover.

By this time our trench had been driven well into the heart of the south agger. At this point the upper road lay 3 ft. 6 ins. above the lower road, and the bottom of the southernmost column base was 5 ft. from the surface of the ground. Turning our cutting westwards, we gradually disclosed, one after another, the bases of four large columns, 22 ft., 23 ft., and 21 ft. apart. No two of them were exactly alike; but the most easterly seemed to have been the one on which the broken column, found on the east side, had rested. Above this row of bases lay a bouldered road, corresponding with the upper road of the east side, and seeming to lead up to the inner southern wall, which, during this second occupation, had formed the southern front of the building. Between the third and fourth bases of this front was found an entire column thrown down, and lying level, with its base outermost, and its head towards the colonnade. It measures 9 ft. 7 ins. long, $19\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in diameter at the base, and $15\frac{1}{4}$ ins. at the top. A *luis* hole is seen at its upper end. So far, columns have not been found on the western side of the building.

On the plan will be observed two small apartments near the north-west angle of the building. In the most easterly of them many fragments of hypocaustal tiles and flue tiles were found; some of the latter blackened with soot, leading to the impression that here had been the hypocaust. But nothing remains whole, nor were there any traces of

ROMAN REMAINS AT TEMPLE-BOROUGH.



plaster, though the flue tiles had been scored in diagonal lines, as if for the purpose of receiving a coating of this material. The large apartment extending from these small chambers to the south has been cleared out, but no traces of flooring have been found. Only one whole tile has been turned up, and it measures 7 ins. square and 3 ins. thick. Many fragments of Samian and other pottery have been found, and a quantity of red clay, resembling in colour the tiles, and very tenacious. This is being submitted to chemical analysis at the hands of Mr. Wm. Baker.

I must now direct your attention to the excavation about the southern gateway. The discovery of the double roadway in front of the columned building showed that the boulder pitching we first came upon at this point was not the original road of the station. Further excavations were accordingly commenced, and here again the two roads were found, the interval between them being filled with stones from a building, with broken pottery and charcoal. Many of the stones seemed to have been subjected to great heat. A wall of large stones was found running southwards, 44 ft. from the south-east angle of the colonnade, and about midway along it a confused mass of dressed and other stones seemed to mark the site where the gateway had fallen. Here also lay a broken column with a lewis-hole, apparently from the southern colonnade; and among the stones was one much worn from the sharpening of knives or weapons. The road lay to the east of this wall, and measured only 9 ft. wide at the supposed site of the gate. It is pitched with boulders, and seems to have had channels at each side, not formed with dressed stones, but by the simple termination of the pitching. Fronting the southern colonnade, a roughly paved surface has been uncovered 21 ft. wide, and beyond it a boulder pitching 9 ft. wide, which we should like to regard as the foundation of a wall surrounding the station; but at present appearances are not conclusive. There seems to be no mortar about it, and no regular face on either the inside or the outside. It is difficult, moreover, to suppose that a Roman wall could have so completely perished as to leave only the boulder foundation on which it rested. On the west side of the gateway there seemed to be traces of a guardhouse, 9 ft. by 7 ft., and in its south-west corner was found a hole so loosely filled with earth that it attracted the attention of the workmen; and they excavated it, until the influx of water stopped further progress. On the other side of the entrance road, and two or three yards nearer the interior of the station, another of these holes was found. Neither of them has yet been fully examined, but it seems probable they may prove to have been refuse holes or cesspools. Two trenches have been cut through the south agger, opposite the colonnade, but they have not yielded any considerable results. They show, however, how the bank was thrown up first

over the earliest Roman work and then over the second road surface ; but whether the upper work was Roman or Post-Roman, we have as yet no conclusive evidence. Besides earth and loose material, the bank contains many dressed stones, thrown in indiscriminately, and many fragments of tiles and pottery. Forty inches from the surface a tile bearing the letters C.III.—a portion of the mark of the fourth Cohort



of the Gauls, was found ; and 12 ins. from the surface, a piece of dark coloured iridescent Roman glass, an eighth of an inch thick, having formed part of the flange and side of a bowl.

Among the *débris* cleared out near the gateway was a stone which may possibly have been the capital of one of the smaller columns, but upon that point some doubt is felt. If it be not a capital, we must conclude that the capitals and entablatures of the building were of wood, since no stone ones have been found, and the large amount of wood charcoal all about the foundations, gives clear evidence of the destruction of much timber. The charcoal is said to show under the microscope the tissues of oak and beech.

A remarkable feature in these excavations is the extreme rarity of coins. Only five legible ones have been found, and about as many more irrecoverably decayed. Two were found near the gateway, among the stones of the upper roadway, and these proved to be a small brass of Titus and a large brass of Trajan. Near the north-east angle of the building a brass of Antoninus Pius was found, and within the area of the large western room a second brass of Faustina, his wife, with the legend, "Diva Faustina". Near one of the columns of the south front

a small coin of the *Urbs Roma* type, with the wolf and twins, was found; and about the same place, part of a bronze fibula. Perhaps the most curious relic was among the stones of the upper roadway, a few yards within the gate, and 18 ins. below the surface. It is a red engraved cornelian in a square silver setting, and bears a rudely carved figure, perhaps of Apollo, probably copied by some provincial workman from a good classical example.



At present the work is far from complete, but we have clear evidence of three occupations, of which two are certainly Roman, and belong to an early period, for the later roadway yields coins of Titus and Trajan. Possibly the earthwork that covers the two Roman stations may belong to the Romano-British period. But on this point we have as yet only conjecture to guide us. It will be seen from the plan that the operations have not yet extended beyond a small portion of the south side of the station, and there is every reason to expect that the remains of buildings will be found all over the area. The suburbs probably lay to the south, and we have already a clue that may help to the discovery of the burial ground. With such prospects as these and an opportunity for investigation such as may never recur, it is very desirable that the work should be thoroughly done. Subscriptions to the extent of about £200 have been received, and half this amount is already expended. Besides the cost of wages there is an undefined liability to the tenant for damage under the head of tenant right, which can only be arrived at on the completion of the work. An account called "The Templeboro' Exploration Fund" has been opened at the Sheffield and Rotherham Bank by Ald. John Guest, F.S.A., the Treasurer, and any assistance our friends of this Society may render will be gladly received, and expended as wisely as we know how. The exploration committee consists of the Revs. J. Stacey and W. Blazeby, Messrs. B. Bagshawe, J. B. Mitchell-Withers, and Allan Badger, besides Ald. Guest and myself.

At the conclusion of the paper Mr. J. T. Burgess, F.S.A., of Leamington, made some remarks upon the character of the Roman remains described, and compared their characteristics with those of others found in the neighbourhood. Mr. Brock and Mr. Grover took part in the discussion.

Mr. Brock remarked concerning the columns of the building discovered, that the great width of the interval between the columns, 22 ft., precludes the supposition that the architecture above the columns could ever have been of any other material than wood. The bases are too irregular in their design to be attributed to any of the orders of architecture, but the exaggerated entasis (as figured) of the column found entire, indicates some acquaintance on the part of the workmen of principles of design. These architectural features add materially to

our knowledge of Roman buildings, and another to the very few examples of columnar works that have yet been met with in Britain.

The Chairman then read the following address relating to the work performed by the Association in the late Congress at Llangollen.

NOTES UPON THE RESULTS OF THE CONGRESS AT LLANGOLLEN.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

Mr. Walter de Gray Birch's *resumé* of our late Congress in North Wales renders it unnecessary for me to detail what has been done there, but some record of the extra day, when we were entertained by our hospitable President at Llangedwyn after the Congress had been formally closed, together with a note or two jotted down at Plas Newydd and Ruthin, may not be deemed superfluous.

The sign of the "Hand" Hotel recalls the red hand of Ulster, first emblazoned on the shields of baronets created by James I. Among the early holders of the new title the name of Sir William Williams stands conspicuous. He was Recorder of Chester, represented that city in Parliament, and was twice elected to be its Speaker—an office of more than usual importance in that stormy period which ushered in the great revolution of 1688. He became a large landowner in North Wales by marrying a Welsh heiress; and is an ancestor of our President, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart. Near the hotel the river Dee is crossed by an excellent stone bridge, which, though widened in modern times, has withstood since the middle of the fourteenth century the force of the foaming river, which comes down like nothing less rapid than the water from Southey's Lodore. The Dee, swollen one day into a torrent by the downpour from Dinas Bran, the Barber's Hill, and other surrounding highlands, as well as by the increased outflow from the Bala Lake, subsides as rapidly as it had risen after one fine day. The salmon might be seen leaping up the dams formed by the rough stones, regardless of personal injury in their firmness of purpose to ascend the stream. One road to Valle Crucis runs up the left bank of the Dee, by the side of a canal, which lies nearly parallel to it, at a much higher level, being fed from the river some miles up. Trees overhang the path; and Nature would here reign supreme, were it not for the canal and the slate depots, which remind us of the busy industry of North Wales.

The ruins of the silent abbey of Valle Crucis have been fully described by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock; and his graphic account of the religious house and its inmates will be before you, aided by the knowledge freely imparted to us on the spot by Mr. W. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth, that veteran antiquary of North Wales, who, from his thorough knowledge

of the country and its history, was a pillar of strength to us throughout our Congress. A special vote of thanks to him was proposed by Mr. Brock, not only for his explanations, but for the great trouble and expense he had been at in causing a considerable depth of earth to be removed down to the level of the ancient floor of the abbey, thus exposing the basement and many early tomb slabs to view, and for otherwise protecting and preserving the ruins. I may here take occasion to remark that our Association must not be accused of remissness in commending the preservation of ancient monuments, and throwing out suggestions on the subject whenever an opportunity presents itself. Thus Mr. Brock called attention to the state of the old church of St. Hilary at Denbigh, and caused a resolution to be passed, and submitted to the proper authorities, to beg that this old church might not be destroyed, as had been suggested;¹ and gave the benefit of his practical advice as to the best mode of supporting certain portions of the ruinous walls of Denbigh Castle, which threatened to come down on our heads: He also animadverted on the chapel in Chirk Castle, which sadly stands in need of reparation; and we may compliment Mr. Brock upon the prompt manner in which he brought his historical and architectural knowledge forward on all needful occasions throughout the week.

A little beyond the abbey, placed upon a mound of small elevation, and underneath a clump of trees, stands the pillar of Eliseg, upon which I will venture to add a word or two to the observations made on the spot by Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam. He told us the column was Roman, from its entasis and general configuration, and supposed it to have been brought from some of the Roman cities, such as Uriconium or Chester, and to have been erected probably at the beginning of the eighth century, when the inscription was cut upon it in the minuscule letters of that period, as confirmed by Mr. Walter de Gray Birch. I may add that this view is strengthened by the inscription being cut on the shaft of the column instead of on the pedestal, where we might have expected to find it, if this commemorative column had been erected nearer to Roman times, or even at the date of the battle of Chester, about A.D. 607, as has been supposed by Pennant and others. The capital certainly resembles in some respects examples of Byzantine capitals, such as were lately exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. E. Freshfield, in a very large series of photographs brought by him from Constantinople. We have an example in Rome of a column inscribed on the pedestal to the memory of the Emperor Phocas, who reigned A.D. 605 to 610, or contemporaneously with the battle of Chester. Let us hope that Eliseg better deserved the monument than the centurion

¹ Leland, *Itin.*, vol. v, p. 54, calls it a chapel of ease, "large and well servid".

Phocas, who rose to power by murdering first the emperor and his sons, and then in his brief reign deprived of life the unfortunate Empress Constantina and her daughters; but his partisanship of the Italian head of the church covered a multitude of sins in those critical times, when the patriarch of Constantinople headed another party, and Mahommedanism was beginning to bud on the eastern confines of the empire. The Welsh inscription is at least a very early genealogy cut in stone. We saw an inscription on a stone at Cymmer Abbey, in character apparently of similar type, but which had not been deciphered. As to primæval antiquities, the magnificent natural hill fortress of the Gaer, with its ramparts of stones without cement, built up much after the manner of the Worle Hill fortress in Somersetshire, and Chywoone Castle, Cornwall, was a matter for speculative theories; but beyond this we saw little of prehistoric remains in the country traversed, not having approached the sea coast. Monuments of the disturbed times which succeeded the fall of the western empire of Rome were conspicuous by their absence. The struggles of Christianity with heathendom, or the strife between rival church centres have left us no visible mark to record, except perhaps the vallum and ditch of Offa, and another such barricade known as Wat's Dyke. The cromlechs have disappeared, as well as the stone circles. Mounds of earth of artificial formation can easily be distinguished, from natural inequalities of the ground, without its being necessary to call in the glacial theory to account for either. The tumuli we have seen in abundance, but the stones are wanting above ground to give a clue to the race who heaped them up. It is said the Normans were in the habit of constructing their houses on the tops of these elevations. If so, this will account for the disappearance of all loose stones of any magnitude, valuable alike for building purposes, and rocks of offence to a Christian population. Early stone crosses and Early churches were equally wanting, if we except, besides those referred to, an Early incised cross on a block of stone at the entrance of the restored church of Llangedwyn;¹ a shaft of an ancient cross in the churchyard of Corwen, and some early masonry, referred to by Mr. Brock in a portion of the walls of Gresford Church.

Let me pass then to works of more modern date. At a distance of about half a mile from the Hand Hotel we found ourselves in that little Eden called Plas Newydd,—the retreat of the “ladies of Llangollen”, whose “cottage of gentility” remains nearly as they left it when carried out to their last resting-place in the old churchyard of Llangollen, in 1829 and 1831. The house reflects the taste of those two ladies for the refinements of life in this sequestered

¹ In this church was a recumbent figure of a priest, of early date, perhaps thirteenth century, well worthy of notice, and in good preservation.

hermitage. The oak carvings fitted to the apartments and principal staircase present a heterogeneous assemblage of heraldic devices, ecclesiastical emblems, and historical allusions; the posts of an ancient bed being pressed into the service for making the porch at the front door. Lady Eleanor's bower, overlooking the deep dell through which the river flows, still shelters the visitors from sun and rain, and the amphitheatre of wooded mountains closes in the scene, as did those impassable barriers the happy valley of Rasselas. General Yorke, the present proprietor of the property, found it an agreeable retreat when severely wounded at the battle of Balaclava, on 25th October 1854; he afterwards occupied his forced leisure here in carving an ivory cup for His Majesty Charles XV, King of Sweden, and the numerous other effects in the same material which adorn the room. Two miniature portraits, placed side by side, represent two very different eras in our national life. In the one Nell Gwyn smiles upon us, as she did in the days of the merry monarch, or when looking into her mirror, which is now preserved in the Brighton Museum, on the frame of which is depicted Charles II himself and Nell Gwyn, in full dress, as well as in *demie-toilette*. In the other miniature Mrs. Fitz-Herbert recalls the heartless days when George IV was king. The exclusiveness and pride of the leaders of fashion in those days are drawn in broad and not altogether untrue outline by the pen of a foreigner, Mme. de Stael, even though her portrait of a young English noble, the hero of "Corinne", may be, as it is, a caricature. The atmosphere of such society was capable of sequestering two high-spirited ladies in a happy valley, apart from the cold world of high society, as well as the vulgarity of the lower.

In marked contrast to such isolation is the social spirit pervading the nation in the days we have fallen upon, of which we have had many examples during our recent Congress. Witness the free welcome given by our President, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, to some 900 persons of various ranks in society, who were invited to meet the members of our body on Tuesday, the 3rd September, at his seat at Llangedwyn; and there to be present at the peaceful competition of the best cultivators of the fruits and flowers of the earth. The shows of flowers, and exhibition at frequent intervals of works of art and of antiquity, have done much to humanise those who formerly had no opportunity of seeing either the one or the other. Many visitors examined and discussed the relics of antiquity exhibited in the house, of which a description will be given hereafter, and foremost amongst which is the grand gold torque found in the neighbourhood, and which had to be sent for to the Kensington Museum, where Sir Watkin had lent it for exhibition. The old house dates from the early part of the eighteenth century, and stands out nobly against the foliage of fine forest trees, which run up behind it as far as the rugged mountains beyond. The taste and

arrangement of the flower beds argued a passion for floriculture in the fair mistress of the domain herself, who gracefully did the honours on this festive occasion.¹

No longer in these days, when improved education and more frequent intercourse have infused into every class a more sympathetic feeling and more of the "milk of human kindness", would such epithets be fitting as were popularly applied to four powerful families of Wales, "the proud Pryces, treacherous Herberts, lying Devereux, and bloody Vaughans". Much more in unison with the times are the well merited eulogies of the Welsh, for the liberality of another of our entertainers, Major Cornwallis West, the gallant owner of Ruthin Castle, whose name is associated with an exhibition of the fine arts at Wrexham in July last year, which was visited by nearly 80,000 persons. He not only contributed many objects from his own collection, for exhibition, and paid a considerable sum of money to make up the deficiency incurred, but devoted very much time, attention, and anxious care, to the undertaking; and the Welsh people could appreciate the sacrifices made, even if all did not profit to the full extent they might by visiting this collection of pictures by some of the best ancient and modern masters, and a large variety of miscellaneous objects of art which they will never again have the opportunity of seeing reunited.

In Ruthin Castle we saw at our leisure the many beautiful works displayed in the drawing-room. In prehistoric remains I may mention an urn found in July 1859, in a tumulus in Bryn Bujaslin parish, Llangollen; part of spear-head and dagger taken from a tumulus at Orseddin, near Sela Byrn, in March 1850; and others found at Ebnall, near Oswestry, in 1848 and 1849. There was no mention of the place whence came the superb Roman street-door fittings. Some fine statuaries by Gibson adorn the room. The infant Bacchus, nursed by a nymph, smiles in marble as the ancients understood his votaries to smile, "*mente novâ*", when the "*cæcubum adhibet vim sapientiæ*". They did not couple drunkenness usually with the god of wine, as we moderns are too apt to do. The idea may be studied in the youthful Bacchus associated with Hermes in the group just discovered at Olympia, in Peloponnesus, by Praxiteles, the only known work of that great artist which has escaped the destruction of time. An intaglio by Morelli, representing Cupid riding on a lion, attracted the notice of many of us; and the library of books and some MSS. which were

¹ The attractions of Llangedwyn drew away our party from the remarkable Roman works at New Oswestry, which ought to have been more carefully investigated, particularly as we had minutely surveyed the Caergwle fortress, which, if not itself Roman, was in immediate proximity to a Roman station; and where we had the benefit of Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam's experience, who both here and elsewhere placed prominently before us many noteworthy objects of special interest in Wales.

exhibited, excited a lively interest and discussion. I mention a few articles by way of reminding you of the whole collection, which, with the paintings, was much admired; and the armoury in the hall of entrance was in keeping with the baronial character of the edifice, and the heraldic quarterings of the arms of its noble owners were pointed out to us by Mr. Rouge Croix Tucker, and among them those of Cornwallis and Myddleton of Chirk. What Englishman can repeat the name of the great Cornwallis without a feeling of pride that our soil has nurtured such men. It will be remembered that his labours in India, America, and Ireland, were crowned by his death in Ghazepoor, India, whither he returned in declining health, still obeying the call of duty to his country, and died in the same year and month as Lord Viscount Nelson. The monuments in marble to the memory of these two heroes stand face to face in the south transept of St. Paul's Cathedral. The Myddletons of Chirk Castle were ancestors of Major Cornwallis West; and in speaking of marble monuments, notice should be taken of a very graceful figure, at full length, of a youthful Sir William Myddleton, who died at the age of twenty-four, in 1718, in the church of St. Mary at Chirk. Both the figure and the elegant verses beneath it are in favourable contrast to many of the monuments in the same church, which Pennant describes as a "profusion of marble cut into human forms". The taste of the Myddletons for sculptured marble has been inherited, in our own times, by the official successors of Sir Thomas at Goldsmiths' Hall, in their superb atrium of entrance, where nothing but marble is seen, and marble brought from every quarry of known celebrity in Europe, some of the slabs being of remarkable size and beauty; and the white marble of Carrara breathes in statuary on the staircase, under the forms of the Sybil and of Cleopatra.

Returning to Llangollen, the best view of the picturesque town and its surroundings is obtained from the house of the Misses Robertson, in whose garden was an ancient tomb-slab, probably taken originally from the Abbey of Valle Crucis. The brother of these ladies is Henry Robertson, Esq., M.P., who entertained us at his house, Palé, a stone mansion quarried from his own estate. Here is one of the representative men of our time,—an engineer whose great works in developing the industries and products of North Wales have brought him an independent fortune, with which he spreads plenty and happiness through and around his estates.

In closing these remarks I cannot but notice that a particular feature of our Congress this year has been the sight of libraries and fine and rare MSS., which have been commented on with much care by Mr. Walter de Gray Birch. I allude not only to those at Ruthin, but to the famous MSS. of Lord Mostyn at Mostyn Castle, of which you will have a description in the *Journal*; and the marked kindness of Lord

Mostyn in himself accompanying us, and pointing out the noticeable features of the Castle and its contents, was greatly appreciated by the whole party.

The very celebrated library which came from Hengwrt, and is now the property of Mr. W. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth, was also seen to great advantage. He invited several of our members over to spend some days at his house, to have a special inspection of his literary treasures. The celebrated *Black Book of Carnarvon* is here preserved, and a thirteenth century MS. of the bard Taliesin. Some of these the Rev. Robert Williams, Canon of St. Asaph, is about to print and edit; and it is to be hoped the public will respond with their subscriptions, to promote the publication of more of the hitherto unpublished MSS. of the Hengwrt collection.

This is a time, in the year 1877, to mention with gratitude and respect the promoters of the Caxton Celebration held to do honour to the four hundredth anniversary of the setting up of William Caxton's printing press in Westminster in 1477, the first fruits of which was the *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*, "emprynted by me, William Caxton, at Westminster." The catalogue of the early printed books exhibited on this occasion at the Kensington Museum, is a valuable record of the most interesting typographical collection ever brought together. One or more specimens of the first products of the printing press in the principal countries and towns in Europe and America were exhibited, and a short record of them in our *Journal*, with their dates, would not be unacceptable.

This same year has witnessed a congress of librarians from all the principal literary centres, presided over by Mr. Winter Jones; and their labours in London, and interchange of ideas, must lead to improved organisation, so essential to making libraries useful. An instance of increased facilities to students in the British Museum is the new classed catalogue of MSS. lately completed,—a boon which is equivalent to giving the reading public the perusal of a mine of literary wealth heretofore known but to a few, and even to them, perhaps, difficult of access. The authorities are deserving of our gratitude for this great work, and the manner in which it has been executed is worthy of all praise.

These literary labours carry us back to Llangollen. A few miles off, and not far from the church of Llantysilio, we visited Mr. Theodore Martin at Bryntysilio, where he has built a house on a spot perhaps the most favoured in the valley for its picturesque beauties and extensive prospects. The Dee runs below, in the depth of the combe, with a wooded island in its bed, which is broad here as a lake; and a horseshoe fall of the river gives animation to the scene, while the heights of Dinas Bran and Barber's Hill can be seen as a back-ground

to the very beautiful plantation of silver birch, which contrasts well with the endless variety of forest-trees planted in and around the pleasure-grounds. In this quiet retreat, surrounded by his books, the author may freely pursue his laborious occupations, not the least of which, perhaps, is the *Life of the late Prince Consort*,—a name which must occur to the grateful memory of every one when speaking of the fine arts and fine art exhibitions; originator, as he was, of that famed exhibition of 1851, which gave the first impulse to all the others, both here and on the Continent.

The Congress over, our last evening in Llangollen was enlivened by a musical concert and recitation for the benefit of the Cottage Hospital. Mr. J. Dillon Croker, an old member of our Council, read a selection from the writings of Dickens with a pathos which made us feel the touch of genius which gained the novelist the love of his fellow countrymen and the funeral honours of Westminster Abbey. Welsh music filled up a pleasant hour, and Mrs. Martin herself condescended to impersonate one of the characters which Shakespeare has drawn with a grace peculiarly his own, and in which Mrs. Martin reminded us of days gone by when Helen Faucett made the poet's productions her own by her classical rendering of them, and fairly captivated the town as the heroine of the *Lady of Lyons*. Flags covered with heraldic devices which included the arms of the twelve royal tribes of Wales, adorned the Town Hall, and seemed to challenge our heraldic members to take exception to their accuracy, if a flaw could be found in the blazonry of Welsh mediæval heralds.

Socially as well as archæologically we may congratulate the numerous members, including many of our Council, upon the success of the Congress, and the presence of so many distinguished antiquaries greatly contributed to it. Though we missed two of our oldest Vice-Presidents, Mr. George Godwin and Mr. J. R. Planché, *Somerset Herald*, who have for many years been constant attendants at the Congresses, and last year went down with us all the way to the Land's End, we were glad to see Mr. Godwin filling the chair at our opening meeting, and taking part in a discussion upon which he was so competent to give an opinion; and to see and hear Mr. Planché again in public the other day at the Literary and Scientific Institution of Chelsea, where he read a paper upon that obscure period of history embracing the reign of Henry II and two successors, which he has done so much to illustrate. We regretted his absence in North Wales, the more because he might have thrown some new light upon that period of history, from the knowledge he has of the MSS. and charters of the Duke of Westminster, to which reference has been made by him on former occasions in the *Journal*. Another of our oldest Vice-Presidents who was absent from this Congress will, I hope, come among us again

from his retirement in Sussex, and give us the benefit of his archæological explorations in that county.

Our thanks are especially due to Mr. G. R. Wright, *Excursion Secretary*, for his activity and tact in conducting and regulating each day's proceedings, in concert with the Local Committee, among whom, most prominent for the trouble they took, were Captain Best and Mr. William Fell, and for carrying out the programme in its integrity, to the satisfaction of all parties present; to say nothing of his eloquent advocacy of the claims of Owen Glendwr to a local habitation and a wide-spread fame.

Mr. J. W. Previté read the following account of

THE ROMAN REMAINS RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT PRESTON, SUSSEX.

BY JOSEPH STEVENS, M.B.C.P.

It would appear that during 1876 many indications of Roman occupation had come to light in the neighbourhood of Preston. On the hills northward of Brighton Roman-British remains in the shape of urns, coins, fibulæ, etc., had been found. About Hill Crescent and Wellington Villas¹ Roman coins and pottery had frequently been unearthed; while between the Ditchling and Lewes Roads urns and pottery had been found; and away westward, as far as Cambridge Road, an urn of the same period, containing bones, was discovered, and which, together with the pottery from between the Ditchling and Lewes Roads, might be seen in the Brighton Museum.

When building operations on a larger scale were conducted northward of the town by Messrs. Ireland and Savage, at no great distance from the viaduct, the site of the lately found Roman building, it was not surprising that Roman relics on a more extensive scale should have come to light. The labourers found holes filled with flints and broken chalk down to a depth of 6 ft. or 7 ft., and resting on the "Coombe Rock". The holes had evidently been first dug and then filled in; and, as the skeletons of more than one body were found, it was conjectured that the excavations were graves. Of these supposed graves seven were opened, and all were found filled with flints and broken chalk. Of the skeletons, one had the skull, when first discovered, nearly perfect, and the teeth were well preserved. This and the bones of another skeleton were supposed to be secondary burials. A peculiarity in the teeth of one of the jaws was the worn condition of the molars, canines, and incisors, which were ground flat from the character of the food. The only indication as to the nature and date of these remains was the finding, at a lower depth, and resting on the

¹ See Report in the *Transactions of the Sussex and Brighton Natural History Society* for 1876.

Coombe Rock, pottery of the Roman-British type, similar to that found at the Roman burial-ground at Hardham, besides bones of horse and wild boar, and a well-preserved brass coin of Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina. The whole of these relics now form part of the Brighton collection.

During these diggings, a portion of what appeared to be a wall, composed of flint and mortar, was laid bare, which might be considered as foreshadowing the later discovery of a building near the viaduct; and which would lead to the conjecture that the foundations of Roman buildings are largely present along the eastern slope of Preston Valley. Indeed, it is quite probable that some of the remains above detailed, supposed to be graves, might be detached portions of Roman foundations. Or, should they ultimately be found to be a cemetery of the Roman-Britons, they would form a pretty clear index that extended reliquæ of human habitations of the same period are not far distant. Signs of Roman occupation were, however, becoming daily more manifest, for only so recently as the last week in September the workmen, in laying the foundations of a house, came on an undoubted Roman grave at about 40 yards eastward of the Preston building. It was 4 ft. 6 in. from the surface of the ground, 2 ft. in depth, 5 ft. in length, and 3 ft. in width, and was in shape oval. The bottom was paved with large flat stones, some of which were flints. When opened, several jars and vessels, some of which had suffered from the action of the pick, and others from the pressure of the superincumbent earth, were found inside. One or two of the broken vessels have since been pieced together. One of the urns was full of earth, stones, and bones; and in emptying it a piece of iridescent glass was discovered, a buckle, the hasp of a lock, and an iron nail, also some Samian ware and a piece of blue glass, with a yellow spiral round it, which the workmen had thrown aside as a broken toy. In addition, a bone pin and a portion of deer antler had been picked up. The particulars of this discovery were brought by the Secretary to the knowledge of the Brighton and Sussex Natural History Society at their October meeting; and it was suggested by the Secretary that the grave might have contained the remains of some of the inhabitants of the adjoining villa. The whole of these relics are, or will be, deposited in the Pavilion Museum.

The Roman building lately discovered at Preston lies immediately north of the viaduct which spans the London Road, the site being bounded on the west by the London Road, and southward by the new Springfield Road. The land, which has been laid out in building plots, is the property of Mr. Gates, the builder; and the discovery was made during the process of excavating in order to obtain flints. The workmen, during the process, came on what was evidently the foundations

of former buildings ; and a more careful examination of the soil, under the personal superintendence of Mr. Gates, led to the discovery of considerable quantities of broken pottery, mosaic pavement, etc., as well as of large masses of conglomerate, since identified as being Roman.

The remains quickly attracted the attention of local archæologists, among others Mr. Bishop, one of the proprietors of the *Brighton Herald*, in which paper appeared the diagram (with explanations of the portion of the building already exposed), which was prepared under the careful superintendence and measurements of Mr. Gates.

At the northern end the excavations have been completed, the diagram being so far perfect. The general outline of the building on the west is also probably complete, but that at the southern side has not been satisfactorily determined, the foundations perhaps extending considerably in that direction. Eastward the works are stopped by a wall, which separates the works from the adjacent property. In that direction it is not likely, from the presence of gardens and other unfinished property, that the excavations can be further conducted.

During a residence of several weeks at Brighton, I had frequent opportunities of making myself acquainted with the operations in question, and of inspecting the various relics as they were brought to the surface. The building is unquestionably Roman-British, and appears to occupy a square of about 50 ft. ; and, so far as indicated by present appearances, extends under the wall bounding the diggings eastward. The remains are evidently not so important as those of Bignor, but are much like the commoner Roman residences, not unfrequently unearthed in the South of England, along the lines of Roman thoroughfares. The floor drift of the valley is of the ordinary Coombe rock, on which lies a superficial drift of earth and sub-angular flints. In this latter, at about the depth of 2 ft., the foundations are found. The basement of the walls is composed of a conglomerate exceedingly hard, made up of a limy cement, incorporating pebbles and sub-angular flints ; and the walls, which are of ordinary flints and mortar, and about 2 ft. in thickness, are underlaid, most likely for the sake of dryness, with considerable-sized boulder flints to the depth of about 2 ft. Some large lumps of Sarsen stone lie about, but they do not appear to have been used in the building. The apartment on the west, denoted in the plan as of the dimensions of 14 ft. by 15 ft. 6 in., contained an abundance of small and finely-wrought mosaics in red, white, grey, and black ; but, from the dilapidated state of the floor, no tessellated design was observable. In these small tesserae the colouring matter is incorporated with the paste. A larger portion of the building extending eastward is floored with pavement of coarser and less perfectly shaped tesserae, of which slabs of several feet square *in situ* are

in tolerable preservation, but without any traceable pattern. The walls of some of the apartments had been plastered and frescoed with gay colours, of which yellow, red, crimson, and blue were traceable. The broken fictile ware indicates vases, bowls, and saucers of various sizes, chiefly unornamented, in brown, buff, and reddish clays, and of varying texture and thickness. In a comparison of these "crock" with the ware found in Hampshire, an identity is observable, they being mostly similar in structure and colour to the pottery so largely present around the kilns at Crockle and Island Thorn in the New Forest. At these sites of early Romano-British industry the material is chiefly slate-coloured and grey, or yellowish, with occasional specimens of fine red or maroon. The extent of the works implies that the manufactory could hardly have been for local supply, but might have furnished vessels for a considerable portion of the South of England; and particularly as earthenware similar in style and material has been found at Bittern (*Claesentum*) and at Chichester. It seems nevertheless likely that Roman potteries must have prevailed on a small scale, for the manufacture of articles in common use, more frequently than has hitherto been observed; and that such was probably the case in Sussex, where proofs are so abundant of Roman dominion; and that, at the same period, similar forms of workmanship were found to characterise the different working places.

The only vessel rescued entire at Preston is a small red vase, 5 ins. in height, which is now in the possession of Mr. Gates. There were besides numerous segments of a better form of pottery, in bright red with exterior crimson glaze, which appeared to be a kind of British Samian. Here also Crockle furnishes a very similar form of manufacture, which Mr. Wise, in his *New Forest History*, designates a "mock Samian".

The building contains the usual accompaniment of oyster and snail-shells, the latter being most likely winter hybernants. Among the bones I recognised an articulation of a tibial bone of a large ruminant, probably the Celtic shorthorn (*bos longifrons*), the ordinary furnisher of beef to the Roman-Britons. Teeth of sheep or goat were also present, and I observed bones of dog. Coins to the number of eight have been picked up, several of them being very small brass; but the whole are so corroded as to be illegible, with the exception of one, which reads CLAUD, with an O, or perhaps a G, probably CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS, of about the middle empire. Flat-headed roof-nails are frequent, and large pieces of flanged tiles, and fragments of red slabs, some of them cross-lined, which might be floor-tiles or flue-bricks; but there are no signs of any hypocaust, or, indeed, of any form of fireplace. The earth removed from the building contained burnt wood or charcoal, together with pieces of slag and charred flints, which favours the sug-

gestion ; and the conjecture is strengthened by the blackened state of portions of the walls, and the indecipherable condition of the coins, that the building had shared the fate of so many of the Romano-British buildings found in England, and was destroyed by fire.

In the character of the Preston building and its pavements there are some points of resemblance to those uncovered at Danny, in the same district, some few years since. Here there was a plain pavement composed almost wholly of red brick tesserae about an inch square, with some smaller ones of a grey stone, but quite without any artistic arrangement. The apartments were divided by flint walls with foundations of chalk ; and the pottery was mostly of a coarse, unornamented kind, with some scraps of Samian. At Danny, further, one brass coin alone rewarded research,¹ which, like the Preston coins, was too imperfect to furnish any clue to its date.

The discovery at Preston is so far of considerable interest ; and the building might be one, as I have already observed, of a series extending some distance along the slope of Preston valley. Roman remains have come to the knowledge of archæologists at Clayton, Edburton, and, as we have just noted, at Danny, places at no great distance from Preston. And when the position of Preston, as, indeed, of the entire district north of Brighton, is considered relatively to Aldrington, the *Portus Adurni*, one of the fortified harbours by means of which the Romans secured their communications with the Continent, encircled and protected as is the district with fortified strongholds, such as the Dyke, Wolsonbury, Ditchling Beacon, and the White Hawk, or Brighton Camp, with Hollingbury as a centre, which lies only at about a mile distant from Preston, the whole of these camps being connected by a chain of roads, the inference is warranted that many interesting and valuable traces of the Romans yet lie buried underneath the sod in this vicinity.

After a short discussion, in which several members took part, the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

See *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. x.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

Stockading of supposed Roman Date at Carlisle.—A communication has been received from Richard S. Ferguson, Esq., one of the most active members of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, relative to a discovery of much interest at Carlisle. The alterations and improvements now being effected in the city have afforded many opportunities for the examination of the soil, until so recently covered with buildings. The Bush Hotel,¹ one of the oldest and best known in the locality, has recently been removed for rebuilding, and its site, the vicinity of which has been a mine of Roman relics, has also yielded several objects deserving of note. A Roman bath was discovered to the east of it early in the present century. On the west the ground falls rapidly towards the mediæval west wall of the city and the site of the old English gate, the slope continuing beyond it. The soil beneath the Bush Hotel was found to be filled with broken fragments of Roman pottery, and one small vase, about 4 inches high, of coarse red ware, was met with 'perfect,'² and many portions of Samian ware. About 10 or 12 feet below the modern surface the excavators came upon a row of massive stockading running in three straight parallel lines from the north-west to the south-east, and going diagonally across the whole of the site. The stakes were of solid oak, about 6 inches by 4 inches, and set about 1 foot apart, there being the same distance between each row. They were arranged quincunx fashion, thus :

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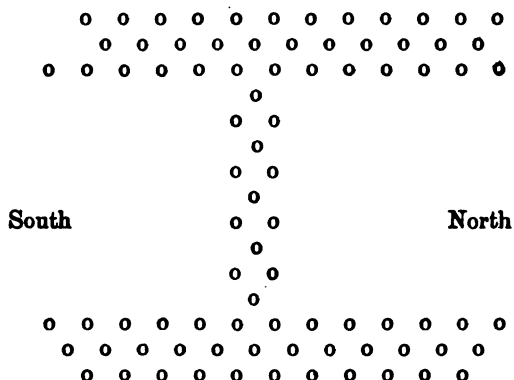
¹ A section of the hill-slope, taken about fifty yards south of the site of the Bush Hotel, is given in *Archæologia Æliana*, old series. It accompanies a paper by C. Hodgson, Esq., on a pitcher found in Carlisle Gaol. It is known that a Roman villa stood outside Carlisle, on the Gaol side, and Roman burials extend southwards from that point for a mile or more.

² This was exhibited by Mr. Ferguson at a recent meeting of the Society of Antiquaries.

None of the stakes, unfortunately, were drawn, so that their depth was not determined, and they were only exposed for a very few hours, the builders following the excavators very rapidly. They must have existed on what was originally almost the brow of the hill.

Other works to the west led to the discovery of a paved road 18 ft. below the present level, outside the stockading, and leading up the slope of the hill. A tank of oak stakes and planks was also found, but it could not be accurately examined; sufficient was noted to show that it measured 2 ft. across, the length being greater.

Simultaneously with this discovery, similar stockading, but in double rows, with a broad space between, was found in another part of Carlisle, parallel to and still within the site of the east curtain wall of Carlisle. If these were prolonged they would reach the former stockading almost at a right angle. Some of these stakes were drawn, and found to be about 4 ft. only in length, and not quite so massive as those at the Bush. Their tops were only about 6 ft. below the surface, and the soil was full of fragments of Roman pottery; but a lamp was found perfect, and a vase or two, and a few Roman coins. Further investigation led to the discovery of a cross row of piles, connecting the inner and the outer rows thus:



These were carefully inspected by Mr. Fairlees Barber and Mr. Ferguson, and it was noted that all the piles were of oak, and their use for defensive purposes was apparent, since their tops were all pointed. The double rows produced a barrier offering a formidable impediment.

These discoveries should, however, be taken into consideration with another made several years ago near the citadel, in Citadel Row (between Lowther Street and the space between the court houses). A deep sewer was then formed, and similar stockading was found.

We have thus three discoveries showing stockades identical in design and arrangement; in positions agreeing with one another for their continuity, as forming a stockade around the city. Their extent and the

pointed tops also disprove the belief that these may have been stray pilings for foundation purposes. They cannot be of post-Roman date, as has been suggested, and had been driven through the Roman deposit. Their continuity prevents this supposition, for they would have been useless in a city already furnished with stone walls, if we suppose them later than the latter. But at the Bush Hotel the Roman deposit extended many feet above the stockades, and the small vase already referred to was found actually 5 ft. or 6 ft. above the line of the piling, buried beneath, showing that the latter must have been at least of early Roman date. The Roman deposit came almost up to the tops of the second find, showing that the latter must have been in existence for many years for its accumulation, and pointing rather to an Early British origin than to a date later than Roman times. We may accordingly safely infer that these discoveries prove the existence of a stockaded enclosure of very early date within the larger area of the mediæval walls.

Roman Interment at St. Alban's.—Last week, while a labourer was ploughing in a field at St. Alban's belonging to Mr. C. Woollam, immediately to the east of the fosse outside the eastern wall of Verulam, he came upon a grave composed of Roman brick. The structure, which stood on a slope, was rectangular, with its long axis north and south, the lowest course of bricks being hollow, of the hypocaust kind, the remainder, for the most part, ordinary tile-shaped ones. The sides were built up to the height of about 1 ft. with bricks and mortar, and the tomb was covered in by an arrangement of bricks, having the upper courses overlapping the lower, so as to form a sloping roof; outside these the roof was coped by similar bricks, laid slanting, and in place of a ridge-piece was a course of flanged or channelled bricks, surmounted by the upper edge of the slanting ones. The interior measurement was 6 ft. 10 in. in length by 1 ft. 9 in. in width, and the same in depth. Within was found the skeleton of an adult male, in fairly good preservation; on the right side of the skull were the bones of a bird, and near the right hip the broken fragments of a small vessel of baked clay, to which bits of burnt matter were found adhering. Numerous iron nails and one or two small pieces of wood were also discovered. The floor was formed of a bed of mortar, having under it one of chalk. The interment seems likely to indicate the hitherto unknown position of the cemetery of Verulam, with respect to which many conjectures have been made. The site merits very careful search, with a view to the discovery of other interments; and it is to be hoped that this discovery may lead to others of importance.

The Templeborough Excavation Fund.—The cost of the excavations

which have already yielded such interesting results have been defrayed so far by local subscriptions. A circular issued by Alderman John Guest, F.S.A., and Mr. John Daniel Leader, F.S.A., was generously responded to, and about £200 was raised. This sum has been sufficient for defraying the cost so far, but the excavations are now closed for the winter.

In consideration of the further important results that may be realised, so small a portion of the site having been excavated, it is considered that the researches should not be stopped for want of the larger sums that will be wanted. Subscriptions will therefore be very gladly received, and may be paid direct to the "Templeborough Exploration Fund" account, at the Sheffield and Rotherham Banking Company's Bank, either at Sheffield or Rotherham, to Mr. J. D. Leader, F.S.A., Broomhall Park, Sheffield, or subscriptions will be received by Mr. Thos. Morgan, F.S.A., Hillside House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W., Honorary Treasurer of the British Archæological Association, who will transmit all sums received from Associates or their friends direct to Sheffield.

INDEX.

- A.**
ABINGER, discovery of Roman remains at, 501
 Acton, co. Suff., brass at, 115
 Adel, archæology of the parish of, 404
 Aldgate, discovery of a crypt at, 230
 Ale-pot exhibited, 272
 Amphoræ, paper on Roman vessels popularly called, 331
 Andover, mantelpiece found at, 500
 Antiquities, various, exhibited, 88, 89, 262
 Army, history of the, 289
 Arthur, King, legends of, 97; discussion concerning, 211; and knights of the Round Table, 338
 Aubrey's Scheme of Stanton Drew, 307
- B.**
 Baal and Baal worship, paper on, 203
 Baalism and the temples of Baal, paper on, 349
 BAILY (Mrs.) exhibits a red ware bottle, 108
 — exhibits daggers, 115, 124, 213, 231, 271, 272
 — exhibits a misericorde, 221
 — exhibits poniards, 249, 271, 272
 Bardwell, effigy at, 111
 BARHAM (Dr.) describes objects in the Cornwall Museum, 197
 Basset (Ela), Countess of Warwick, seal of, 121
 Beaulieu, charters of the Priory of, 127
 Beehive-hut at Chapel Euny and other places, 206, 207
 Bexhill, coffins at, 131
 BIRCH (SAMUEL), LL.D., D.C.L., etc., lecture upon the obelisk known as Cleopatra's Needle, 485
 BIRCH (WALTER DE GRAY), F.R.S.L., Hon. Sec., exhibits two ancient rolls, 113
 — reads Dr. Wise's paper on Celtic monuments, 120
 — describes a seal of Ela Basset, Countess of Warwick, 121
 — reads Mr. Irvine's paper on Bradford and Bradford churches, 215
 — exhibits various seals, 251
 — Secretaries' Report, 254
 — exhibits a collection of charters, 271
- BIRCH (W. DE G.)**, remarks upon original documents, 471
 — exhibits a charter of Uhtred of the Hwiccas from Worcester Cathedral Library, 502
 Bishopsgate, Roman pavement found at, 106
 BLASHILL (THOMAS) exhibits pottery and a mediæval knocker, 113
 — exhibits Roman pottery from Putley, 120
 — reads paper by Dr. Harker, 125
 BLOXAM (M. H.), F.S.A., describes Lanteglos Church, 91
 — describes Tintagel, 92
 — describes Llanivet Church, 94
 — describes Launceston Castle, 101
 Boarhunt Church, drawings of, exhibited, and paper on, read, 230; paper on the Saxon church at, 367
 Bococonoc, drive through, by the Association, 96
 Bodmin, Congress at, proceedings at, 85-104; visited and dinner at, 88; paper on the antiquities of, 90, 91; conversation and reception by the Mayor, 103; antiquities of, exhibited, *ib.*
 Boleit, remains at, 202
 BOBLASE (W. C.), F.S.A., describes Boscawen-un, 198
 — entertains the Association at Castle Horneck, 204
 — historical description of St. Michael's Mount by, 209
 — description by, of various remains in Cornwall, 210, 211
 Boscawen-un, circle of stones at, 198-99
 Bosporthennis, hut at, 206, 207
 Bottles exhibited, 108, 112
 BOUTELL (Rev. C.), M.A., presents photographs of misereres at Worcester, 107
 — exhibits a portrait of St. Lawrence, 107
 — reads a paper on a photograph of a ceiling in St. Alban's Abbey, 220
 — exhibits and describes various antiquarian drawings, 266, 267
 Boxes, silver, exhibited, 123
 Bradford-on-Avon, co. Wilts., notes on the church at, 215
 Bradshaw, seal of the family of, 231

- BRAMBLE** (Colonel J. R.), notes on a recently discovered pavement at the Abbey of Old Cleve, 275, 456
- Brank**, scold's, from Vernham, 260, 261
- BRENT** (CECIL), F.S.A., exhibits a Saxon knife, 113
- exhibits two flagella, 121
- exhibits a chalice, 251
- exhibits bronzes from Hungary, and other objects, 485
- (JOHN), F.S.A., paper on ancient Canterbury, 68
- exhibits antiquities from Canterbury, 119
- British interments at Lancaster**, 125-27
- Britford**, near Salisbury, paper on the Saxon arches in the church, 112, 345; notes on the church, 215
- BROCK** (E. P. L.), F.S.A., Hon. Sec., architectural history of Cotehele House, 22-29, 88
- describes church of Lanteglos, 91
- describes Tintagel, 92
- paper on St. Neot's, 96, 441
- paper on Temple Church, 97
- describes Launceston Castle, 101
- describes Saint Mary Magdalene Church, Launceston, 102
- exhibits antiquities from St. Antholin's Church, London, 113
- exhibits drawings of Greek and Cyclopean remains, 119
- exhibits various fictilia, 121, 214
- on Saxon architectural art, 218-19
- paper on the discovery of a crypt at Aldgate, read, 230
- reports discovery of remains at Colchester, and exhibits specimens of ware, 221, 230
- exhibits remains from Kintbury, 249
- Secretaries' Report, 254
- exhibits remains from Bath Street, Newgate Street, 265
- on Roman pottery-kilns at Colchester, 267, 468
- exhibits a costrel, 271
- exhibits photograph of a mantel-piece, 500
- Bronze**, bust of Mercury, 116; bull exhibited, 195; celt exhibited, 195
- Bronzes**, Catalogue of, 129; from Hungary, exhibited, 485
- Bull**, bronze, exhibited, 195
- Bures** (Sir J. de), brass of, 115
- BURGESS** (J. TOM), F.S.A., on recent discoveries at Kenilworth, 275
- Bury St. Edmund's**, various antiquities from, 116, 117; rubbings from churches at, 120
- Buryan Church**, history of and visit to, 201
- Callernish in the Island of Lewes**, Celtic remains at, 158-69; note on, 290
- Camelford**, reception of the Congress by the Corporation of, 93
- Canterbury**, ancient, a paper on, 68; remains from, 119
- Caranda collection**, notice of the, 405
- CAREY** (SIR P. STAFFORD), description of documents presented by, 471
- Carn-Glaze**, visit to, 206
- Carnac**, in Brittany, excavations at, 405
- Carnanton**, slab of tin from the barton of, 195
- Castle-Horneck**, visit to and reception at, 204; museum at, 204, 205
- Celt**, bronze, exhibited, 195; stone, exhibited, 485
- Celtic monuments**, remarks on, 158-69
- Chalice from Ireland** exhibited, 251
- Chapel Euny** visited and described, 206, 207
- Charm on a ring**, 117
- Charters of Launceston** exhibited, 98
- collection of ancient exhibited, 271;
- Anglo-Saxon exhibited, 502
- Charterhouse in the Mendips**, Roman leaden pigs from, 106
- Chill**, or Cornish lamp, 192
- Chimney-piece**, drawing of a, exhibited, 105
- Chinese device** exhibited, 113
- Chywoone Quoit**, notes on the, 176-78; visit to and description of the prehistoric remains at, 205
- Chysauster**, visit to and description of, 210
- Cirencester**, discoveries at, 275
- Cleeve**, Old, notes on the pavement recently discovered at the Abbey, 456; on the recent discovery of the refectory and tiled floor at the Abbey, 465
- Cleopatra's Needle**, photograph of, exhibited, 214; notices of, 409; lecture on the obelisk known as, by Dr. S. Birch, 485
- Cockfield**, bronze handle found at, 117
- Colchester**, discovery of Roman remains at, 221; further discoveries at, 230, 231; Roman pottery-kilns at, 267, 468
- COMPTON** (MR.) reads a paper on forest law, 251
- COPE** (W. H.) exhibits gold figures, 119
- Cornard**, arms of, 110
- Cornwall**, inaugural address at the Congress, 1-15; county and parochial histories and books relating to, 35; the Earls of Cornwall, 46; the Duchy and Dukes of Cornwall, 60; paper by Dr. Margoliouth on the Cornish language read, 93; history and literature of the Cornish language, 137; ancient boroughs of Cornwall, with their arms and devices, 179; notes on some Cornish antiquities, 191; megalithic remains in Western Cornwall, 291
- Corwen**, mace-head from, 118
- Costrels** exhibited, 107, 271

C.

Caerleon, Roman remains at, 287

Cotehele House, architectural history of, 23-29; excursion to, 87-88

COUCH (Dr.) described St. Benet's Church, Lanivet, 94

— describes Restormel Castle, 95

Cowlinge, bronze found at, 117

CRAGOE (T.) on King Arthur and knights of the Round Table, 211, 338

CRANG (J.), Mayor of Bodmin, address to and reception of the Congress, 89, 90

Cromwell, numismatic history of, 289; family, paper on the seals and medals of the, 381

Cross at Trembath, 198; at Crows-an-wra, 199

Crosses, stone, at Lanteglos, 91; of Staffordshire, paper on, 109; ancient churchyard, of Staffordshire, 432

Crows-an-wra, cross at, 199

CUMING (H. S.), F.S.A. Scot., describes a red terra-cotta bottle, 108, 109

— on knightly effigies in Suffolk churches, 109

— describes a mediæval slice or turn-over, 114

— reads paper on Siegburg stoneware, 114

— describes a dagger from Upper Thames Street, 115

— describes drawing of a pastoral staff, 115

— describes various objects, 118

— exhibits a seal impression, 121

— describes silver objects, 121-24

— describes daggers, 213, 214

— describes a misericorde, 222

— paper on needles and needlecases, 222-30

— reads paper on Joseph of Arimathea, 231

— exhibits views of Stanton Drew, 249

— describes two poniards, 249

— exhibits drawing of an ale-pot, 273

— on Roman vessels popularly called amphore, 331

CURLE (CHARLES), memoir, 282

Cyclopean antiquities, drawings of, exhibited, 119

Cynwyd, paalstab from, 118

D.

Damnonia, traces of the ancient kingdom of, outside Cornwall, 411

Daggers, exhibited, 115, 116, 124, 213, 231, 271, 272

Denbigh Castle, repairs of, 501

Derby, cemetery of the Priory of St. James', 500

DIXON (WAYMAN), exhibits a model of the obelisk known as Cleopatra's Needle, 485

— describes excavation and transport of the obelisk, 494

Dormanton, knocker from the door of the church, 113

Dragon, Cornish, paper on the, 207

DRAKE (Rev. W. T. TYRWHITT), Rolls exhibited, by permission of, 113

Dowry (Sir George), effigy attributed to him, 110

DYMOND (C. W.), on the megalithic antiquities of Stanton Drew, 112, 297

— notes on the Men-an-Tol and Chywoone Quoit, 176, 178, 252

— paper on Cumbrian megaliths, read, 275

E.

Effigies in Suffolk churches, 109

Egyptian figure exhibited, 485

— translation of the inscription on the Obelisk of Cleopatra, by Dr. Birch, 485

Engravings exhibited, 89

Etruscan bottle exhibited, 112

F.

FERGUSON (R. S.), paper on Roman Carlisle, read, 275

Flagella, exhibited, 121

Flint implements, exhibited, 117

Fornham St. Martin, sword from, exhibited, 116

FORTNUM (C. D. E.), catalogue of bronzes, by, 129

Fox (George), incarceration of, 102

Fumigators, exhibited, 107

G.

Girdle (silver), described, 121

Glendorgal, urn from, 196

Glass, various, exhibited, 107, 273, 484, 485

Glass, Venetian specimens, exhibited, 118, 214

GODWIN (GEORGE, F.R.S.), describes Tintagel, 92

Gold, figures of bulls' heads, exhibited, 119

Golden gorgets, exhibited, 195, 196, 197

Greek inscription, notes of an, 117

GROVER (J. W.), on Suez Canal, from ancient times to the present, 114, 447

— exhibits a medal, 121

— exhibits a photograph of a ceiling at St. Alban's, 124

— remarks on the history of Joseph of Arimathea, 231, 232

Guernsey, original documents relating to, 471

H.

HALSEY (T. F.), M.P., rolls in the possession of, exhibited, 113

— charters belonging to, exhibited, 271

HANNEN (Sir JAMES), extension by, of period of free examination of wills, 213

HARKER (Dr. JOHN), on British interments at Lancaster, 125

Harlyn, antiquities found at, 195

Head of a horse, carved in stone, 118

HENFREY (H. W.), on medals and seals of the Cromwell family, 275, 381

HICKLIN (B.), note on discovery of Roman remains at Abinger, 501

Historical rolls, two exhibited, 113

Hopkins (Mr.), forwards a seal for exhibition, 121

HOUGHTON (Lord), speech of, 233, 234

Hungary, bronzes from, exhibited, 485

Hyde Park, document relating to the maintenance of, 472, 481

I.

IAGO (Rev. W.), on the antiquities of Bodmin, 90, 91

Icklingham, Roman discoveries at, 221

Inventory of Robert Morton, 308

Iron, object found near Brighton, 214; relics exhibited, 124

IRVINE (J. T.), notes on figures in the western towers of Wells Cathedral, 30

— notes on Britford Church, 215

— paper on the Saxon Church of Boarhunt, 230, 367

— exhibits various drawings of antiquities, 270, 271

— exhibits tracings of Ogham inscriptions, 271

Itchen Abbey, Roman remains at, 502

Ivory casket of St. Petroc, exhibited, 103

J.

JAGO (Dr.), exhibits mediæval tapestry, 197

JENNER (HENRY), on the history and literature of the Cornish language, 137, 157, 204

Jerusalem, earthen lamp from, 192

JONES (Professor RUPERT), report on the Kintbury burial-ground, 128

Joseph of Arimathea, paper on, 231

JOSEPHS (Captain), exhibits relics from St. Antholin's Church, 113

K.

Karnux or Keltic horn, paper on the, 103, 104, 395

Kenilworth, recent discoveries at, 275

Kent, Roman, 130

KARSLAKE (THOMAS), traces of the ancient kingdom of Damnonia outside Cornwall, 93, 411

Key, exhibited, 124

Kirkstead Abbey, restoration of, 288

KINSMAN (Rev. PREBENDARY), on Tintagel Castle, 93, 170

Kintbury, ancient burial-ground at, 128, 129; prehistoric remains from, 249

Knife and sheath, Saxon, exhibited, 113

Knocker, exhibited, 113

L.

LACH-SZYEMA (Rev. W. S.), describes Land's End in history, 200

— paper on St. Michael's Mount, 209

— paper read, 211

Lachrymatory, exhibited, 112

Lamp, from Pompeii, exhibited, 113; from the Cyprus collection of General Cesnola, exhibited, 113; from Cornwall and Jerusalem, compared, 192; exhibited, 214, 215

Lancaster, British interments at, 125, 127

Lance head, exhibited, 116

Land's End, visit to, 198, 200

Landulph, burial of, 15, 88

Lanivet Priory, visited and described, 94; St. Benet's Church, 56

Lanteglos, visited, 91

Lanyon Quoit, account of, 211

Launceston, visited and described, 96, 103; castle described, 97, 99; reception by the mayor and corporation, 98; church of St. Mary Magdalene, 102

Lawrence (St.), drawing of, from a Lambeth MS., 101

Lava, volcanic, exhibited, 113

Lead, pigs, found at Charterhouse, Mendip, 106, 251

LEADER (J. D.), F.S.A., paper on the Roman station called Templeborough, 503

Llangollen, forecast of the Congress at, 401; notes on the results of the Congress at, 509

London, antiquity from, 213; see Bailly (Mrs.); see Mayhew (Rev. S. M.)

Lostwithiel, visited and described, 95, 96

LUKIS (Rev. W. C.), F.S.A., on megalithic remains in Western Cornwall, 291

Lydgate's chronicle, roll of, 113

LYNAM (C.), ancient churchyard crosses of Staffordshire, 109, 432

M.

Mace head, from Corwen, 118

Madron Church, visit to, 211

MARGOLIOUTH (Dr. M.), reads a paper on the Cornish language, 93

MAYHEW (Rev. S. M.), M.A., exhibits ancient glass, etc., 107, 108

— exhibits a Chinese device, 113

— exhibits a slice or turn-over, 113

— exhibits various objects, 117, 118

— exhibits iron objects found in London, 124

— paper on Baal and Baal worship, 203

— exhibits Venetian glass and Cornish and Phœnician lamps, 214, 215

— paper on Scilly Isles, read, 219

— exhibits various objects, 222

— exhibits glass, 231

— reads paper on "Newdigate", 231

— exhibits remains recently found in London, 262

MAYHEW (Rev. S. M.), M.A., exhibits glass objects, 273

— exhibits a variety of ancient glass relics, 485

Mayon, table stone at, 199

Mantlepiece, of Tudor period, photograph of, 500

Medal of the Duke of York and Albany, exhibited, 121; of the Cromwells, 381

Medallions of the Cæsars, exhibited, 120

Megalithic remains in Western Cornwall, 291; antiquities of Stanton Drew, 297

Mercury, bronze bust of, exhibited, 116

Merrow, urn found at, 195

Men-an-Tol, notes on the, 176, 178; visit to, and description of, 211

Men Scryfa, or written stone, visit to, and description of, 211

Minerva, a carving from, 118

Misericorde, exhibited and described, 222

MONEY (WALTER), exhibits drawing of chimney-piece, 105

— exhibits pipeclay wig-curlers, 112

"Money" stone, visited, 199

Monolith, inscribed, at Lanteglos, 91; at Tregonobria, 198

MORGAN (Lieut. H. J.), R.N., water-colour drawings by, 485

MORGAN (THOMAS), F.S.A., read a paper on the ruins of Mycenæ, 119

— paper on Roman galleys read, 207

— review of the work of the Association, 257

— Treasurer's report, 252

— exhibits water-colour drawings, 485

— notes on the results of the Congress at Llangollen, 509

Morton (Robert), will and inventory of, 1486-1488, 308

Mosaic, fragment of, exhibited, 118

MOUNT EDGUMBE (Rt. Hon., Earl of), inaugural address, 1-15

— paper by, on the early history of the family of Mount Edgumbe, 15-22

— reception by, 88

Mount Edgumbe, visit to, 212

Museum, temporary, 88, 89; at Truro, 195; at Penzance, 203; at Castle Horneck, 204, 205

Mycenæ, paper on, with various exhibitions of drawings, 119; discoveries of Dr. Schliemann, 127; Troy and its analogy to, a paper by Dr. Schliemann, 234, 246.

N.

Needles and needlecases, paper upon, 222

Newbury, chimney-piece at, 105

Newdigate, a border parish of South Surrey, paper on, read, 231

Newgate Street, remains from, 265

Nuna, flagella used by, 121

1877

O.

Obeliaks of Cleopatra and Heliopolis, photographs of, exhibited, 214; casts illustrative of, 485; lecture on, 46.

Ogham inscriptions exhibited, 271

Ornament, British, 126

P.

Paalstab exhibited, 118

PAPILLON (Mr.), reports discoveries at Colchester, 281

— describes a kiln at Colchester, 270

Pavement, Roman, from Bishopsgate, 106; Roman tessellated found in Cannon Street, 260; recently discovered at the Abbey of Old Cleeve, notes on, 456

PAYNE (GEORGE, Jun.), exhibits and reads paper on Roman remains found at Sittingbourne, 263-65

Pen-pits near Stourhead, notice of the, 286

Penzance visited, 212; various objects exhibited in the Museum, 208

PHENÉ (Dr. J. S.), F.S.A., paper on the horn of the Celtic people, 103, 104, 395

— paper on the Cornish dragon, 207

Pike-head exhibited, 116

PLANCHÉ (J. R.), *Somerset Herald*, on the Earls of Cornwall, 46, 207

— paper on a painting in the National Gallery, read, 125

Pole (William de la), Duke of Suffolk, effigy of, 110

Poniards exhibited, 249, 271, 272

Porcelain exhibited, 117

Pottery, various, exhibited, 121, 214

Pottery-kilns at Colchester, paper on, 267, 468

Prehistoric remains from Kintbury, 249

Preston, Roman villa at, 407, 518

PRIGG (H.) exhibits various antiquities from Fomham and Bury, 116, 117

— note of discoveries at Icklingham, 221, 275

Putley, Roman pottery from, 121

R.

RASHLEIGH (JONATHAN), F.R.S., reception of the Congress by him at Truro, 195

READY (ROBERT) exhibits casts illustrative of obeliaks, 485

Records, contemplated destruction of, 262

Restormel Castle visited and described, 94, 95

REYNOLDS (J.) forwards photograph of discoveries at Cirencester, 275

— on the recent discovery of the refectory and tiled floor at Cleeve Abbey, 275, 465

RIDGWAY (Rev. Canon), B.D., F.S.A., on Baaliam and the temples of Baal, 266, 349

Ring, silver, with inscribed charm, exhibited, 117

ROBINSON (Mr.), account of repairs at Denbigh Castle, 501

Roman pottery from Putley, 120, 121; remains at Sittingbourne, 268-65; remains at Abinger, 501; remains at Itchen Abbas, 502; station at Templeborough, 503; villa found at Preston, co. Sussex, 518

Rosmoadress, circle at, visit to, 202

Round Table, knights of the, 338

S.

St. Alban's, photograph of a ceiling in the Abbey, 124; paper on the ceiling and heraldry of, read, 210; progress of repair, 408; interment at, 525

St. Antholin, church of, demolition of, announced, 113

ST. AUBYN (SIR JOHN) entertains the Congress at St. Michael's Mount, 209

St. Just visited and described, 208

St. Levan, church of, visited, 201

St. Mary le Wigford, inscription at, 132, 133

St. Michael's Mount visited and described, 208

St. Neot's visited and described, 96; a paper by E. P. L. Brock, 441

Saints, dedications of churches in Cornwall to, 93

SALT (SIR TITUS), memoir of, 283

Saltash exhibited, 88

Samian ware exhibited, 108, 117

Sancreed Church, visit to and description of, 207

Saxon inscription at St. Mary le Wigford, 132, 133; art, 218, 219; arches of Britford Church, paper on the, 345; church of Boarhunt, paper on, 367; charters exhibited, 502

SCARTH (Rev. Preb. H. M.) exhibits drawing of Roman lead pigs, 106

— notes on Roman lead pigs, 251

— note on a tile, 251

SCHLIEHMANN (Dr.), discoveries of, 127

— on Troy and its analogy to Mycenæ, 234-46

— diploma presented to, 246-48

Scilly Isles, notes on the, 191-94

SCOTT (GILBERT) exhibits a rubbing of a brass, 115

— exhibits rubbings, 120

Seals, various, exhibited, 121, 251; of the Cromwells, 381

Sidbury Castle, sling-stones from, 107

Silver objects exhibited, 121-24

SIMPSON (Rev. W. S.), D.D., documents exhibited by, 251, 471

Sittingbourne, Roman remains found at, 263-65

Slice, or turn-over, exhibited, 113

Sling-stones, 107

SMITH (C. ROACH), F.S.A., note by, on the arches at Britford, 112

— on Roman Kent, 130

SMITH (C. ROACH), F.S.A., "Collectanea Antiqua", 289

— (GEORGE), fund for the benefit of his family, 136

Soberston, discovery of an ancient burial at, 500

Spanish documents, description of, 471

Spur exhibited, 124

Staff, pastoral, description of a drawing of a, 115

Staffordshire, ancient churchyard crosses of, 432

Stannaries Court visited, 96

Stanton Drew, views of, visited, 249; megalithic remains at, 297

STEVENS (Dr. J.), note on a brank, 260-261

— various communications from, 500, 502

— on the Roman villa recently discovered at Preston, 518

Stirrups exhibited, 124

STOKES (H. S.), county and parochial histories and books relating to Cornwall, 35-45

Stone circle at Boscawan-Un, 198; at Rosmoadress, 202

Stonham Aspel, effigy at, 110

Suez Canals from ancient times to the present, 447

Swords exhibited, 116

SYMONS (Mr.) describes Sennen Church and antiquities, 199

T.

TALBOT (C. H.), on the Saxon arches of Britford Church, 260, 345

Tapestry, Spanish, exhibited, 197

TAYLOR (Major), exhibits a paalstab and other objects, 118

Temple Church, paper on, 97

Templeborough, Roman station called, 503, 525

Tewkesbury Abbey, restoration of, 138, 136

THOMPSON (E. M.), the will and inventory of Robert Morton, 275, 308

Tiles, various, exhibited, 113; found at Charterhouse, 251

Tin, blocks, and ingots of, exhibited, 195; remarkable block of, 196

Tintagel, church and castle visited and described, 91, 93; granite cross, discovered at, 109; castle, paper on, 170, 175

Tongs, silver, described, 123

Tregonobris, monolith at, 198

Trembath, cross at, 198

Trewarthenick Moor, block of tin from, 195

Trewoofe, cave at, 202

Troy, and its analogy to Mycenæ, paper on, 234, 246

Truro, visit to, and reception at, 195; visit to the castle and St. Mary's Church, 197, 198; arms of the diocese, 288

- TUCKER (S. I.), *Rouge Croix Poursuivant*, the duchy and Duke of Cornwall, 60, 207
 ——— exhibits engravings, 89
 ——— exhibits silver objects, 121, 124
 ——— exhibits a silver seal, 231
- U.
- Uccello, paintings ascribed to, 125
 Uhtred of the Hwiccas, charter of, exhibited, 502
 Urn, British, 126 ; ancient sepulchral, exhibited, 195 ; cinerary, from Glandorgal, 196 ; from Sennen, 196
- V.
- Vernham, scolds' brank from, 260, 261
 Vivian (Thomas), Bishop of Megara, Suffragan of Exeter, 91
- W.
- WALES (H.R.H., Prince of), acceptance of office of patron for the North Wales Congress, 266
 WALLIS (PRESTON), Town Clerk of Bodmin, reads address, 89
 WALLIS (ALFRED), note on the cemetery of the priory of St. James, Derby, 500
 WARREN (JOSEPH), memoir of, 284
 WATLING (H.), drawing by, exhibited, 109
 WAY (R. E.), exhibits fragments of a Roman pavement and other objects, 106, 107
 WAY (R. E.), exhibits various antiquities, 112, 113
 ——— exhibits medallions of the Cæsars, 120
 ——— exhibits photographs of obelisks, 214
 ——— exhibits an Egyptian figure, 485
 ——— exhibits molten marl from Weybridge, 503
 Weapons, exhibited, 124
 Wells Cathedral, notes on figures in the western towers, 30, 34
 Weybridge, molten marl from, 502
 Wig-curlers, exhibited, 112
 WILKINSON (Rev. J. J.), receives Congress at Lanteglos, 91
 ——— paper on Launceston Castle, 97, 99
 ——— memorial to, 131
 Wingfield, effigy at, 110
 WISE (Dr. THOMAS), on Celtic monuments, 120, 158
 Worcester Cathedral, miseries of the stalls, 107
 WORTH (R. N.), on the ancient boroughs of Cornwall, with their arms and devices, 179, 203
 WRIGHT (G. R.), F.S.A., exhibits an iron object, 214
- Z.
- Zopyrus, Greek inscription concerning, 117

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